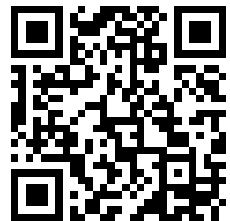

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Pears' Soap

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The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

University of Chicago. Dept. of Oriental
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OL 8.1



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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XVI

OCTOBER, 1899—JULY, 1900

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago Press

LONDON: LUZAC & Co., 46 Great Russell St. LEIPZIG: K. F. KÖHLER'S
ANTIQUARIUM, Kurprinzstrasse, 6.

\$3.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

**FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:—Great Britain, 14 shillings. Germany, 14 Marks.
France and other countries, 18 francs.**

The Journal will be discontinued at the expiration of the subscription.

Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., as second-class mail matter.

OL 8.1
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

OCTOBER, 1899.

I.	סלח. <i>By Emilie Grace Briggs.</i>	1-29
II.	ON A PASSAGE IN THE BABYLONIAN NIMROD EPIC. <i>By Christopher Johnston.</i>	30-36
III.	A SYRIAC-ARABIC NARRATIVE OF MIRACLES OF JESUS. <i>By W. Scott Watson.</i>	37-46
IV.	THE INTERPRETATION OF GEN. 6:3. <i>By George Ricker Berry.</i>	47-49
V.	CONTRIBUTED NOTES. The Assyrian Word <i>mašaru</i> or <i>magarru</i> . <i>By George R. Berry</i> , 50.— A Note on Isaiah 8:6. <i>By S. N. Deinard</i> , 51.—Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung. (Erwiderung an Herrn Professor Duncan B. Macdonald.) <i>By Dr. Otto Pautz</i> , 52.	50-58
VI.	BOOK NOTICES. Krengel, Das Hausgerät in der Mišnah, <i>M. Bittenwieser</i> , 59.—Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, <i>Duncan B. Macdonald</i> , 60.	59-64
VII.	SUPPLEMENT: Theological and Semitic Literature.	i-xvi

JANUARY, 1900.

I.	SOME CONTRACTS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM THE KH ² COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. <i>By George A. Barton.</i>	65-82
II.	A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD. III (concluded). <i>By C. Leviaš.</i>	83-109
III.	A COLLATION OF THE GOSPEL TEXT OF APHRAATES WITH THAT OF THE SINAITIC, CURETTONIAN, AND PESHITTA TEXT. <i>By Julius A. Bewer.</i>	110-123
IV.	CONTRIBUTED NOTES. Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung. A Final Reply. <i>By Duncan B. Macdonald.</i>	124
V.	BOOK NOTICES. Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, <i>R. D. Wilson</i> , 125.— Buchholtz, Geschichte der Juden in Riga bis zur Begründung der Rigischen Hebräergemeinde im J. 1842, <i>I. M. Casanowicz</i> , 127.	125-128
VI.	SUPPLEMENT: Theological and Semitic Literature.	i-xvi

APRIL, 1900.

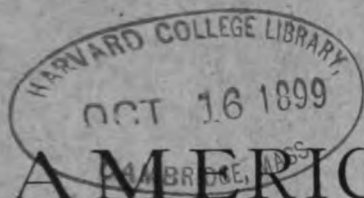
I.	THE DOCTRINE OF FREEDOM IN THE KORÂN. <i>By Walter M. Patton.</i>	129-144
II.	NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF 2 SAMUEL. <i>By Stanley A. Cook.</i>	145-177
III.	THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF NABOPOLASSAR, KING OF BABYLONIA (B. C. 625- 604). <i>By Preston P. Bruce.</i>	178-186
IV.	CONTRIBUTED NOTES. The Syriac-Arabic Narrative of the Miracles of Jesus. <i>By Charles C. Torrey.</i>	187, 188
V.	BOOK NOTICES. Carl Niebuhr, Die Amarna-Zeit; François Thureau-Dangin, Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéiforme. Supplément à la I ^{re} Partie, <i>Ira M. Price</i> , 189.—Samuel Krauss, Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum, Teil II, <i>C. Leviaš</i> , 190.	189-192
VI.	SUPPLEMENT: Theological and Semitic Literature.	i-xxxii

JULY, 1900.

I. THE URIM AND THUMMIM. A Suggestion as to their Original Nature and Significance. <i>By W. Muss-Arnolt.</i>	193-224
II. AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE TO TIMOTHY. <i>By W. Scott Watson.</i>	225-241
III. THE STORY OF AHICAR AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL. <i>By George A. Barton.</i>	242-247
IV. ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES. <i>By C. Leviaș.</i>	248-251
V. BOOK NOTICES.	252-256
<i>J. Dyneley Prince, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, <i>Alots Barta</i>, 252.—Strack, <i>Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit</i>, C. Leviaș, 253.—Gustav Schlessinger, <i>Die altfranzösischen Wörter im Machsor Vitry</i>, <i>Leo Wiener</i>, 254.—Salomon Buber, <i>Midrasch Echa Rabbathi</i>, and <i>Jalkut Machiri</i>, G. Deutsch, 254.</i>	
VI. GENERAL INDEX.	257-263

VOL. XVI, No. 1.

OCTOBER, 1899



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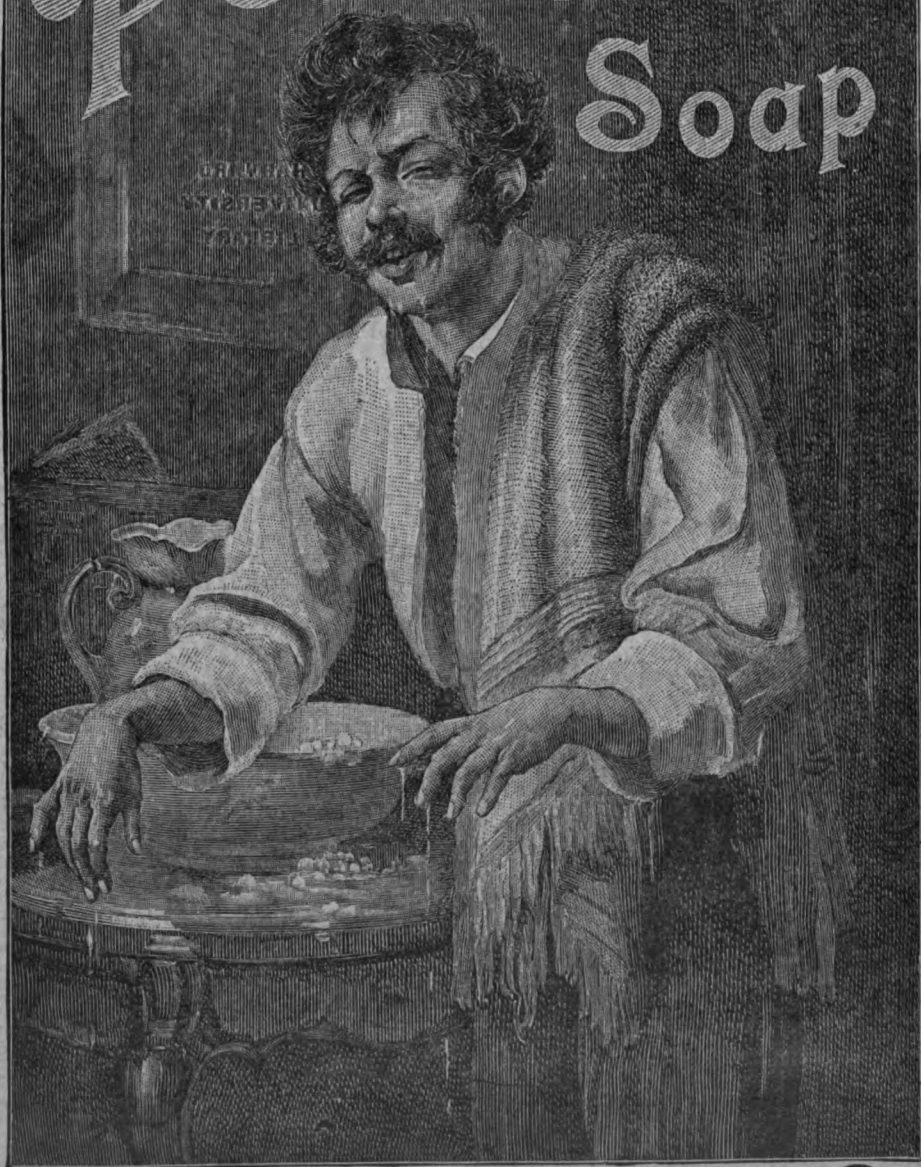
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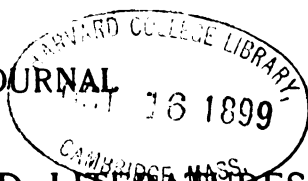
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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VOLUME XVI

OCTOBER, 1899

NUMBER 1

סלה.

BY EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS,
New York, N. Y.

There have been many attempts in recent years to discover the clue to the meaning and use of סלה. The presence of this word in the Old Testament, and the fact that a knowledge of its meaning would cast light upon more than one of the critical problems of the Psalter, give to every such attempt a peculiar interest and value. A fresh study is here undertaken of the facts concerning סלה, the ancient traditions as to its meaning, and the modern conjectures as to its use.

I. THE FACTS CONCERNING SELAH.

Selah is used 1) in the Old Testament, 2) in the Psalms of Solomon, 3) in the Jewish Liturgy.

1. *The Old Testament.*—Selah is found 74 times in the Old Testament; namely, 71 times in the Psalter and thrice in the Prayer of Habakkuk.

The Septuagint varies from the Massoretic text in its use of this word. סלה is there represented by *διάψαλμα*, excepting in Ps. 9:17, where סֶלָה הַפְּזוֹן = *ῥῥῃ διαψάλματος*. But *διάψαλμα* appears in verses and even in psalms where סלה is lacking. Again it is omitted in verses where the Hebrew text leads one to expect it. However, as *διάψαλμα* is never entirely wanting in a psalm which in the Hebrew contains סלה, the list of Selah psalms is longer for the LXX than for the Massoretic text. In

the Greek Psalter Selah appears 75 times in 43 psalms. In Habakkuk there is no variation to be noticed.

Dr. B. Jacob (*ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 131-6) examines the versions for their use of Selah. He claims that the various manuscripts collected in *Holmes-Parsons*, Tom. III, yield a number of new examples, namely, Pss. 2:4, 5; 6:4; 7:9, 13; 21:6; 30:4; 31:22; 37:4; 68:4a, 14, 15, 32; 70:3, 5; 84:8; 88:13; 107:30; 119:19 (*διαπαιτός*?). Some of these he regards as cases of dittography; *i. e.*, Pss. 2:5; 68:15, 32; 84:8. Others he retains as representing an original Selah, which has fallen out of the Hebrew text. He gives also from the *Psalterium Vetus* the following additional Selahs: Pss. 2:6; 19:5a (*semper*?); 68:4, 14, 17, 26; 115:3. Of these 2:6; 19:5, and 115:3 are marked as doubtful cases. 2:6 may be a case of dittography; 19:5 may not stand for Selah; 115:3 is questionable, if only because Ps. 115 is one of the Hallel, and Selah is conspicuously absent from the Hallel and from the fourth book of the Psalter. Thus Dr. Jacob adds some twenty Selahs to those preserved in the Massoretic text, concluding: "dass für diese δ. kein anderer Grund erfindlich ist, als wirkliche Ueberlieferung aus reicheren H [= *Mass.*] durch einen treueren Archetypus als selbst B [= *Vaticanus*] ist" (*loc. cit.*, p. 135).

The use of Selah in the Psalter is shown by the following table. The list of examples from the LXX is complete according to the concordance of Hatch and Redpath, which has been followed without reference to variations in the MSS. Examples of omission, transposition, and addition on the part of the LXX may be easily found by a comparison of the Massoretic with the LXX column. In the columns headed H.-P. and Ps. Vet., only those citations are presented which add to the list of Selahs in the Hebrew text. A question mark has been placed after all examples discredited by Dr. Jacob. In citing from the LXX it has been necessary to follow the Hebrew numbering for the psalms in order to a comparison between the texts.

A glance at the table is sufficient to show that the Selah psalms are widely separated as to date of composition. As they belong to different periods in the history of the formation of the Psalter, they do not by their date help us to discover the period to which Selah belongs. But a study of the titles of the Selah psalms has proved fruitful. Professor Briggs in a recent article has made an "inductive study of Selah in connection with the

USE OF SELAH IN THE PSALTER
ACCORDING TO THE MASS. AND LXX, WITH ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES FROM
HEXAPLA AND PSALTERIUM VETUS.

TABLE OF COMPARISON.

	MASS.	LXX.	H.-P.	Ps. VET.
Psalm 2.....	.....	2	4, 5(?)	6(?)
" 3.....	3, 5, 9	3, 5	.....	.....
" 4.....	3, 5	3, 5	.....	.....
" 6.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 7.....	6	6	9a, 13a	.....
" 9.....	17, 21	17, 21	.....	.....
" 19.....	.....	.....	.....	5a(?)
" 20.....	4	4	.....	.....
" 21.....	3	3	6	.....
" 24.....	6, 10	6	.....	.....
" 30.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 31.....	.....	.....	22	.....
" 32.....	4, 5, 7	4, 5, 7	.....	.....
" 34.....	.....	11	.....	.....
" 37.....	.....	.....	4	.....
" 39.....	6, 12	6, 12	.....	.....
" 44.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 46.....	4, 8, 12	4, 8	.....	.....
" 47.....	5	5	.....	.....
" 48.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 49.....	14, 16	14, 16	.....	.....
" 50.....	6	6, 15	.....	.....
" 52.....	5, 7	5, 7	.....	.....
" 54.....	5	5	.....	.....
" 55.....	8, 20	8, 20	.....	.....
" 57.....	4, 7	3, 4, 7	.....	.....
" 59.....	6, 14	6, 14	.....	.....
" 60.....	6	6	.....	.....
" 61.....	5b	5a	.....	.....
" 62.....	5, 9	5, 9	.....	.....
" 66.....	4, 7, 15	4, 7, 15	.....	.....
" 67.....	2, 5	2, 5	.....	.....
" 68.....	8, 20, 33	4a, 8, 14, 20, 33	15(?), 32(?)	17, 26
" 70.....	.....	.....	3, 5	.....
" 75.....	4	4	.....	.....
" 76.....	4, 10	4, 10	.....	.....
" 77.....	4, 10, 16	4, 10, 16	.....	.....
" 80.....	.....	8	.....	.....
" 81.....	8	8	.....	.....
" 82.....	2	2	.....	.....
" 83.....	9	9	.....	.....
" 84.....	5, 9	5, 9	8(?)	.....
" 85.....	3	3	.....	.....
" 87.....	3, 6	3, 6	.....	.....
" 88.....	8, 11	8	13	.....
" 89.....	5, 38, 46, 49	5, 38, 46, 49	.....	.....
" 94.....	.....	15(?)	.....	.....
" 107.....	.....	.....	30(?)	.....
" 115.....	.....	.....	.....	3(?)
" 119.....	.....	.....	19(?)	.....
" 140.....	4, 6, 9	4, 6, 9	.....	.....
" 143.....	6	6	.....	.....

titles of the Psalms," which leads to the conclusion "that there is a close connection between סֶלָה and the Psalters of Asaph and the Korahites, but not with the Psalter of David, which precedes them, or the Psalters of the Elohists and the Directors, which follow them." For this and other reasons the use of Selah is placed "subsequent to the collection of the Davidic Psalter and previous to the editing of the Director's Psalter, in the times of the chronicler, in the late Persian period or beginning of the Greek period."¹

Professor Briggs distinguishes between an early and a late use of Selah in the Psalter, attributing to the latter the additional examples furnished by the versions, the LXX included. Among these Selahs the only examples regarded by him as ancient are those in Pss. 50, 68, and 80; Pss. 50 and 68 belonging to a group of Selah psalms in the Hebrew Psalter, and Ps. 80 showing certain of the characteristics of a Selah psalm.

Selah appears elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Hab. 3:3, 9, 13. The LXX here agrees with the Massoretic text; but in the Hexapla (86b) a fourth *διάψαλμα* stands at the close of vs. 14, while *εἰς τέλος* takes the place of *διάψαλμα* in vs. 13.

Dr. Graetz, in the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms, compares Hab., chap. 3, with Jon. 2:3-10 and 1 Sam. 1:1-10, and suggests that these are remnants of lost psalms. The liturgical character of this chapter is generally recognized by scholars, and the tendency is to attribute to it a date much later than the time of the prophet whose name it bears. The subscription לַמְנצֵחַ shows that it was included in the Director's Psalter.

2. *The Psalms of Solomon*.—Selah, as represented by *διάψαλμα*, occurs in two of the Psalms of Solomon; namely, in Pss. 17:31; 18:10. In the introduction to the edition of Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891) it is maintained that "Pompey's capture of Jerusalem is the historical event to which Pss. 1, 2, 8, 17 refer;" that "judging from the detailed character of the allusions, the historical psalms must have been composed not very long after the events which they describe;" that "there is nothing in the style or contents of the other psalms to separate them in respect of date of composition from those which are definitely historical in coloring;" and finally that "in assigning the years B. C. 70 and B. C. 40 as the extreme limits of date within which our psalms were

¹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII, Part I.

written, we keep securely within the bounds of probability.' (For the whole argument see pp. xxxvii-xliv.)

It is also stated, as the result of the inquiries made concerning the origin of the book, that it is a product of "pharisaic Judaism of Jerusalem in the middle of the last century B. C." (p. lix). It is argued, for this and other reasons, that these psalms are Greek translations of a Hebrew original. The arguments are strong, especially the one based upon the language (*cf.* pp. lxxvii-lxxxvii). They leave little room for doubt as to the accuracy of the statement. The view is shared with the majority of modern scholars, such as Geiger, Wellhausen, Schürer.

A comparison of these psalms with the Jewish literature of the period, more especially with Baruch, leads to the conclusion "that the Psalms of Solomon had been turned into Greek some considerable time before A. D. 70," and that they are probably "anterior in date to the whole New Testament literature" (*loc. cit.*, p. lxxvii).

3. *The Jewish Liturgy*.—There is nothing surprising in the appearance of Selah in the Jewish Prayer Book, so long as it is confined to quotations from the Hebrew Psalter. The Selah psalms, which are quoted entire, are the following: 3, 4, 20, 24, 32, 46, 48, 67, 68, 81-84. In every case the use of סלה corresponds exactly with that of the Massoretic text, as indeed we should expect. But סלה occurs also frequently (and I think uniformly) in brief quotations of one or more verses, where it occurs in the psalm from which the quotation is made. This is true even when the verse quoted stands in the midst of a composite prayer, such as that appointed for the Habdalah service, which reads as follows:

Behold God is my salvation; I will trust and will not be afraid: for Jah the Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. Salvation belongeth unto the Lord; thy blessing be upon thy people. (*Selah.*) The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. (*Selah.*) The Jews had light and joy and gladness and honor. So be it with us, etc.

It is evident that, whether or not the compilers of the Jewish Liturgy understood (or thought that they understood) the meaning of סלה, they regarded it as a component of the sacred text, and therefore never to be omitted.

But in addition to these examples there are some eight or nine other instances of the use of סלה, which are not so easily explained.

It occurs in the שְׁמוֹנֵה עָשָׂרָה (Benedictions 3 and 18). Of this ancient Jewish prayer Dr. Zunz (in *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1892) writes as follows :

Derselben Autorität [den Männern der grossen Synagoge] gehört angeblich die Abfassung und Einführung der schon in der Mischna beschriebenen Gebete *Schemah* und *Thefilla*. (תפלה "das Gebet," auch unter dem Namen שְׁמוֹנֵה עָשָׂרָה "achtzehn" bekannt.) Was zunächst die letztere betrifft, so hat sie Wendungen, die der Zeit des grossen Vereins unmöglich zugehören können, und bei etwas genauerer Betrachtung sollte man dieselbe als die Arbeit 5 bis 6 verschiedener Epochen anerkennen. Als der älteste Bestandtheil erscheint mir das, die 3 ersten und die 3 letzten Segensprüche umfassende, Stück. Seiner gedenkt die Mischna mit eigenen, die einzelnen Sprüche bezeichnenden, Benennungen, und einige Ausdrücke (מִקְרָם, סלה) darin erinnern an das Buch Esther und die ältesten Glossatoren der Psalmen Nichts verräth eine tiefere Jugend, vielmehr konnte die Ankunft des Erlösers auch während der Zeit des zweiten Tempels, zumal unter der Herrschaft der Syrer, erflehet werden. . . . Die Sprache passt für die Zeit des Hohenpriesters Simeon. Endlich ist die uralte Einrichtung, wonach jenes Stück allen Tagen des Jahres bestimmt ist, während die übrigen Theile der Thefilla von den Sabbat- und Festtagen ausgeschlossen bleiben, ein ziemlich deutliches Merkmal höheren Alters. (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 379, 380.)

Compare with this Dr. Schürer's testimony as to the age of this portion of the Jewish Liturgy :

Aus dem Inhalt dieses Gebetes erhellt, dass es seine endgültige Form erst nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems, also nach dem J. 70 n. Chr., erhalten hat. Denn es setzt in seiner 14. und 17. Beracha die Zerstörung der Stadt und das Aufhören des Opferdienstes voraus. Andererseits wird es schon in der Mischna unter dem Namen שְׁמוֹנֵה עָשָׂרָה citirt (Berachoth IV:3; Taanith II:2), und es wird erwähnt, dass bereits R. Gamaliel II, R. Josua, R. Akiba und R. Elieser, also lauter Autoritäten aus dem Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts, darüber verhandelten, ob man die sämtlichen 18 Danksagungen oder nur einen Auszug daraus täglich zu beten habe (Berachoth IV:3), sowie darüber, in welcher Weise die Zusätze während der Regenzeit und am Sabbath einzuschalten und in welcher Form es am Neujahrstage zu beten sei. (Berachoth V:2; Rosch haschana IV:5; Taanith I:1, 2.) Demnach muss es seine jetzige Gestalt im Wesentlichen um d. J. 70–100 n. Chr. erhalten haben, und es ist mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, dass die Grundlage des Gebetes noch erheblich älter ist. Bestätigt wird dieses Resultat durch die bestimmte

talmudische Nachricht, dass Simon der Baumwollhändler zu Jabne zur Zeit R. Gamaliel's II die 18 Danksagungen nach ihrer Reihenfolge geordnet habe, und dass Samuel der Kleine auf R. Gamaliel's Aufforderung noch das Gebet gegen die Abtrünnigen (מְרִינִים) eingeschaltet habe, weshalb es eben nicht 18, sondern 19 Abschnitte seien. (Berachoth 28b.) (Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, Vol. II, p. 386.)

Two Selahs appear in the prayers preceding the *Shema* in the morning service. The first stands in the prayer beginning אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה בְּרִיךְ הוּא; the second in the one beginning אֲהַבְתָּ יְהוָה רַבּוֹתָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. The first of these prayers in its earliest form dates back probably to Mishna times at least, as it is mentioned in the Mishna, although not quoted there. Selah in all likelihood belongs to the oldest portion of this prayer (so Seligman-Baer in historical notes on the Jewish Liturgy). Both prayers are quoted by title in the *Shulchan-Arukh* (II. Lieferung, pp. 267, 221), the reference to the Talmud being *Tractat Birkot*, 11b. They belong without doubt to the oldest portion of the Liturgy. It is quite possible that they date back to the beginning of our era, or even earlier, although this cannot be affirmed.

There is a version of the second of these prayers in which occurs an interpolation of some length. It bears traces of a date considerably later than that of the passage in which it stands, and is entirely omitted from the authorized version of the prayer. It is too long to quote in full, but at its close stands the following: כִּי אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבִינוּ. וְרַחֲמֶיךָ וְחַסְדֶּיךָ הֵרַבְתָּ אֵל יַעֲקֹבנוּ: נִצַּח סֵלָה וְעַד:

In the Talmud (Treatise *Erubhin*, folio 54a) there is a statement, attributed to the school of Eliezer ben Jacob, who belonged to the fourth generation of the Tanaim (138–64)—a statement therefore dating from the second century A. D.—to the effect that in every place in the Scriptures where the words נִצַּח, סֵלָה, or עַד occur, they have the meaning of endless continuity—*forever and ever*.

The juxtaposition of these words in the passage under consideration is suspicious. It can be explained as authentic only on the supposition that the Jewish tradition is correct in ascribing to סֵלָה the meaning *forever*—a meaning which, as will presently appear, there is good reason to question. In the meantime this must be counted out as a suspected passage.

² See *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 2d edition. London, 1891.

At the close of the prayer assigned to the sabbath preceding the new moon Selah appears, following the *amen*.³ This prayer is quoted in the Talmud,⁴ where, however, Selah is lacking. This fact, together with its present position after the *amen*, leads one to regard it with suspicion.

A still more doubtful use of this term may be found in a prayer omitted from the *Authorised Prayer Book*, but appearing in the prayer-book entitled *The Praises of Israel* (p. 99). A glance at it is sufficient to disclose its untrustworthiness. The prayer is plainly cabalistic, and of late origin. Here again Selah appears after the *amen*.

The Talmud⁵ refers to a blessing, appointed to be said by persons released from prison, recovering from serious illness, etc. The blessing itself is not quoted; but in the Liturgy there appears a blessing, which from its language may well be ancient, appointed for use on just such occasions as those enumerated in the Talmud. At its close stands a Selah. This blessing appears in the *Praises of Israel*, p. 163. We cannot affirm that this is the blessing referred to in the Talmud; still the conjecture is a reasonable one. If it be true, we have here an example of Selah in an ancient benediction which goes back at least to the Gaonim, and may go back much farther. This benediction is omitted from the *Authorised Prayer Book*—a noteworthy fact, although the prayer is not thereby discredited.

As the result of our inquiry, we have found in the Hebrew Liturgy, outside of the rejected portion of the morning benediction before the Shema and the late cabalistic prayer, the following uses of Selah:

a) Five examples dating in all probability from the first centuries of our era, possibly from the time of the second temple. These are the three Selahs in the שמחה עשרה and the two in the morning benedictions preceding the שמע.

b) Two examples which must be regarded as somewhat doubtful both as to age and authenticity; namely, in the benediction referred to as possibly that mentioned in the Talmud, and in the prayer for the sabbath preceding the new moon, which is quoted in the Talmud, but without Selah.

³ Cf. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 154.

⁴ *Berachoth*, 16b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 54b.

II. THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING SELAH.

Two traditions as to the interpretation of Selah have been preserved to us in the various versions of the Psalter. The one is that of Talmud, Targum, Aquila, Quinta, and Sexta, and has been followed by Jerome. The other is that of LXX, Symmachus, Theodotion, Psalter. Vetus, and, in part, of Peshitto and Hexapla.

1. The Targum follows the Massoretic text exactly in its use of סלה, giving in place of it לעלמא, לעלמיי, or a synonym.⁶ Aquila, representing the prevailing opinion in Jewish circles at the time of the elder expounders of the law,⁷ translates סלה by αἰεί; Quinta and Sexta by διαπαντός, εἰς τέλος, and the like; Jerome by *semper, iugiter*. Professor Baethgen remarks: "Augenscheinlich war dies von Aq. bis auf Hier. die traditionelle Erklärung."⁸

Jewish tradition seems to give to the word the meaning of *forever*. A passage from the Talmud has already been referred to, which makes סלה synonymous with נצח, עד. It is in accordance with this tradition that Selah has been translated at times by *forever* in the *Authorised Jewish Prayer Book*; for instance, in the "Eighteen Benedictions," in the prayers before the שמע, and sometimes even in quotations from the Psalter—apparently in every passage which can bear the addition of the word *forever*.

Against this interpretation of Selah it may be urged:

- a) that it has no etymological support;
- b) that in many cases the meaning *forever* would yield no sense (for examples see Pss. 9:17; 66:15; 68:8; 77:4; 81:8; 83:9; 84:9; 87:6, etc.; Hab. 3:3, 13, etc.);
- c) that to connect Selah with the words which precede, in the case of the Psalms, would be to interfere with the poetic measure, and to destroy at times the parallelism of thought (see Pss. 3:3, 5; 46:4, 8; 77:4; 81:8; 88:8, 11, etc.);
- d) that it conflicts with the reading of the LXX. Now, the natural inference from the presence of additional Selahs in the LXX and Hexapla is that the meaning of the term was not unknown to the Greek translators. Moreover, there is a presumption in favor of the LXX as the older reading;
- e) that in the *Codex Sin.* Selah is written in red characters and stands in a line by itself.

⁶ See Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

⁷ According to Graetz, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

⁸ *Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.*, II, 2; 2^e Aufl., p. xii; also Siegfried in *ZATW.*, IV, p. 58.

2. The other traditional interpretation of לָהַב is that of the LXX (followed by Symmachus, Theodotion, etc.), which renders the word uniformly *διάψαλμα*, in Ps. 9:17 ($\phi\delta\eta$) *διαψάλματος*. The trustworthiness of this tradition has been doubted, chiefly on the ground that *διάψαλμα* is a word of doubtful meaning, which itself requires explanation.

Baethgen⁹ quotes a passage from de Lagarde,¹⁰ attributed to Hippolytus, which reads: *ῥυθμοῦ τινὸς ἢ μέλους μεταβολὴν γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ἢ καὶ τρόπου διδασκαλίας εἰς ἕτερον τρόπον ἢ διανοίας ἢ δυνάμεως λόγου ἐνάλλαγμα*.

The explanation given by Origen, XII, 1071, is as follows: *κατὰ δὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καὶ κατὰ Σύμμαχον ἔοικε μουσικοῦ τινος μέλους ἢ ῥυθμοῦ τροπῆς γενομένης ἢ τοῦ διαψάλματος παρακεῖσθαι παρασημείωσις· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διανοίας ἐναλλαγὴ γίνεται ἐν τοῖς διαψάλμασιν ἤδη δὲ καὶ προσώπου μεταβολή*.

Augustine's comment is:

*Interpositum diapsalma vetat istam [locutionem] cum superiore coniungi, sive enim hebraeum verbum sit (sicut quidam volunt) quo significatur Fiat, sive graecum, quo significatur intervallum psallendi, ut psalma sit quod psallitur, diapsalma vero interpositum in psallendo silentium, ut quemadmodum sympsalma dicitur vocum copulatio in cantando, ita diapsalma disiunctio earum, ubi quaedam requies disiunctae continuationis ostenditur—sive ergo illud, sive hoc, sive aliud aliquid sit, certe illud probabile est, non recte continuari et coniungi sensum, ubi diapsalma interponitur.*¹¹

Dr. Jacob¹² gives his view of the testimony of the church fathers on the meaning of *διάψαλμα* as follows:

*Die Kirchenväter hatten keine Tradition darüber, was לָהַב bedeutet, noch warum es gerade mit *διάψαλμα* übersetzt wird. "ו" selbst wird bald vergessen. Was δ. im griechischen Psalter bedeutet, wissen sie ebenso wenig. Alle Erklärungen sind geraten, und die Weisheit eines Jahrtausends über dieses Wort lässt sich knapp genug zusammenfassen: *διάψαλμα* ist ein *δια* im *ψάλλειν*. Den Revers: es ist ein *ψάλλειν δια* (zwischen-durch) zeigen die neueren Erklärungen als "Zwischenspiel" u. ä.*

In spite of this uncertainty as to the meaning of *diapsalma*, there is reason to think that the reading of the LXX approximates the true meaning of *Selah*. This conclusion is of importance,

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. xii, xiii.

¹⁰ *Novae Psalterii Graeci Editionis Specimen*, p. 10.

¹¹ de Lagarde, *Specimen*, p. 10.

¹² *ZATW.*, 1896, p. 181.

even though the meaning of *διάψαλμα*, like that of *Selah*, should remain in doubt; for if *διάψαλμα* fairly represents סלה, then סלה is a liturgical note. The arguments in favor of this conclusion are the following:

1. The ancient Greek version known as the Septuagint was probably not completed before the close of the first century B. C. The Pentateuch, the Prophets, and some of the "Writings" were translated into Greek in all likelihood by the middle of the second century B. C. As the Psalter seems to have been the first of the *Kethib* to receive a place in the canon, it was probably one of the first to be translated. In any case there is no doubt that the Greek Psalter was in existence in the last century B. C.¹³ The period during which *Selah* was in use must extend to a time later than the date of the "Psalms of Solomon" and of the earlier portions of the Jewish Prayer Book. The Psalms of Solomon are assigned to the middle of the first century B. C., in the commentary of Ryle and James, and such of the Jewish prayers as preserve an unquestionable example of *Selah* stand in the oldest portions of the liturgy and date back, in all probability, to the first century A. D., if not earlier. *Selah* was, therefore, certainly in use at the time of the formation of the Greek Psalter. But if this be true, then it is hard to conceive that a term in actual use could have been quite unknown to the Greek translators, or that their rendering is not approximately correct.

2. An additional argument may be drawn from the fact that the LXX preserves *Selahs* that are lacking in the Massoretic text. Jacob, as we have seen, accepts them as authentic on the ground that there is no other way of accounting for them than to suppose that they come from the Hebrew text represented by the LXX. However, it is quite conceivable that there was an independent use of *Selah* among the Hellenistic Jews. This is the view taken by Professor Briggs in the article mentioned,¹⁴ and it is favored by the late examples preserved in the Psalms of Solomon and the Jewish Liturgy, as well as in the later versions of the Psalter.

But whatever opinion may be held as to the origin of the additional *Selahs* in the LXX, it is evident that the version which preserves the most *Selahs* is likely to have preserved with

¹³ See C. A. Briggs, *Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 188-90.

¹⁴ See note 1.

them a correct tradition as to their use; and therefore these additional Selahs afford presumptive evidence in support of the rendering of the LXX.

Dr. Muss-Arnolt gives it as his opinion that "the meaning of selah seems to have been well known to the Greek translators;" and he adds: "Professor Geo. F. Moore, of Andover, Mass., also believes that the Greek translators were acquainted with the significance of selah, and that their translation was not a blundering guess."¹⁵

III. THE THEORIES CONCERNING SELAH.

Modern conjectures as to the meaning and use of Selah are for the most part in the line of the Greek tradition. It will be convenient to classify them as follows: 1) Selah is an abbreviation; 2) Selah indicates strophical division; 3) Selah is a liturgical note.

1. *Selah an abbreviation.*—It has been suggested that Selah is an abbreviation, such as those preserved in the talmudic literature, in which each letter stands for some word of which it is the initial, and the word thus formed represents a complete phrase. Among the phrases which סֵלָה has been supposed to stand for are the following:

a) סִימֵן לְשִׁנוֹת הַקּוֹל = *signum mutandae voces*.

b) כֹּב לְמַעַל הַפֶּסֶק = *da capo*.

But these are only two of the many possible combinations. Who shall tell us which of them all is the true one? It may be said that if Selah is such an abbreviation, it is the only example in the Scriptures.

Bachmann¹⁶ suggests that the ה in סֵלָה is due to a scribal error, and that we should read for סֵלָה the imperative of סָלַח. This, according to his conjecture, represented the phrase לְעֵינֵינוּ סָלַח, which became a liturgical formula (such as *Kýrie éléησον*), and of which סֵלָה is all that remains to us. The theory is purely speculative, and a hasty glance through the Psalter is sufficient to convince one that Selah frequently stands where a petition for *forgiveness in behalf of enemies*¹⁷ would be entirely out of place (cf. Pss. 59:6, 14; 62:5; 140:4, 6, 9; 9:17; 7:6; 50:15, etc.).

¹⁵ *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, 1890, p. 76.

¹⁶ In his *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 41 sq.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 46.

TABLE OF SELAH PSALMS (COMPLETE).¹⁸

	למנצח WITH					
	מזמור	משכיל	מכתם	שיר	NONE	
Asaph.....	75† 76† 77 80			75† 76†	81 (LXX ψαλμὸς)	
David.....	4 20 62 6 21 68† 9 31 140 19 39	52 54 55	57 59 60	68†	61 70	
Korah.....	47 88† 49 (Heman) 84 85	44 88†		46 88†		
Orphan	66† 67† (LXX τῷ Δαυιδ)			66† 67†		
	למנצח WITHOUT					
	מזמור	משכיל	מכתם	שיר	NONE	שגיון
Asaph.....	50 82 83†			83†		
David.....	3 24 30† ¹⁹ 143	32		30†	34 37	7 ¹⁹
Korah.....	48† 87†			48† 87†		
Ethan.....		89				
Orphan.....					2 115 94 ²⁰ 119 107	

¹⁸ The mark † indicates that the psalm has more than one descriptive term in its title. The change in type distinguishes the Selah psalms of the Hebrew Psalter from those taken from the Versions.

¹⁹ LXX εἰς τὸ τέλος.

²⁰ LXX ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ.

2. *Selah a strophical division.*—Selah has been interpreted as marking strophical division, especially in doubtful places.²¹ In favor of this theory is the fact that Selah frequently stands at the close of a psalm strophe. Against it is the use of Selah in the Hebrew prayers and in Pss. 20:4; 55:8; 67:2; 68:8, 33; 85:3; Hab. 3:3, etc. Dalman²² suggests that סֶלָה = σελῆς = *spatium inter lineas*. He claims the support of the LXX for this conjecture.

3. *Selah a liturgical note.*—The majority of modern scholars regard Selah as a liturgical note. Under this head may be grouped the various speculations as to its meaning and use. These are: (a) that Selah is a musical note; (b) that it is a summons to prayer; (c) that it indicates a stop, or break—the end of a section.

The probability that διάψαλμα is a liturgical note, and the uncertainty as to its exact meaning, make it possible to quote the LXX reading in support of each of these several interpretations.

If Selah is a liturgical note, the psalms containing it may be expected to show other signs of liturgical use. A rapid look through the Selah psalms is enough to convince one of their fitness for public worship. Many of them were incorporated in the Jewish Liturgy. Many contain references to Zion, the temple, sacrificial worship, a worshipping assembly, and the like. Few are without marks of fitness for liturgical use. The titles of the most of these psalms assign them to one or other of the three early psalters, *i. e.*, those of David, Asaph, and the Korahites. The exceptions are Pss. 2, 66, 67, 89, 94, 107, 115, 119. Of these psalms, 89 is ascribed to Ethan in the Massoretic text; 67 and 94 to David in the LXX; 66 is entitled שִׁיר בְּמִזְמֹר; 119 is not accepted by Dr. Jacob as a Selah psalm, while 107 and 115 are regarded by him with suspicion. This leaves Ps. 2 as the only example of an accredited Selah psalm with no liturgical mark in the title. In the Hebrew Psalter every Selah psalm bears such a mark.²³

a) *Selah a musical note.*—It has been maintained that סֶלָה is from a substantive סָל (סָלֵל), and that it refers to the music, having the meaning *loud*, *forte*.²⁴ However, such a term would

²¹ So Dr. Julius Ley, *Rhythmus d. Hebr. Poesie*, 1875, pp. 63 sq.

²² *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, No. 21.

²³ For an inductive study of these psalms see Professor Briggs' article in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII, Part I.

²⁴ So Ewald, *Dichter d. Alt. Bundes*, I, p. 232; Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, p. 83; cf. also Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache*, I, 2, § 837: 66.

be quite inappropriate in Pss. 4:4; 32:4; 77:4, 10; 85:3; 88:8; 89:46, 49; 143:6, and similar passages, in so far as it has reference either to a musical accompaniment or to a musical interlude; moreover, it leaves the Selahs in the Jewish Prayer Book unaccounted for.

Again, the word has been interpreted as a sign for the instruments to strike up, or come into prominence, *i. e.*, for a *musical interlude*.²⁶ This is also the common interpretation of *διάψαλμα*, *Zwischenspiel*, and the LXX is supposed to afford strong support to this theory. The support, however, depends on the correctness of the interpretation for *διάψαλμα*, which is a matter of dispute. The passages which are the most difficult of explanation on this theory are Pss. 20:4; 21:3; 52:3, 5; 55:8; 67:2; 68:8, 33; 85:3, and others, wherein the train of thought would be broken by an interlude or a pause of any kind. This objection will hold good also against the derivation of Selah from סלה = שלה *to be silent*, which makes it a sign for a pause in the singing. On this etymology Muss-Arnolt makes the following criticism: "שלה does not mean 'to be silent,' but 'to be quiet.' . . . ס never interchanges with ש, except in doubtful words; Ps. 9:17 would now mean: music! pause!"²⁸

The most recent contribution to this class of theories is that of J. K. Zenner.²⁷ It is severely criticised by Beer.²⁸ Zenner's proposal is that סלה and *διάψαλμα* both mean "Zwiegesang"—*duo*; and that the use of the word in the Psalter shows that the psalms were sung by more than one choir, and also indicates where the choirs were to alternate.

P. Cassel²⁹ proposes the theory that the musical notes, which appear in the Psalter and have been found so difficult to explain, are for the most part translations or transliterations of technical Greek terms, not understood and therefore wrongly pointed by the Massorites. His interpretation of Selah is as follows:

Es bedeutet ψάλλε als Anweisung, dass das Spiel wieder einfällt. Dass ס statt ψ steht, kann nicht auffallen. Im Attischen vertritt ψ vielfach ein einfaches σ, wie ψιττακός und σιττακός; ס vertritt ebenso in

²⁶ See the lexicon of Siegfried and Stade; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*, Vol. II; Schultz, *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, A, 6^{te} Abt., p. 22.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁸ *Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen*. Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1896.

²⁹ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for March 6, 1897 (Vol. XVIII, No. 9).

³⁰ *Kritisches Sendschreiben über die Probekibel*, 1885, pp. 92, 93.

hebräischen Worten sowohl ξ (סִי = ξίφος) als ψ. Auch im Mittelalter kommt neben Psalterion, Salterion vor, französisch saltier oder sautiers.³⁰

Baethgen, however, discredits this proposal on the ground of the retention of the *p* sound in פִּסְנִיָּרִי = ψαλτήριον Dan. 3:5.³¹

The appearance of הַגִּיּוֹן before סֵלָה in Ps. 9:17 has been used as an argument in favor of the view that Selah refers to the musical accompaniment. There is no fixed tradition as to the meaning of הַגִּיּוֹן. The meanings assigned to it in the new edition of the Robinson-Gesenius Hebrew Lexicon³² are: (1) "resounding music," (2) "meditation, musing." It is clear that the sense of הַגִּיּוֹן in this particular passage will be determined by the meaning attributed to סֵלָה, and not *vice versa*. Dr. Muss-Arnolt, for example, in accordance with his theory concerning Selah, prefers the second meaning and interprets סֵלָה הַגִּיּוֹן as "addressed to the congregation: here is a call for meditation and prayer!" However, the rendering of the LXX φῶδὴ διαψάλλματος certainly favors the view that Selah here had some connection with the musical rendering.

Some of the objections against this class of theories would be met if, instead of attempting to limit the application of Selah to instruments or voices, or to the manner of singing or playing, one were to regard Selah as simply indicating some change in the musical rendering.

The early Christian tradition, as we have seen, gives support to the view that Selah is a musical note. So also does the presence of musical terms in the titles and text of many of the Selah psalms. In his article on Selah³³ Professor Briggs shows the strength of this argument, reaching the conclusion that "there is a very close connection between the use of סֵלָה and the use of musical terms in the Director's Psalter," and that "this makes it probable that סֵלָה was a term used with reference to the musical rendering of the Psalms."

It is noteworthy in this connection that διάψαλμα in Hab. 3:3 is replaced by μεταβολή διαψάλλματος in Cod. 86a, although the ordinary reading is given by Cod. 86b, Complutensis and Variants.³⁴

³⁰ *Kritisches Sendschreiben über die Probebibel*, 1885, p. 96.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. xiii.

³² Edited by Drs. Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

³³ See footnote 1.

³⁴ Compare for the text Klostermann's *Analecta z. Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik*, Leipzig, 1895.

b) *Selah a call to prayer.*—In the *Johns Hopkins University Circular* for May, 1890, p. 76, Dr. Muss-Arnolt writes as follows: "I believe that the original meaning of *selah* is *prayer*. (1) As to the etymology, I consider it a Piel form; *selah* stands for *sallah* as *ehad* for *ahhad* (so also Haupt after Kimchi); it is derived from the stem סלה, occurring frequently in Assyrian; e. g., *usalli* 'I prayed,' *sullû* = *hassitum*, 'prayer,' V Rawl., 26, 52, *ab* (written *su(!)-ul-lu-u*); *sulâ* (written *su(!)la-a*), 'beseeching,' *Z. Assyri.*, IV, 11; *silûtu*, 'a prayer-mantle,' V Rawl., 14 and 28, etc. (2) The meaning 'prayer' is suitable in all cases, especially so in the later Jewish liturgy (pointed out to me by Dr. B. Szold and Dr. Jastrow, Sr.); it signified prayer—loud or silent—interwoven between the chanting of the psalms. This also gives a good meaning to *διάψαλμα* = (a prayer) between the psalm."

The question as to the derivation of סלה will be considered later. In the meantime a careful examination of the uses of *Selah* shows that the meaning thus attributed to it, while suitable in many cases, is not satisfactory in all. It is not suitable, for instance, in psalms in which *Selah* occurs every few verses, such as Pss. 3, 32, 46, 52, 66, 67, 77, 84, 87, etc.; or in such passages as Pss. 20:4; 21:3; 52:5; 55:8; 57:4; 67:2; 68:8; 82:2; 85:3, etc., where *Selah* stands between lines connected through parallelism or progress in the thought.

c) *Selah marking the close of a section in psalm or prayer.*—In *ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 137 sq., Jacob presents information as to the liturgical customs of the second temple. He begins his investigation with the seven psalms appointed for the morning *Tamid*; that is, with Pss. 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92 (one for each day in the week). Of this list Pss. 24, 48, 81, 82, and (according to the LXX) 94 have *Selah*. It is related in the *Mishna* (*Tamid*, iv, 4) that the last act of the morning *Tamid* was the libation, during which it was customary for the Levites to sing שיר. Whenever they came to the close of a section, the priests sounded on the trumpets and the people prostrated themselves (השתחויו). Jacob regards *Selah* as the sign for the close of a section. In the *Mishna* (*Succa*, v, 3) it is stated that twenty-one blasts of the trumpet are to be heard in the temple daily, and that nine of these occur at the morning *Tamid*, three being given at a time. The first of this threefold succession of blasts preceded the Levites'

song. The second probably served as the signal for prostration at the close of a section ; that is, according to Jacob, where *Selah* stands in the psalm. None of the five *Tamid* psalms with *Selah* contains it more than once. Jacob suggests, therefore, that the third series of blasts served as signal to the musical conductor that the pause was over and that the singing might begin again. He explains the absence of *Selah* in Pss. 92, 93 and (in the Hebrew) 94 by referring to the fact that *Selah* does not appear at all in the fourth book of the Psalter, to which these psalms belong.

Another series of psalms used in the temple worship was that appointed for the Feast of Tabernacles ; namely, Pss. 29 ; 50:16 *sq.* ; 94:16 *sq.* ; 94:8 *sq.* ; 81:7 *sq.* ; 82:5*b sq.* ; 65 (according to b. *Succa*, 53*a*). Of these psalms the following have *Selah* : Ps. 50:6 (and vs. 15 according to LXX) ; 81:8 ; 82:2 ; 94:15 (according to LXX) ; while Pss. 29 and 65 are without it. But even in the psalms where it occurs its position does not, for the most part, correspond with the beginning of the strophe or section appointed for use. Jacob attributes this fact to erroneous tradition, and corrects as follows : 81:9 *sq.* for 81:7 *sq.* ; 82:3 *sq.* for 82:5*b sq.* ; and possibly 50:7 *sq.* for 50:16 *sq.*³⁵ He thinks that Pss. 29 and 65 were sung from beginning to end without break, and therefore required no *Selah*.

Jacob reaches the conclusion that “*Sela* bedeutet einen Absatz im Tempelgesang der Leviten,” and again that “סֵלָה bedeutet einen Absatz, sei es im Tempelgesange, sei es für den Tempelgesang. Alle Psalmen mit ׳ס weisen sich dadurch als Gesänge der Tempelliturgie aus.”³⁶ He strengthens his argument by showing that other of the *Selah* psalms are mentioned in the Talmud as used in the temple ritual, and by calling attention to the liturgical character of the psalms themselves, with special reference to their titles and to the priestly benedictions with which some of them conclude (see Pss. 3, 21, 31, 48, 66, 68).

Jacob explains the absence of *Selah* from the Hallel as follows : “Das Hallel ist ohne Unterbrechung von 113–118 als ein einziger Hymnus zur Begleitung des Schlachtens und Blutsprengens vorgetragen worden, und darum treffen wir in ihm kein ׳ס, welches eben sonst Anzeige einer Unterbrechung ist.”³⁷ Of the

³⁵ For his argument see *ZATW.*, 1896, pp. 143, 144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.

Pilgrim Songs he writes: "Wie sie auch gesungen sein mögen, mit oder ohne Absätze, so hat 'ס kein Platz in ihnen. Denn wurden sie in Absätzen gesungen, so bilden eben die Psalmen selbst die Absätze."³⁸ Jacob makes no attempt at an etymological explanation, nor does he seek the support of the versions. He considers it impossible to discover the exact meaning of סלה (and apparently also of *διάψαλμα*). He contents himself with presenting a theory as to its use.³⁹

It is evident from this account of the temple ritual that not only whole psalms, but parts of psalms, were sung according to appointment. But if this was true of the temple service, why not also of the service in the synagogues? Jacob's limitation of such a use for Selah to the *temple liturgy* raises many difficulties in the way of the acceptance of his theory.

Without attempting to meet these difficulties or to discuss the merits of this conjecture, let us confine ourselves to the question whether Selah may not serve simply to mark off a section in psalm or prayer. In the first place it may be taken for granted that wherever Selah can be interpreted as indicating a musical interlude, a pause in the singing, a place for the trumpets to sound, for prostration or for prayer—in all such passages it can serve as the sign for *breaking off*; that is, it can mark off a section in the psalm. Indeed, it must be at least this in order to serve any of the above-named purposes. To give Selah this significance is not to deny the possibility of any of those uses. Thus Jacob regards Selah as indicating in the Tamid "die Pause im Levitengesang, in welcher auf einen dreifachen Trompetenstos der beiden Priester das anwesende Volk sich zur Anbetung niederwarf;" and again in the ritual for the Feast of Tabernacles as marking "den Absatz, bei welchem ein selbständiger Gesang in der Tempelliturgie begann."⁴⁰ In short, this theory makes Selah serve the simple purpose of indicating the sections into which a psalm may be divided, when the exigencies of liturgical service render such a division desirable.

This explanation meets one of the chief difficulties raised against the preceding theories; i. e., the presence of Selah between verses which are closely connected in thought. It is quite conceivable that the sections of Pss. 20, 21, 67, 68, 85, etc., and of Hab., chap. 3, as marked by Selah, may have been used separately;

³⁸ ZATW., 1896, p. 160.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-3, 181.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 144.

although it is difficult to explain *Selah* as indicating an *intermission* (whether for music, prayer, or meditation) which would be an interruption as well. This use would also explain the repetition of *Selah* in short psalms.

TABLE SHOWING THE POSITION OF SELAH IN THE PSALTER.

AT CLOSE OF SECTION				AT END OF PSALM	WITH CITATIONS	UNEX- PLAINED
2:2, 6	34:11	61:5b	82:2	3:9	44:9	2:4, 5
3:3, 5	37:4	62:5, 9	83:9	9:21	55:8	7:13a
4:3, 5	39:6, 12	66:4, 7, 15	84:5, 8, 9	24:10	57:7	20:4
6:4	46:4, 8	67:5	87:3, 6	46:12	60:6	49:14
7:6, 9a	47:5	68:17, 20,	88:8, 13		67:2	57:3, 4a
9:17	48:9	26, 32	89:38, 46, 49		68:8, 33	61:5a
19:5a	49:16	70:5	94:15		89:5	68:4a,
21:3, 6	50:6, 15	75:4	107:30			14, 15
24:6	52:5, 7	76:4, 10	115:3			70:3
30:4	54:5	77:4, 10, 16	119:19			85:3
31:22	55:20a	80:8	140:4, 6, 9			88:11
32:4, 5, 7	59:6, 14	81:8	143:6			

There are seventy-six cases in which *Selah* appears between sections in the psalms. In almost every case the division is clearly marked. In every case *Selah* may well serve the purpose which this theory attributes to it.

The position of *Selah* at the close of Pss. 3, 9, 24, 46 seems at first sight difficult to reconcile with this interpretation. It should be noticed that *Selah* is lacking in the LXX at the end of three of these psalms (3, 24, 46), while in the fourth it no longer stands at the end, as Pss. 9 and 10 form one psalm in the Greek text. However, there is no difficulty in explaining these examples, supposing them to be genuine. *Selah* could be used at the close of a psalm, in accordance with this theory, whenever psalms were grouped together in the ritual, or whenever the final section or verse of a psalm was placed in combination with other passages. Pss. 3, 24, 46 are used repeatedly, in part or as complete psalms, in such combinations, in the Hebrew Prayer Book. It is reasonable to suppose that these psalms were early used in combination with other psalms by the Hebrews in their public worship; since they have been so used to our knowledge for many centuries.

It is not surprising to find *Selah* used with citations. In Ps. 44:9 it stands just before a citation from Ps. 60:12; in Ps. 55:8 it follows one from Jer. 9:1. Pss. 57:8-12 and 60:7-14 reappear in Ps. 108. *Selah* stands in 57:7 and 60:6, in each case just

between the duplicate section and the rest of the psalm. The citation from Numb. 6:24, 25 at the beginning of Ps. 67 is followed by Selah. It appears also in Ps. 89:5 after the passage taken from 2 Sam. 7:16, and in Ps. 68:33 before the citation from Deut. 33:26. The position of Selah in Ps. 68:8 is not so easy to explain. Vss. 8 *sq.* bear a striking resemblance to Judg. 5:4^{sq.} But Selah here stands neither before nor after, but in the midst of, a citation. It seems to be out of place. The use of Selah in this psalm is so very questionable that it seems reasonable to suppose that this particular Selah once stood at the close of the preceding verse, just before the citation. Certainly no theory has yet been proposed which would explain it in its present position.

There remain fourteen examples to be explained. The Selahs in Ps. 2:4, 5 are probably due to dittography. Jacob, comparing with them the Selah in vs. 6, considers that there are probably two examples of dittography in this psalm. The Selah in vs. 6 has been retained in the table, as it stands at the close of a strophe; but there is no difficulty in explaining either of the remaining Selahs, as the verses which precede them may readily be used by themselves. The same thing is true of 70:3 (although here one is tempted to transpose the Selah to vs. 4), and of 85:3 (although here again the Selah seems to belong rather to the close of the following verse). In Ps. 7:13a it is possible that the Selah is in place. True, there is a break between vs. 15 and the preceding verses, so that at first thought one is tempted to transpose the Selah to the close of vs. 14. But vs. 13a would form a more suitable ending to a psalm than vs. 14. If any such change has taken place, it is more probable that the Selah stood originally at the close of vs. 12. The Selah in 88:11 of the Massoretic text is very likely an error for the one given in vs. 13 by the LXX. In Ps. 20:4 the Selah is easily accounted for, even though there is no break in the thought; as it is quite conceivable that vss. 1-4 may have been used at times independently of the rest of the psalm. The Selah in Ps. 49:14 probably belongs at the close of vs. 13, that is, at the close of a strophe; just as the other Selah in this psalm stands at the end of the next strophe (vs. 16). Ps. 57:3, 4a is probably a case of dittography. The LXX supports the Selah in vs. 3, the Hebrew and one MS. of the Greek text the Selah in vs. 4a. The former is, on the whole, the

better position for Selah, but neither is untenable. Ps. 61:5*a* of the LXX = 61:5*b* of the Massorah. In 68:4*a* the Selah is not impossible to explain, although it would seem more suitably placed at the close of the verse. In vss. 14, 15 we have probably another example of dittography.⁴¹ The usage in this psalm is remarkable. The Hebrew text places Selah in vss. 8, 20, 33; the Septuagint in vss. 4*a*, 8, 14, 20, 33; Holmes-Parsons in vss. 4*a*, 14, 15, 32, 33; and the Psalterium Vetus in vss. 4, 14, 17, 26—nine Selahs in one psalm, and several of them difficult to explain on any of the theories. One is tempted to regard these as examples of transposition or dittography.

Thus there are but few uses of Selah which cause any difficulty, and only one of these (Ps. 49:14) is in the Hebrew text. There is no accredited example in the Psalter which cannot be explained in a reasonable way according to the theory that Selah divides the psalm into sections for liturgical use.

In Hab. 3:3*a*, 9*a* Selah seems at first sight to be out of place, but examination shows that we have here examples of the use of Selah with citations. Vs. 3*a* should be compared with Deut. 33:2; vss. 9*b* sq. with Ps. 77:17–21. In connection with the use of Selah in vs. 9*a* Dr. Driver's statement may be quoted: "Ps. 77:16–19 agrees so closely with Hab. 3:10–15 that one of the two must be dependent upon the other."⁴² Compare with this Dr. Cheyne's comment on Ps. 77:17–20: "These verses are on a different model from that of the rest of the psalm, being tristichs. They do not cohere well either with vss. 14–16 or with vs. 21. They are lyric, not reflective, in tone and style, and have the appearance of having been taken from some other poem."⁴³ This portion of Ps. 77 is separated from the rest of the psalm by Selah. It is not surprising, therefore, that Selah should appear in Hab. 3:9. In the LXX vs. 9*a* concludes with λέγει κύριος, and is thus distinctly separated from the following passage.

According to the text of Cod. 86*b*, as given in Klostermann's *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig, 1895), διάψαλμα stands at the close of vs. 14, εἰς τέλος taking its place in vs. 13 both in this text and in the Complutensis. Neither example raises any difficulty, and the question as to the genuineness of the reading may be left undecided. The usage in Habakkuk, as it seems, is favorable to this interpretation of Selah.

⁴¹ So Dr. Jacob. ⁴² *Literature of Old Testament*, p. 318. ⁴³ *The Book of Psalms*, p. 216.

We must now consider the use of *Selah* outside of the Scriptures. There are two examples in the Psalms of Solomon, namely, in Pss. 17 and 18, the most important in the collection. Both are Messianic, Ps. 17 setting forth a lofty conception of the Messiah. Ps. 18 appears in two fragments. Vss. 1–10 are not logically connected with vss. 11–14. The change of subject is so complete that it is suggested in the commentary of Ryle and James that the second fragment properly forms a new psalm. The remark is made that

Against this idea it may be urged that a *διάψαλμα* is inserted by all MSS. save *one* (M), and that that one's evidence is invalidated by the fact that it omits all titles and subscriptions. We at once admit the practical absence of external support, for we lay little stress on the evidence of M.⁴⁴

But, according to the theory we are now considering, *διάψαλμα* itself suggests such a division as these editors, for other reasons, are inclined to make. One of the two examples in the Psalter of Solomon strongly favors the proposed interpretation for *Selah*.

On *διάψαλμα* in Ps. 17:31 the following comment is made:

Omitted by the Moscow MS. Very likely it is not genuine, any more than the other one in Ps. 18:10, where we believe that a longer pause ought to be expressed. It may have been put in in both places by the man who wrote the titles of our psalms, in order to assimilate them more closely in outward form to the Davidic collection. Against this is the fact that only two are to be found in the whole book. If genuine, they point to a liturgical use of these psalms, of which we have no other trace.⁴⁵

As to these suggestions it may be remarked: a) that we have just seen what good reason the editors themselves have for retaining the *διάψαλμα* in Ps. 18:10; b) that the fact that *Selah* occurs but twice in the whole collection is sufficient to discredit the conjecture that they were inserted "in order to assimilate [these psalms] more closely . . . to the Davidic collection." c) Over against the objection to a liturgical use for these psalms may be placed the following statements, taken from the Introduction, pp. xxv, lix, lx:

The Psalms, according to most critics, were written in Hebrew for liturgical use. They probably would not be so used save in the near neighborhood of Jerusalem, etc.

⁴⁴ Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, p. 148.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

There follows an argument based on this assumption. Again :

It is possible that the whole collection was intended for public, or even for liturgical, use. The occurrence of "Selah" (διάλαμα) in 17:31; 18:10, if originally part of the text, and not introduced out of mere imitation of the canonical Psalter, would go to support this view. Similarly, if the titles of Pss. 8, 10, 14 are genuine, they would indicate that these psalms at least were originally designed for adaptation to music.

To return to Ps. 17:31. It may be well to quote vss. 30-32, as the use of Selah in this passage is one to raise questions. The Messiah and his kingdom are being described :

Vs. 30. For he shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God, and shall divide them upon the earth according to their tribes.

Vs. 31. And the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more.

He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness. *Selah.*

Vs. 32. And he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth, etc.⁴⁶

At first sight Selah seems to be out of place; but on a closer look it becomes apparent that vs. 32 might be connected with vs. 31a as easily as with vs. 31b, so that the connection between vss. 31 and 32 is not so close but that a Selah could intervene. The explanation is simple, if it be remembered that Selah does not indicate, according to this theory, a *necessary*, but a *permissible* division in the psalm, and only shows that the section thus marked off may be omitted when advisable. Vs. 31b would form the most fitting conclusion for a stanza to be found in this portion of the psalm. On the other hand it is quite conceivable that this half of vs. 31 may have been quoted by itself in the same way in which Pss. 3:8; 46:7, and like passages from the canonical Psalter are incorporated repeatedly in the various parts of the Jewish Prayer Book. It reminds one of Pss. 96:13b; 98:9b from the Hallel.

Thus the two examples of Selah in the Psalms of Solomon favor the interpretation now under consideration. The passages in the Jewish Liturgy remain for examination.

We have first to consider the five authenticated examples; namely, those in the שמונה עשרה and those in the morning benedictions preceding the שמע.

⁴⁶ Byle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, pp. 139-41.

The third of the eighteen benedictions reads as follows: "Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and holy beings praise thee daily. (*Selah*.) Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God."⁴⁷ There is no difficulty in explaining the use of this benediction (or of the first three benedictions out of the eighteen) apart from the rest. We have already seen that the first three and the last three are accounted by scholars to be the most ancient of these ancient blessings. Not only so, but they are used more frequently than the rest, and this third benediction occurs repeatedly by itself in the Prayer Book. The only difficulty lies in the position of *Selah* in the midst of the blessing. Even this difficulty is removed, however, when one turns to the *Authorised Prayer Book* (p. 239), and there, among the references to the parts of the book containing the prayers for the New Year service, reads this direction: "For the commencement of the Amidah, see pp. 136-8, from 'O Lord, open thou my lips,' to '*praise thee daily*. (*Selah*.)' Then continue: etc."⁴⁸ It is customary, therefore, in the Jewish ritual to omit the words following *Selah* in this third benediction, on certain occasions. This is exactly what an advocate of our theory would have been likely to suggest as an explanation of the original use of *Selah* in this passage, had there been no such liturgical direction to support his theory. In the eighteenth benediction *Selah* occurs twice. The immediate context is as follows: "and everything that liveth shall give thanks unto thee *forever* (Hebr. סלה), and shall praise thy name in truth, O God, our salvation and our help. (Hebr. סלה left here untranslated.) Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is All-good, and unto whom it is becoming to give thanks."⁴⁹ These words come at the close of what is the longest of the eighteen benedictions. Both *Selahs* may be explained on the supposition that they indicate how the prayer may be shortened, or where extracts may be made.

In the prayer beginning אל ברוך גדול דעה *Selah* occurs at the end as follows: "Be thou blessed, O Lord our God, for the excellency of thy handiwork, and for the bright luminaries which thou hast made: they shall glorify thee *forever*" (Hebr. סלה).⁵⁰ It is difficult to judge of this passage, unless one knows whether it stood originally by itself or not. Jacob speaks of this and the

⁴⁷ Cf. *Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ *Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 53.

⁴⁹ Cf. also pp. 245, 256.

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 38.

prayer which is next to be considered as "the morning benedictions before the Shema." These two prayers are separated by a short passage which bears some marks of a late date. A portion of it, however, resembles our "benedictions" and may well have formed part of an original series of benedictions now imbedded in later prayers or lost entirely. In the absence of proof, however, this must be counted among the doubtful uses.

The prayer beginning with the words "אהבה רבה אהבתנו" אלהינו closes thus: "Thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues, and hast brought us near unto thy great name *forever* (Hebr. סלה) in faithfulness, that we might in love give thanks unto thee and proclaim thy unity. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love."⁵¹ How shall we explain Selah in this passage? As an example of misplacement, because it might well stand before the "Blessed art thou," after the example of benedictions 3 and 18? or as indicating the possibility of closing the prayer with the words "unto thy great name"? Both explanations are purely conjectural, and yet either one suits the case much better than those afforded by any of the other interpretations proposed for Selah.

Of the examples that remain two are clearly not genuine, and the others are of questionable origin. One of these appears at the close of the prayer appointed for the sabbath preceding the new moon, following the *amen*. Its originality has been doubted on the ground that it is lacking in this prayer as quoted in the Talmud. But whether this Selah be genuine or not, it might be explained on the assumption that it indicated a permissible break or close for this portion of the liturgy, the only difficulty being its presence after the *amen*.

The last example is that which occurs in the brief blessing: "May he who bestowed all good on thee bestow all good on thee. *Selah*." This benediction may have originally formed one of a group. But as nothing certain is known as to its date or original context, we have no means of judging as to the authenticity of the Selah. Certainly it does not count against our theory.

Thus it is evident that, in spite of a few doubtful cases, all of which may be explained in one way or another, the *use* of Selah is accounted for in a reasonable manner by the theory that it marks the end of a section, or the secondary close, in psalm or

⁵¹ *Authorized Prayer Book*, p. 40.

prayer. This is the only one of the theories considered which has satisfied all the requirements of the case. The support of the LXX may be claimed for it, and it is favored by such traditions concerning the temple ritual as are preserved to us in the Talmud.

The Jewish tradition as to the meaning of Selah and the early Christian tradition as to the meaning of *διάψαλμα* still remain to be accounted for. In his recent article on Selah,⁵² Professor Briggs offers an explanation which seems to reconcile this conflicting testimony, to do justice to the modern theories here discussed, and to throw light upon the use as well as upon the meaning of Selah. He suggests that when a section of psalm or prayer was used apart from its context in liturgical service, it was followed by a doxology: so that סלה marked the place for a doxology. Psalter and Prayer Book alike bear testimony to the early fondness of the Jews for the doxology. Graetz⁵³ writes as follows: "Zum Schlusse des Psalmes oder der Psalmgruppe pflegte der Liturge noch eine *Doxologie* hinzuzufügen;" and again, referring to the benedictions at the close of Pss. 41, 72, 89, 106, he writes: "Die Benediction gehört . . . keinesweges ausschliesslich diesen vier Psalmen an, sondern war bei jeder Recitation irgend eines Psalmes in Gebrauch."

Baethgen⁵⁴ quotes Jacob of Edessa (Bar Hebr. 10:1) in the following words:

In einigen . . . Exemplaren ist statt *διάψαλμα* בכל זֶכֶר (d. i. *dei*) geschrieben. Nämlich allenthalben wo die Sänger, welche Gott mit Lobliedern priesen, ihre Worte abbrachen, musste das zuhörende Volk nach ihnen dies "immer" anstimmen, sozusagen: immer sei Gott gelobt und gepriesen durch diese Loblieder, ebenso wie bei uns in der Kirche nach dem "jetzt und immerdar und in alle Ewigkeit" das Volk zur Bestätigung "amen" sagt.

Baethgen's comment is:

Diese Erklärung würde sachlich völlig befriedigen; es ist aber nicht erklärt und lässt sich nicht erklären, wie סֶלָה zu der Bedeutung *dei* kommen sollte.

But if the rendering of the Jewish-Palestinian versions is the last word of a doxology, used according to ancient custom to represent the whole doxology; and if Selah marks the place where this doxology was used, then indeed it is easy to explain how Selah

⁵² See footnote 1.

⁵³ *Comm. z. d. Psalmen*, pp. 63, 92.

⁵⁴ *Handkommentar z. Alt. Testament*, II, 2, p. xii.

came to have the meaning of *âel*. According to this view the Jewish tradition preserves not the meaning, but the use, of Selah, as marking the place for a benediction.

Professor Briggs explains the early Christian tradition by the fact that such benedictions were usually sung or chanted; so that the place marked by *διάψαλμα* was frequently the place for a change in the music. This conclusion harmonizes with the result reached by him in his inductive study of the Selah psalms; namely, that Selah "indicates some kind of a change in the musical rendering." It also seems to meet the requirements of scholars who have been led to think that Selah marked the place for prayer, for a change of some kind in the music, for a pause in the service, and the like.

There is some doubt as to the etymology of סֶלָה. Scholars differ as to its derivation in accordance with their different views as to its meaning. Origen transliterates סֶלָה by *σελ*. This looks as though the ה were an addition to the stem. In that case סֶלָה would be the imperative of סָלַל "to lift up," and סֶלָה would be the cohortative imperative.⁵⁵

Jacob suggests that the Massorites, not understanding Selah, but accepting the traditional Hebrew interpretation that it was a synonym for נִצַּח, pointed accordingly סֶלָה, the patach becoming qāmes before ה.⁵⁶ Compare with this the pointing of the divine name יְהוָה. This explanation seems more satisfactory than the usual one, that the pointing is that of the imperative in pause. The meaning which this derivation gives to Selah, *i. e.*, *Lift up* (the voice in a doxology), corresponds with the service which the word seems to have rendered.

Our examination of the various conjectures as to the meaning and use of Selah has led to the following conclusions:

- a) That Selah does not mean *forever*, but it marks the place for a doxology ending in *forever*.
- b) That Selah does not indicate the close of a strophe, but it usually stands at the end of one.
- c) That Selah is not an abbreviation, but the word by which it is translated in many versions represents an entire sentence.
- d) That Selah was not a musical note, but it indicated the place for the singing of the doxology with such musical changes as custom may have dictated.

⁵⁵ Cf. C. A. Briggs, as quoted in footnote 1.

⁵⁶ *ZATW.*, 1896, p. 173.

e) That Selah was not, strictly speaking, a call to prayer, and yet it marked the place where psalm or prayer might be brought to a close with a doxology.

f) That Selah was a liturgical direction, providing for the *lifting up* of the voices in a doxology at the close of a liturgical section, and indicating the proper division of psalm or prayer in liturgical usage.

This seems to have been the significance of Selah. It is a meaning in harmony with the rendering of the versions, with the simplest and most commonly accepted derivation, and with the usage of the word in the Scriptures, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Hebrew Liturgy. It seems to satisfy all the requirements of the case. But supposing that it does so, there still remain many questions which call for an answer. How are we to account for the absence of Selah from 100 or more of the 150 psalms of the canonical Psalter and from 16 out of the 18 psalms of Solomon? Granting that there was an early as well as a late use of Selah, was there any difference between them? Was there an independent use of Selah among the Jews of the dispersion? Questions such as these remain for the consideration of scholars.

ON A PASSAGE IN THE BABYLONIAN NIMROD EPIC.

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In the great epic poem celebrating the exploits of the Babylonian Nimrod Gilgameš—of course identical with the king Gilgames mentioned in Aelian, *Περὶ Ζῴων*, XII, 21—it is related that the hero, being afflicted by the goddess Ištar with a loathsome disease, apparently *lues venerea*,¹ determines to seek the aid of his ancestor, the Babylonian Noah, Xisouthros, who had been miraculously preserved from the universal destruction at the time of the deluge, and had been translated, endowed with immortality, to the Island of the Blessed “at the mouth of the rivers.” This means, of course, the mysterious region at the confluence of the four rivers of Paradise, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Karoon, and the Kerkha, at the northern shore of the Persian gulf.²

After a series of wonderful adventures, Gilgameš reaches the shore of the waters of death and is ferried over by the ferryman, Arad-Ea. On his arrival at the Island of the Blessed he is met by his ancestor Xisouthros, who, after giving him an account of his miraculous preservation in the great flood, heals him of his disease by means of magical rites and purifying baths, and, as a parting gift, informs him how to obtain a certain wonderful plant which has the power of imparting perpetual youth. Gilgameš, following the instructions of his ancestor, obtains the coveted plant and embarks with it on his homeward journey to Erech, in company with the ferryman of the waters of death, Arad-Ea. On reaching the farther shore he travels toward Erech, but, stopping to drink at a fountain of cool water, he is startled by a demon in the form of a serpent and drops the plant, which is immediately seized and carried off by the evil deity. Lamenting the irreparable loss he resumes his journey, and finally arrives at Erech.

¹ See the interesting paper on this subject by the Vienna dermatologist, Dr. J. K. Proksch, entitled “Syphilis in Ancient Babylonia and Assyria,” published in *Unna's Dermatological Monthly*, Vol. XII (1891).

² See Professor Haupt's article, “Wo lag das Paradies?” in *Ueber Land und Meer*, 1894-95, No. 15.

Lines 300–301 of the eleventh tablet (Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*, p. 148), describing the homeward journey before the adventure at the fountain, read as follows: ana ešra KAS.BU iksupū kusāpu, ana šelaša KAS.BU iškunū nābattu. Lines 318–19, which are identical, refer to the progress toward Erech after the loss of the magic plant. The late George Smith read in the first passage the figures 10 and 20 instead of 20 and 30, respectively, and Delitzsch's edition of the text in his *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3d ed., 1885, p. 109, l. 269) has the same reading. Professor Haupt's collation of the text, however, makes it evident that the figures 20 and 30 must be read in both cases (cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, Vol. I, p. 144). The same words also occur in ll. 44–5 of the fragment relating to the adventure with the tyrant Khumbaba—evidently the *Κομβάβος* of Lucian's *Περὶ τῆς Συφλῆς Θεοῦ*—published on p. 57 of Haupt's *Nimrod Epic*.

These lines have been variously interpreted. George Smith, in his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, rendered the first passage: "for 10 kaspu (70 miles) they journeyed the stage, for 20 kaspu (140 miles) they made hostility." As the older Assyriologists, according to a principle not yet entirely extinct, liked to lend variety to their renderings of the same phrases, he translated the lines in the second passage: "20 kaspu (140 miles) they journeyed the stage. For 30 kaspu (210 miles) they performed the labour."

Dr. Alfred Jeremias, in his article "Izdubar-Nimrod," published in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, translates the first passage, "they traveled 10(?) miles by stages [*stückweise*];³ after 20 miles they made a halt." The second passage he renders in the same way, reading, of course, 20 and 30 instead of 10 and 20, respectively. Professor Jensen, of Marburg, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890, p. 107) renders, "every 10 (20) hours they rested [*rasteten sie*], every 20 (30) hours they reposed [*ruhten sie*]," meaning apparently that every 10 (20) hours they took a rest or breathing spell, and every 20 (30) hours they took a sleep. Jensen, however, withdraws this explanation in his addenda and corrigenda (p. 502), where he explains kusāpu as meaning probably "food, food-offering" (cf. also pp. 532, 535). Professor Delitzsch in his *Handwörterbuch* (p. 344), adopting Professor Haupt's reading of the numerals, renders, "after every 20 miles

³ I. e., halting repeatedly, like *למסעך* in the story of Abraham, Gen. 13:3.

they held a lament for the dead, after every 30 miles they performed ceremonies in honor of the dead"—a commendable evidence of their piety, but hardly probable. All these explanations are more or less conjectural and fail to remove the difficulties which center about the words *iksúpû kusápu* and *nûbattu*. Professor Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, pp. 71, n. 1; 76, n. 2) considers that *nûbattu* is borrowed from the Sumerian *nu-bad* "incomplete," and thinks it means "fast-day;" but this explanation, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

Although in a single passage (II R., plate 32, 13) [*ûm*] *nûbatti*^m apparently occurs as a synonym of *ûm idirti* "day of tribulation," it is quite certain that *nûbattu* does not in every case mean "fast-day." In the hemerology for the intercalary month of Elul (IV R., plate 32) all the days designated as *nûbattu* are qualified as *ûmu mágiru* "lucky day." Jensen, *Kosmologie*, reads NU.BAD as an ideogram with *tu* as phonetic complement, and thinks that it is perhaps to be read *šabattu* (Hebr. שבת "sabbath"). He here (p. 107) assigns to the word the meaning "rest," but withdraws this explanation in a note subsequently added (p. 502). Professor Delitzsch, who comments upon the word at some length in *Beitr. zur Assyrl.*, Vol. I, p. 231, offers *nupittu* and *numittu* as possible readings. He arrives at no definite conclusion in regard to the etymology, but is inclined to think that *nubattu* (*nupittu*, *numittu*) means "holiday," as opposed to "workday," adducing a number of passages in support of his view. In his *Handwörterbuch*, p. 344, he gives *nubattu* (with the alternate readings *nubittu*, *numittu*) as meaning, perhaps, "lamentation, sigh," then, with special reference to fervent prayer, "time of repentance and prayer," etc., but remarks that the explanation is not very certain. Quoting (*ibid.*) from the passage of the Nimrod Epic at present under consideration, Delitzsch defines "here apparently of lamentation for the dead [*Todtenklage*], ceremony in honor of the dead [*Todtenfeier*]." This rendering, which hardly suits the context (especially in the fragment relating to the slaying of the tyrant Khumbaba), he doubtless bases on his erroneous interpretation of *kispu* (*Handw.*, p. 344), and the occurrence of the words *iksúpû kusápu* in the preceding line.

Professor Haupt, writing in 1889 in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (Vol. I, p. 144), suggested that *nûbattu* might be derived

from the stem עָבַד "to serve." Nûbattu (= mu'badtu, with the well-known dissimilation of the initial labial nasal) would then have originally signified "divine service, worship" (like Mishnic עֲבָדָה), then "religious festival, holy day," and finally "holiday" in general. It is true, as Professor Haupt points out, that the stem עָבַד occurs elsewhere in Assyrian only in the rare word abdu, given in the vocabularies as a synonym of ardu, "servant," but this constitutes no valid objection. 'Abd "servant" is doubtless a primitive Semitic word, and in religious terminology the survival of archaic expressions is not uncommon. Certainly the meaning "holy day, holiday" suits all the passages in which nûbattu occurs. In the single case referred to above where [ûm] nûbatti^m occurs in a vocabulary parallel to ûm idirti "day of tribulation," the two expressions need not be taken as exact synonyms. The question of synonyms in the Assyrian vocabularies is one that must, at all times, be handled with caution; besides, it is hardly possible to define the exact shade of meaning of a word found only in a vocabulary and not within the context of a coherent text. It is quite possible that ûm nûbatti^m "holy day," as a general expression, may have been used in certain cases for ûm idirti, "day of tribulation," or whatever the phrase may mean, as a day of worship with the special object of deprecating divine wrath. German *Busstag*, "day of repentance, fast-day"—or, as it is rendered in Thieme-Preusser's *Standard German-English Dictionary*, "penitentiary day"—in the various states of Germany is really less a day of repentance than a holiday like our Thanksgiving Day.⁴ It must also be noted that vocabularies were frequently prepared for the elucidation of particular texts, and in such cases, as in all ancient glossaries, only rare words or words occurring in unusual meanings are explained in them. The definition of [ûm] nûbatti^m as ûm idirti may be a case in point. At all events, too much stress should not be laid upon an apparent exception of this nature as opposed to numerous other passages, and we need have little hesitation in rendering the words ana šelaša KAS.BU iškunû nûbattu, "every 30 double leagues they took a rest" (literally, "made a holiday").

The verb kasâpu is explained by Delitzsch in his *Handwörterbuch*, p. 344, as a denominative from kusâpu, and the

⁴ For the legal *Busstag* in Saxony, for example, the Prussian beer gardens, across the frontier, announce bock beer, dances, and other evidences of repentance, and *vice versa*.

phrase *iksupû kusâpu* is rendered "they held a lament for the dead." This phrase has long been explained by Professor Haupt in his classes as meaning "they took a meal," and this interpretation is now substantiated by two passages to be found in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. The first passage occurs in the text 82, 5-22, 174 (= Harper's *Letters*, No. 341). It is a letter from Šamaš-mita-uballiṣ to the king, and, omitting the formula of greeting, it reads as follows: *umâ amtû ša šarri Ba'u-gamilat marṣat adanniš: la kusâpi takkal. Umâ šarru belî ṭemi liškun, asû išten lillika lîmurši*, "Ba'u-gamilat, the handmaid of the king, is very ill: she eats no food. Let my lord the king give orders that a physician may come and see her." The second passage occurs in the text K. 569, published in the first volume of Harper's *Letters* (No. 78). In this letter the astrologer Balasī⁵ writes to the king (obv., ll. 9-12): *Bel-ûmu-eṣī, ša ikkušu šarru ukarrûni, kusâpu la ekulûni, adî im-mate ša'alšu*, "Bel-ûmu-eṣī, whose heart the king has grieved, eats no food, (but) asks (continually), how long (shall I be thus afflicted)?" In these two instances it is clear that *kusâpu* can only mean "food," and the whole passage from the Nimrod Epic should therefore be rendered: "every 20 double leagues they took a meal; every 30 double leagues they took a rest."

The primitive meaning of the stem כָּסַפ (𐎲𐎲𐎶) seems to have been "to be pale, or white," whence Assyrian *kaspu* "silver" (𐎲𐎲𐎶, 𐎲𐎲𐎶𐎵), i. e., as in Sumerian *ku-babbar*, "the pale, or white metal." In the Old Testament the verb כָּסַפ occurs in four passages in the meaning "to be eager, long for," properly "to turn pale with longing" (Gen. 31:30; Pss. 17:12; 84:3; Job 14:15). In post-biblical Hebrew the word has the same signification (cf. Levy, *Neu-Hebr. WB.*, Vol. II, p. 368). In Assyrian *kusâpu* the sense seems to have been specialized, and the word would mean first "longing for food, hunger," and then, applied to the object longed for, "food," just as *biblu* means both "desire" and "object of desire." We have an excellent parallel in *bûbûtu*, a reduplicated form from the stem בָּדַד, meaning originally "emptiness," then "hunger," and finally "food." Numerous passages for the use of *bûbûtu* in both meanings are cited in

⁵ See my thesis, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part I. p. 158, No. 12.

Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, p. 166. In the phrase *iksuptu kusapu* the verb is doubtless denominative, as explained by Delitzsch.

The word *kispu* is explained by Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his work, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887) as meaning "lamentation" (*Trauerklage*), while Delitzsch, in his review of Dr. Jeremias' book (*Lit. Centr.-Bl.*, March 16, 1889), prefers to translate "offering to the dead" (*Todtenopfer*). In his *Handwörterbuch*, however, he defines the word as "lament for the dead" (*Todtenklage*), "ceremony in honor of the dead" (*Todtenfeier*). The correct explanation of *kispu* was given in 1889 by Professor Haupt, who stated in *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, Vol. I, p. 316, that it meant an offering of food to the shades of the dead, while *naq me*, which occurs in connection with *kispu*, meant a drink-offering. Thus Sardanapallus, slaying the captured Babylonians, ironically remarks in his annals (*Ašurb.*, col. iv, 70 *sqq.*) that he kills them as an offering (*ina kispi*) to the manes of his grandfather Sennacherib; and when, after the capture of Susa, he exposes and desecrates the tombs of the ancient Elamite kings, he states, *ekimmešunu la ʕalalu emid, kiske naq-me uzammī šunūti*, "I made their shades have no repose, I deprived them of food- and drink-offerings" (*Ašurb.*, col. vi, ll. 75-6). The same monarch, in the text K. 891, rev. 1-2 (Pinches, *Texts*, p. 17), informs us: *adē kispi naq mē ana ekimme šarrāni alikūt maxri ša šubṭulu arkus, ana ili u amelūtum, ana mītūti u balṭūti ṭabta epuš*, "the observance of food- and drink-offerings to the manes of the kings my predecessors, which had fallen into disuse, I reestablished; to god and man, to the dead and to the living, I did (ever) good."⁶ Although the vocabulary, published II R., plate 32, No. 1, is partly mutilated, it is probable that *um kispi* is to be read in l. 12a, and this could very well mean a day specially appointed for making food-offerings to the shades of the departed—a sort of Assyrian All-Souls' Day.⁷ This explanation is certainly more satisfactory than the older one, combining *naq me* "pouring out of water" with the familiar Hebrew phrase מִשְׁתֵּי בַקֵּר (or perhaps more correctly מִשְׁתֵּי בָקָר), rendered in the A. V.

⁶ See Meissner's *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 23b.

⁷ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 682.

"that pisseth against the wall." Of course, in the Old Testament this expression simply means "male." It is well known that the English geologist W. K. Loftus, during his excavations in southern Babylonia, found in the graves of the great necropolis at Warka, the Erech of the Nimrod Epic, numberless small clay water-jars and flat clay dishes with the remains of food, fish and chicken bones, date-stones, etc., evidently placed there for the sustenance of the departed. The custom, as well as the Babylonian belief in regard to the subject, receives light from the last lines of the Nimrod Epic. There (*Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 65) we read that the hero slain in battle rests upon a couch, drinking pure water, while his kindred lavish upon him their loving care; but there is no rest for him whose corpse has been left unburied in the fields. The conclusion of the passage (ll. 9-12) is as follows: ša ekimmušu pāqida lā išû, tāmur atamar, šukulāt diqari, kusipāt akālī ša ina sūqi nadā ikkal, "he whose shade has none to care for it—thou hast seen, and I have seen—consumes the dregs of the bowl, the broken fragments of food that are cast in the street."

The piety of Sardanapallus toward his grandfather and the ancient kings of Assyria, as well as his revengeful act toward his old enemies of Elam, can therefore be readily understood. In the former case he acts as a pāqidu to secure the repose of the souls of his ancestors; in the latter case he carries his vengeance beyond the grave and condemns the shades of his foes to a most wretched existence.⁸

⁸ See Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 596 sqq.

A SYRIAC-ARABIC NARRATIVE OF MIRACLES OF JESUS.

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Among some manuscripts that I obtained in Sidon, Syria, was a fragment of eight leaves, of which the first eleven pages contain the concluding portion of a collection of extra-canonical accounts of miraculous events alleged to have occurred in the life of Jesus. What remains of the text is here published. The work evidently was not an original one in Arabic, but a translation from the Syriac. The date given in the colophon corresponds to A. D. 1599.

ARABIC TEXT.

الرجل منها مثل كل سنه مثل مقائي ارض فلسطين في تلك
السنه ووفى الرجل منها مثل كل سنه¹ ووفى² دينه واصطلم حاله
وفضل عنده بعد ذلك اربع تالاف درهم فاخذها وسار الي عند
سيدنا المسيح وقال له يا سيدي قد اوفيت ديني واصطلم حالي
وقد فضل عندي اربع الاف درهم وقد اتيت بها الي خدمتك ما
الذي تامرني اصنع بها فقال له السيد المسيح امضي اتصدت
بها علي المساكين ثم عاد اليه وقال له يا سيدي قد اتصدقت
بلدراهم علي الفقرا والمساكين كما امرتني حتي لم يبقا معي

¹ The words **ووفى الرجل منها مثل كل سنه** are probably to be omitted as a ditto-graph.

² It seems unnecessary to note every instance of the confusion of letters (e. g., the use of **با** for **يا**, **ن** for **ذ**, and **ي** for **ي**) or of the occurrence of more serious departures from classical correctness, as the Arabic scholar to whom such a list may be of interest can readily gather the facts for himself.

منها ولا درهم قال له السيد نعم ما صنعت فاتبعني وتبعه وصار
 له تلميذ وهذا واحد من السبعين وعلي يديه رجع خلق كثير
 من بني اسرائيل [p. 2] وغيرهم الي الايمان وقبلوا المعمودية
 المقدسة وكان اول من امن علي يديه اهل عسقلان الحجب
الثاني وعشرين في حال الامراه الذي دنت من ثوب السيد
 المسيح فبريت من ساعتها من نزيه الدم وكان يقال لها يوسفيا
 ولما شفاها تدمروا عليه اليهود وقالوا انت ايسوع ابن يوسف
 النجار ثم التفت ايسوع الي العخرة ونظر فيها ضبيات ترعا فقال
 لها ايتها الوحوش تعالي الي هاهنا وعرفي هذه الجمع من انا ومن
 اين جيت والي اين اذهب فجت تلك الضبيات بسرعه ومجدت
 بين يدي سيدنا المسيح فتعجبت الناس منها وفتحت فيها
 ونطقت بلسان فصيم مثل السنه الناس وقالت انت المسيح خالق
 السماوات والارض انت مخلص العالم كما تنبت [p. 3] عليك
 الانبيا فكثرت تعجب الحاضرين من ذلك وكان عدد ذلك الجمع سبع
 الاف واربعماية اثنين وثمانين رجلاً غير النساء والصبيان فتحيروا
 من ذلك وذهبت عقولهم وقالوا من فماً واحداً هذا هو المسيح
 مخلص اسرائيل هذا هو المسيح المبعوث من الله تعالي لخلاص
 اسرائيل والامم كلها وقال السيد لتلك الضبيات انطلقني وارجعي
 الي مراعي وانتي من اليوم لا سبيل عليك من الناس فرجعت
 تلك الضبيات الي البرية من وقتها وجميع من حضر سجد لله

³ Words written in red ink in the manuscript are here underlined.

⁴ Read حضر .

علي ما نظروا من هذه العجب الباهر . العجب الثالث وعشرين في
الذي عمله سيدنا في طرد الجراد من ارض فلسطين وفي الجليل
وارض يهودا وذلك ان اهل الجليل واهل يهودا اقاموا اربع سنين
ونصف يزرعوا [p. 4] فياتي الجراد فيرعاها اذا اقترب الحصاد وصار
علي الناس في تلك البلد شده شديده وجوعا عظيم حتي مات
اكثرهم فلما تمت عليهم في ذلك الوقت اربع سنين ونصف
جوعا اجتمعوا جماعة من بني اسرائيل وقالوا فيما بينهم ان كان
هذا الرجل يرفع عنا هذا البلا فهلما بنا نمضي اليه ونخبره
بامرنا ثم قالوا لنيقوديمس نحن نسالك يا معلم ان تمضي الي
ايسوع المسيح وحده فانه صديقك وتساله بالله ان يرفع عنا
هذه البلية العظيمة فمضا اليه نيقوديمس وساله وقال له ايها
المعلم الصالح اننا نعلم انك من الله مرسل واتيت الي العالم
وانت حكمة الله وقدرته وقوته وانت حقا وان هذه البلاد الذي
نحن فيه [p. 5] نزل عليها البلية من السمخط والجراد فاتحن علينا
برحمتنا منك وادفع عنا السمخط والرجز فقد خرب الجراد بلادنا
واكل رزقنا فارحمنا بحببتك واغفر لنا بنعمتك وادفع عنا هذه
السمخطه فكان عمر سيدنا من وقت ان ولد من سيدتنا
مرتميم عشرين سنة من حيث ان ولد من مرتميم وعند ذلك
امر سيدنا لذلك الجراد ان يرتفع في يوم السبت عن تلك البلاد
وابصروه اليهود ونيقوديمس افاضل بعينه ملاك الله يخاطب

⁵ In the preceding three lines, as well as in the following sentence, the translator into Arabic has given a double rendering of portions of the text before him.

سيدنا المسيح لما ابصر وجه سيدنا قد اعلاه نور يفوق نور الشمس سبعة اضعاف وكذلك ابصر الملاك بيضرب⁶ الجران بجناحه⁷ ويطرده بيديه فامن بسيدنا خلق كثير وسبحوا الله . العجب الرابع وعشرين [p. 6] في ذلك الزمان كانت السباع من كل جهة قد غلبت علي ارض عسقلان حتي ما احداً يقدر يخرج من باب منزله بعد غروب الشمس فانطلقوا اهل عسقلان الي سيدنا وقالوا له ايها المعلم الصالح ان الله ارسلك وان كنا غير مستاهلين ادفع عنا هذه السباع الضارية الذي غلبت علينا وعلي بلدنا فاننا نعلم انها تسع منك وتطيع امرك فقال لهم سيدنا المسيح قد رحمتكم لكثرت تضرعكم⁸ فارجعوا الي بلدكم وقولوا في موضع ان تجتمع السباع اليه ان ايسوع المسيح يامرکم ايها السباع ان لا تثبتوا ولا تقافوا⁹ في هذا البلد ولا تفسدي فيها احد فرجعوا اهل عسقلان الي بلدهم وافرزوا منهم رجلاً اسمه ناثانايل الذي من قانا الجليل ونادا وقال في نواحي البلد [p. 7] كما امره السيد المسيح فلما قال في نواحي البلد ذلك اجتمع اليه من السباع عدّة كثيرة فمد يده وقال لهم انصرفوا من هذه البلد ولا تقافوا¹⁰ فيه ولا تعودوا اليه ولا تدخلوه كما امركم ايسوع المسيح مخلص العالم من خطاياهم والمسيح لا يجيبكم من رزقكم ولا يدعكم بلا قوت فطامنوا¹¹ اجمع السباع روسهم في تلك الساعة ومجدوا لهذا الرسول ناثانايل

⁶ Read بيضرب .

⁷ Read بجناحه .

⁸ Read تضرعكم .

⁹ Read تقاموا .

¹⁰ Read تقاموا .

¹¹ Read فطاطوا .

وانطلقوا من ذلك البلد ولم يرجعوا اليه فلما نظروا اهل عسقلان
 هذا العجب العظيم امنوا بسيدنا المسيح خلق كثير علي يد
 ناثانايل وسجوا الله ومجدوه . العجب الخامس وعشرين وكان
 سيدنا المسيح في بعض الايام في برية ريجا ومعهم تلاميذه
 الحواريون فجا عليهم المسا وغربت [p. 8] الشمس فقال سمعان
 الصفا يا سيدنا قد دنا المسا وليس في هذا الموضع مكان نبيت
 فيه فقال له سيدنا ايسوع المسيح نحن بقرب اورشليم فادخل يا
 سمعان الي المدينة فتجد رجلا سيمح في يده خروف فاذا رايته
 فقول له ان معلنا يريد النزول عندك فانه يدخل الي المدينة
 فدخل سمعان الي مدينة اورشليم فصادف الرجل كما قال له
 سيدنا ايسوع المسيح فكثير تعجب سمعان الصفا وباقي التلاميذ
 لما عاينوا انفسهم في اورشليم وقالوا الساعة كنا في ريجا فكيف
 وصلنا في ساعتنا واحدة الي اورشليم فرفعوا اصواتهم وسجوا الله
 الذي ما يعسر عليه شي من الاشيا الذي سلم الامور الي ناسوت
 ابنه ومسيحه ثم خرج هذا الرجل بعد دخول التلاميذ الي
 المدينة [p. 9] الي منزله ومضا الي جبل الزيتون ودعا سيدنا
 المسيح الي منزله وهذا الرجل هو عمالايل اخر نيقوديس ولما
 دخل المسيح سيدنا الي منزله وراي ان الاعمدة الذي في البيت
 قد عرقت من خوفها منه فقال صاحب البيت يا سيدي ابصر
 الاعمدة كيف عرقت من هيبتك وعظمتك¹³ فقال السيد المسيح

¹³ Read وعظمتك .

هذه الحجارة حق لانت وقلوب بني اسرائيل يابسه قاسيه لا تلين
 فطوبا لمن امن بي وبروح قدسي¹³ والويل لمن كفر بي لان
 الذي يكفر بي امام الناس اكفر به انا قدام ابي الذي في
 السماوات ومن امن بي قدام الناس اقربه قدام ابي الذي في
 السماوات وانه قام تلك الليلة ومضا الي طور ثابور ومعه سبعان
 ويعقوب ويوحنا اخيه [p. 10] واخبرهم بما يكون قبل مجيئه كما هو
 مكتوب في الانجيل الطاهر وعمل سيدنا العجايب الي ان تم له
 ثلاثين سنة عند ذلك جا الي يوحنا واعتمد في نهر الاردن وله
 ثلاثين سنة حينئذ اخذ تلاميذه وبدأ يكرز ويعمل العجايب
 العظيمة وفي تلك السنة توفى يوسف وخلف اولاده وعندم سيدنا
 المسيح وامه مريم في الناصرة عند يعقوب ويوسي ومريم اختهم
 الذي ذكر عنها الانجيل ان كان عند الصليب امه واخت امه
 لان مريم لم يكن لها اخ ولا اخت ولما صعد سيدنا المسيح
 الي السما عمدتها سبعان الصفا وقبلها يوحنا الانجيلي البثول وكان
 مقام السيدة في العالم احد وخمسين سنة واقام السيد علي
 الارض نحو اربعة ثلاثين سنة واقامت [p. 11] السيدة بعد صعوده
 اربع سنين* فنسال الرب الاله المتجسد منها الصانع العجايب
 الكثيرة لها " اوجب ان يحيي ادم بعد سقطته برحمته ان يقيم
 انفسنا نحن الساقطين في الخطايا وان يجمعنا مع اباينا الصديقين

¹³ For مرعاكي above. cf., e. g., قدس.

¹⁴ Read كما.

القديسين وذلك يكون لنا ولجميع المومنين وان يكف عنا
 الافات¹⁵ والنقم والتهم والرجفات والهديانات والبلايا الصعبات
 وينظر الينا بالاحسان والنعم وان يخلصنا من عدونا ويرحمنا
 برحمتاً منه لانه رحمان وينظر الينا ويرشدنا الي طريق الكمال
 ويرزقنا الي سيرة الاعتدال فان له ينبغي الجدد والاكرام والسبح
 والعظمة الان وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين امين غفر
الله للناسح المسكين خطاياا وخطايا والديه وهو الفقير عبد
النو. باسم اغنسط حرر ذلك
سنة سبعة الاف مائة وسبعة
لادم عليه السلام

TRANSLATION.

The man . . . of it as every year. As gardens of cucumbers was the
 land of Palestine in that year. And he paid his debt and his condition
 improved, and there remained with him after that four thousand pieces
 of money [*lit.* dirhems]. And he took them and went to our Lord the
 Christ and said to him, O my Lord, I have paid my debt and my condition
 hath improved, and there remain with me four thousand pieces of money
 and I have brought them for thy service. What dost thou command me
 to do with them? And the Lord the Christ said to him, Go, give alms
 with them to the poor. Then he returned to him and said to him, O my
 Lord, I have given alms to the destitute and the poor with the pieces
 of money, as thou didst command me, until there remaineth not one of
 them with me. The Lord said to him, Excellent is what thou hast done;
 now follow me. And he followed him and became a disciple of him.
 And this was one of the seventy, and through him a great multitude of
 the children of Israel and of others returned to the faith and received the
 holy baptism, and the first who believed through him were the people of
 Askelon.

The Twenty-second Miracle.

Concerning the state of the woman who came near the garment of
 the Lord the Christ and was healed of the issue of blood from that hour.

And she was called Josiphiah. And when he cured her, the Jews
 murmured against him and said, Thou art [only] Jesus, the son of Joseph
 the carpenter. Then Jesus turned to the rock and saw on it lizards

¹⁵ Read الامات.

rushing about, and he said to them, O wild beasts, come hither and inform this multitude who I am and whence I came and whither I go. And those lizards came with haste and did obeisance before our Lord the Christ. And the men wondered at them. And they opened their mouth and spake with an eloquent tongue like the tongues of men and said, Thou art the Christ, the Creator of the heavens and the earth; thou art the Savior of the world, as the prophets prophesied concerning thee. And the persons present wondered greatly at that, and the number of that multitude was seven thousand four hundred and eighty-two men, besides the women and the children. And they were perplexed at that and bewildered, and they said with one voice, This is the Christ, the Savior of Israel; this is the Christ sent from God the Exalted for the salvation of Israel and all the nations. And the Lord said to those lizards, Depart and return to your feeding-place, and from today there will not be any communication between you and men. And those lizards returned unto the wilderness from that time. And all who were present praised God on account of what they had seen of this admirable miracle.

The Twenty-third Miracle.

Concerning what our Lord did in the expulsion of the locusts from the land of Palestine and in Galilee and the land of Judah.

And that was that the people of Galilee and the people of Judah continued planting for four years and a half, and locusts came and fed upon it. Then the harvest approached, and there came upon the men of that country a severe calamity and a great famine, so that the more part of them died. And when they had completed four years and a half of famine, they gathered together an assembly of the children of Israel and said when among them, If this man will remove from us this affliction, come, let us go to him and tell him our case. Then they said to Nicodemus, We ask thee, O master, to go alone to Jesus the Christ, for he is thy friend, and to ask him for the sake of God to remove from us this great affliction. And Nicodemus went to him and asked him and said to him, O good Master, we know that thou art sent from God and art come into the world, and thou art the wisdom of God and his might and his power, and thou art truth. Now there has descended upon this country in which we are the affliction of anger and locusts; and be thou moved with compassion toward us in thy mercy and remove from us the anger and the impurity. And the locusts have destroyed our country and eaten our food. Now have mercy on us in thy love and forgive us in thy grace and remove from us this anger. (And the age of our Lord from the time that he was born of our lady St. Mary was twenty years, from when he was born of St. Mary.)¹⁶ And thereupon our Lord commanded those locusts to disappear on the sabbath day from that country. And the Jews and the excellent Nicodemus himself saw an angel of God who spake to our Lord the Christ. When he saw the face of our Lord,

¹⁶ The present Arabic text has been adhered to in the translation of this passage; cf. note 5.

there overspread it a light that exceeded the light of the sun seven times. And thus he saw the angel, when he smote the locusts with his wing and drove them away with his hands. And a great multitude believed in our Lord and praised God.

The Twenty-fourth Miracle.

At that time the lions from every quarter had overrun the land of Askelon, so that no one could go out of the door of his dwelling after the setting of the sun. And the people of Askelon went unto our Lord and said unto him, O good Master, God hath sent thee and we are not deserving; remove from us these ravenous lions which have overrun us and our country, for we know that they will hear thee and obey thy command. And our Lord the Christ said to them, I have had mercy on you for the abundance of your solicitation. Now return to your country and say in [any] place in which the lions gather together, Jesus the Christ commandeth you, O lions, that ye continue not nor abide in this country and that not one become corrupt in it. And the people of Askelon returned to their country and separated from them a man by the name of Nathanael who was from Cana of Galilee. And he called and said in the [manner of] wailing of the country as Jesus the Christ had commanded. And when he said that in the [manner of] wailing of the country, a great number of the lions gathered to him. And he stretched forth his hand and said to them, Depart from this country and do not abide in it and do not return to it and do not enter it, as Jesus the Christ, the Savior of the world from their sins, commandeth you; and the Christ will not disappoint you in your food, nor doth he summon you without power. And all the lions bowed their heads in that hour and did obeisance to this apostle Nathanael; and they departed from that country and returned not to it. And when the people of Askelon saw this great miracle, they believed in our Lord Jesus, [even] a great multitude, through Nathanael and praised God and glorified him.

The Twenty-fifth Miracle.

And our Lord the Christ was once in the wilderness of Jericho and his disciples the apostles were with them (*sic*). Then the evening came upon them and the sun set; and Simon Cephas said, O our Lord, the evening is near and there is in this locality no place to spend the night in. And our Lord Jesus the Christ said to him, We are in the vicinity of Jerusalem; now, O Simon, enter the city, and thou wilt find an old man with a lamb in his hand, and when thou seest him say to him, Our Master desireth to stop with thee and will enter the city. Then Simon entered the city of Jerusalem and met the man as our Lord Jesus the Christ had said to him. And Simon Cephas and the other disciples wondered greatly when they saw themselves in Jerusalem and said, This hour we were in Jericho, and how did we arrive at Jerusalem in one hour? And they lifted up their voices and praised God, to whom is not difficult any of the things that he delivered as matters to the humanity

of his Son and his Christ. Then after the entrance of the disciples into the city this man went out to his dwelling and departed to the Mount of Olives and invited our Lord the Christ to his dwelling. (And this man was Gamaliel, the brother of Nicodemus.) And when the Christ our Lord entered his dwelling and he perceived that the pillars which were in the house sweated from their fear of him, the owner of the house said, O my Lord, see the pillars, how they sweat from thy majesty and thy greatness. And the Lord the Christ said, These stones truly are tender, but the hearts of the children of Israel are dry [and] hard [and] do not become tender. And blessed is he who believeth in me and in [the] Holy Spirit, and woe is he who denieth me; for who shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven, and who believeth in me before men, him will I present before my Father which is in heaven. And he abode that night and departed unto Mount Tabor, and with him Simon and James and John his brother, and he told them what should be before his coming, as it is written in the Pure Gospel.

And our Lord worked miracles until he completed thirty years. Upon that he came to John and was baptized in the River Jordan. And he was thirty years of age. Then he took disciples and began to preach and to work the great miracles. And in that year Joseph died and left behind his children, and with them our Lord the Christ and his mother Mary, in Nazareth with James and Joses and Mary their sister, concerning whom the gospel relateth that there were at the cross his mother and the sister of his mother, for Mary had no brother or sister.¹⁷ And when our Lord the Christ ascended into heaven, Simon Cephas baptized her and the virgin John the Evangelist received her. And the abiding of the lady in the world was fifty-one years, and the Lord abode on the earth about thirty-four years, and the lady abode after his ascension four years.

And we ask the Lord,¹⁸ the God incarnated from her, the doer of the many miracles, that, as he in his mercy caused Adam to live after his fall, he establish ourselves, even us fallers into sins, and assemble us with our righteous holy fathers—and may that be to us and to all believers—and that he avert from us death and chastisement and suspicion and trembling and raving and hard affliction and look upon us in beneficence and favor, and that he save us from our enemy and have mercy upon us in his mercy, for he is merciful, and look upon us and guide us into the path of perfection and nourish us into the way of moderation. And to him be the glory and the honor and the praise and the majesty now and always and unto the age of ages. Amen.

May God forgive to the miserable copier his sins and the sins of his parents; and he is the poor one, the servant of the light, Ignatius by name. He wrote this in the year seven thousand one hundred and seven of Adam (upon him be peace).

¹⁷ The apparent contradiction in this sentence disappears when we suppose that the author considered James and Joses brothers of Joseph and consequently their sister Mary only a sister-in-law of Mary the mother of Jesus.

¹⁸ A different Arabic word is used here than that previously rendered *Lord*.

THE INTERPRETATION OF GEN. 6:3.

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The chief object of the present consideration of this verse is to offer some suggestions concerning the word יָדוֹן; what is said with reference to the remainder of the verse is really subordinate to this object.

The verb יָדוֹן is generally, if not universally, explained as the imperfect of an ע"ו verb, דָּוָן, to which the meanings assigned, however, are very diverse. Of the versions, the LXX, Vulgate, Peshitto, and Onkelos render "remain, abide." It is commonly assumed that they had a different text from the Massoretic, but that is not at all certain. Of the lexicons, Ges.-Buhl¹⁸ adopts the same rendering "bleiben," for which, however, it can quote no better authority than the Egyptian-Arabic word دان, يدان, which means "immerwährend etwas thun." Siegfried-Stade quote no kindred root and give as the meaning "sich erniedrigen?". Briggs-Driver-Brown put the discussion of the word under the root דָּוָן, but give no positive opinion, contenting themselves with stating four different views, to each of which they give some strong objection. It is presumably needless to quote the multifarious opinions of commentators.

It is surprising, however, that the unnaturalness of deriving this word from an ע"ו root has not been generally observed. Of course, the usual form of an ע"ו imperfect would be יִדְוֹן. The form יָדוֹן could not strictly be a stative imperfect like יֵאָוֵר or יִבֹּשׁ, for then it would be יִדְוֹן. יָבוֹא presents the same form, but יָבוֹא itself is an unusual form. The form יָדוֹן could be that of the ע"ו jussive imperfect, but that is rendered quite improbable by the occurrence of לֹא and not אַל before the word. So any explanation of יָדוֹן as an ע"ו form meets with difficulties. Add to these considerations the fact that those who regard it as a form of an ע"ו verb are unable to present any parallel root in the Arabic or elsewhere which is at all satisfactory, and it must be evident that it is not natural to consider it a form of an ע"ו verb.

It is natural, however, to consider the form to be that of an דָּנָה verb דָּנָה . The only possible difficulty in form is the vowel ו , fully written when it would really be tone-long. But in answer to this it may be said, first, that the same objection would hold against the common view that it is the jussive imperfect of an דָּנָה verb, and, secondly, that the full writing of a tone-long vowel is sufficiently common to make an argument from it of little value.

If we grant that the root is most naturally דָּנָה , the question next arises whether the root דָּנָה can be identified. The Arabic gives no root of this kind which has an appropriate meaning, the root دَن in Arabic meaning "to murmur, buzz." It is now conceded by many, however, that the Assyrian has at least as much right to be consulted in reference to Hebrew roots as the Arabic. Turning to the Assyrian, we find the root dan\&nu (דָּנָה) to be one of the most common in the language, meaning "to be strong, powerful." The definition of Delitzsch (*Handwörterbuch*, p. 223) is "stark, fest, mächtig sein oder werden."

Before attempting to see how this meaning suits the context in Gen. 6:3, let us note some probable traces of the existence of the same root outside of Assyrian, aside from this passage. One such may be claimed in Hebrew. In Josh. 15:49 occurs the name of a city in the tribe of Judah, דָּנָה . This is obviously a noun with the feminine ending from a root דָּנָה . The derivation of this word has given much trouble, but it has commonly been assigned to a root דָּנָה . This has sometimes been explained as equivalent to Arabic دَن "to murmur, buzz," and sometimes even as equivalent to Arabic دَن , assumed to be another form of دَان "to be low." דָּנָה "to be strong" gives a very appropriate meaning for a city, especially when it is remembered that the word דָּנָה is in form the precise Hebrew equivalent of the Assyrian word dannatu , from root dan\&nu , meaning "a fortress, a fortified city."

For the occurrence of the root דָּנָה in Aramaic, reference may be made to what is said by Professor C. Levis in *AJSL.*, Vol. XV, p. 191. It is there noted that the word דָּנָה , or דָּנָה , was explained by Rašī from tradition as meaning "be strong." Levis identifies the root with the Assyrian dan\&nu .

It is now pertinent to inquire whether the meaning "to be strong, powerful" is appropriate in Gen. 6:3. I adopt in general, for the remainder of the verse, the interpretation of Dillmann in

his commentary, so that I shall not attempt to consider in detail the difficulties, but only to see whether this meaning suggested for רִיחַ is suitable in the connection. Dillmann defines רִיחַ here in language which may be rendered "the spirit of life from God given to men, 2:7, the principle of their physical and spiritual life." It is evident that Dillmann would render רִיחַ "spirit from me," regarding the suffix as equivalent to a genitive of source, which is, syntactically, altogether possible. The definition also appears to give to רִיחַ the meaning, which it has elsewhere, of the immaterial part of man, which serves to animate the physical body. The thought that the רִיחַ which man has proceeds from God is plainly in harmony with general Old Testament teaching, as it is seen explicitly in Ecc. 1:27, "and the spirit return unto God who gave it," and implied in such passages as Numb. 16:22, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh."

The phrase לְעֹלָם here does not necessarily mean "forever" in the modern sense. עֹלָם may have its more common meaning, "indefinite duration, unlimited duration," in which case לְעֹלָם would mean "for an indefinite, unlimited period."

In accordance with what has been said, I should translate freely the first part of the verse as follows: "And Jehovah said, The spirit from me shall not be powerful in mankind for an unlimited period." In what sense would the words "be powerful" be used? Naturally in reference to the usual work of the spirit of a man in animating his body. So that this part of the verse might be paraphrased, "And Jehovah said, The immaterial part of man coming from me as its source shall not for an unlimited period manifest its power in animating the bodies of men;" in other words, men shall not live for an unlimited period.

The remainder of the verse may be passed over briefly. The next clause gives the reason for this determination of Jehovah, "in their going astray they are flesh." The concluding clause, "and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years," is really an expansion of the first clause of the verse. The statement there made, man shall not live for an unlimited period, is here followed by the statement of the limit, a hundred and twenty years. This connection of thought would be the same whether the limit were understood to be the time until the flood or the future limit of individual life. I prefer to follow Dillmann in the latter view, for the reasons which he gives.

Contributed Notes.

THE ASSYRIAN WORD MAŠĀRU OR MAGARRU.

It seems now to be generally accepted as a fact that the Assyrian word for wheel of a wagon or chariot is mašāru. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 647, and King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 394, both derive the word from the verb šāru (שָׁר). There are two serious difficulties with this derivation. One is that šāru means "to move forward, advance," so that according to this derivation mašāru is the "means of advancing;" as Delitzsch says, "so benannt als Mittel und Werkzeug der Bewegung des Wagens." A derivation giving a more specific meaning than this would be expected. A second and more serious difficulty is that the long *a* in mašāru is *never* written as long in the examples given by Delitzsch, which fact is certainly sufficient to make the length of the vowel doubtful. These difficulties might perhaps seem to indicate that the root is מָשַׁר and the form mašaru. But the known roots of the form מָשַׁר do not give a meaning suitable to this derivation.

Under these circumstances, I am led to present a different suggestion, viz., to read, not ma-ša-ru, but ma-gar-ru. The sign ša = gar (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 1885, p. 37, No. 323) is always found for the second syllable in the examples given by Delitzsch, so that the reading here suggested presents no difficulty. It is true that *gar* is the unusual and *ša* the usual value of ša = gar, but the value *gar* is regularly found in such a word as pa-gar. This reading was, in fact, given doubtfully by Bezold in *Sen.*, col. v, l. 83 (*KB.*, Vol. II, p. 108), his reading being ma-gar(ša?)-ru-uš, and his translation "Deichsel(?)." If the reading is magarru, the word is plainly a מ formation from garāru (גָּרַר) "to run," the form being مَغَرَّر. The formation would be perfectly regular from an ע"ע root, being precisely like maṣallu "herdsman's tent," Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 63, end, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 567. In favor of this derivation, it may be urged that the difficulties previously mentioned in connection with mašāru disappear, and, more positively, that the meaning suggested by the derivation is a very natural one, "that which runs," which makes it quite similar to the Hebrew גָּלְגַל (and גָּלְגַל) "a wheel, that which rolls," the words גָּלְגַל and garāru probably being akin (see Ges.-Buhl¹³, p. 162, under גָּרַר). An even closer parallel in meaning would be Hebr. רֶץ "wheel," from רָץ "to run," if we are to follow Ges.-Buhl¹³ in giving that meaning to the word. Perhaps a stronger argument for the reading magarru is

the evidence from another word similar in form. In *HEBRAICA*, Vol. XI, p. 190, I discussed the word ¹q^u mu-gir-ri, occurring in R^m 2, 6, rev. 14, deriving it from gararu. I would modify the view there expressed so far as to give to the word the meaning "wheel" instead of "chariot." I would still consider it to be probably a formation ¹q^u with the common change of *a* to *e* and then to *i* (see Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 34, 8). It would then be merely another form of the word magarru, just as we find the two words m^un^u and m^an^u "couch," Delitzsch, *Grammar*, § 65, 31b, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 98.

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A NOTE ON ISAIAH 8:6.

What does the prophet mean by מִי הַשִּׁלּוֹחַ, the waters of Shiloah? Mitchell says: "It is here a symbol of the unseen and mysterious, but real and efficient presence." Duhm: "This water is a symbol of the reign and power of the Dweller of the mountain . . . of Yahweh." The same interpretation is given by Dillmann. But the following two objections may be raised to it: First, "the waters of Shiloah that go softly" is an unusual and even unnatural representation of Yahweh. We surely do not find many more such images of Israel's God given us by the Old Testament seers and singers. "And the Lebanon will fall by a mighty one" is one of the mildest expressions of the prophet's idea of the God in whose name he speaks. "Yahweh roars from Zion . . ."—this is a typical representation of him. But "the slow waters of Shiloah that go softly"—where can we find its parallel?

Secondly, would Isaiah bring Yahweh into contrast with Rezin and Remaliah's son? For, no matter what we make of מַשְׁרֵשׁ, whether it mean to rejoice in, or to fear, the "waters of Shiloah" evidently stands in contrast to Rezin and ben-R'malyahu.

Now, I think that רִצְיִן is the word that must throw some light on this obscure passage. It seems to me the prophet has advisedly grouped together מִי הַשִּׁלּוֹחַ, רִצְיִן, and מִי הַנְּהָר of vs. 7. There is here a play on the word רִצְיִן, an allusion to its meaning, at least to the meaning of the like-sounding Hebrew root רָץ "to run." Its meaning would then be "the running, the swiftly flowing (stream)." In Gesenius' Dictionary, s. v., Löw calls attention to the Syriac ܪܝܢ "to be wet," in ܪܝܢ = "rivulet." If used by the prophet in such a sense, the contrast between "the waters of Siloam" and Rezin becomes clear. Rezin and Remaliah's son stand for a certain aggressive policy, namely, that of throwing off the Assyrian yoke. Hence, the "Siloam waters" stands for the opposite policy of quiet submission, of maintaining the *status quo*. The prophet arraigns the people for despising the gently flowing waters of Siloam and rejoicing in the "swift stream." הָעָם הַזֶּה is here evidently the mass of the Jewish people, represented chiefly by Israel, but probably having confederates in Judah also. This faction is glad of

this show of vigorous resistance to the great power of the north on the part of the two allied kings. The mass of the people rejoice at the sight of the headlong rush and impetuous course of Rezin and Remaliah's son. (The latter, we must remember, was a rebel and usurper.) They look forward to eventful times, times full of excitement. But if that is what they wish, God will bring upon them "the great and mighty stream of the north" that will so completely overflow the land as to pass even into Judah, and there to reach to the very neck, almost drowning them all. There will thus be enough excitement for them. This explanation renders unnecessary the very unsatisfactory emendation of מִסֵּר = "fear" instead of בְּשִׂיר = "rejoice in."

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MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG.

ERWIDERUNG AN HEREN PROFESSOR DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

Wie ich aus der Besprechung meines Werks, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung, quellenmässig untersucht* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898), in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, April 1899, ersehe, sagt dasselbe dem Geschmack des Rezensenten, Herrn Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, nicht zu, was um so mehr mein Befremden erregt, als sich mein Buch sowohl in der Gelehrtenwelt als auch in weiteren Kreisen des gebildeten Publikums einer sehr günstigen Aufnahme und beifälligen Beurteilung erfreut. Da der Herr Rezensent an manchen Stellen meine Intentionen nicht versteht und ihm hierüber eine Aufklärung meinerseits erwünscht sein dürfte, so erlaube ich mir, indem ich auch auf andere Punkte seiner Besprechung eingehen will, Nachstehendes zu erwidern.

Der Herr Rezensent scheint meinem „judgment“ nur deshalb, weil es mit dem seinigen nicht übereinstimmt, die Berechtigung abgesprochen zu haben. Er sollte aber wissen, dass in der Wissenschaft jede Ansicht gilt, für die man einen plausibeln Grund beibringen kann, was ich genügend gethan zu haben glaube. Ich wenigstens schätze und achte jede andere Ansicht und bin jederzeit bereit, sie zu acceptieren, sobald ich mich von ihrer Richtigkeit überzeugt habe, was ich von den Anschauungen des Herrn Professor Macdonald nicht immer behaupten kann. Im übrigen bin ich gewohnt, meine Meinung ganz offen und unmissverständlich zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Ich erfreue mich eines noch jugendlichen Alters und gehöre also nicht, wie der Herr Rezensent schreibt, zu einer „past“, sondern einer gegenwärtigen Generation in der deutschen Gelehrsamkeit. Der Herr Rezensent irrt, wenn er glaubt, dass das zuweilen von mir gebrauchte „wir“ die erste Person der Kanzel ist; denn ich bin nicht, wie der Herr Rezensent angiebt, ein lutherischer Pastor und Prediger. Ich habe mich nur, um nicht mein liebes Ich in den Vordergrund zu drängen, aus Bescheidenheit in dem Ausdruck „wir“ mit meinen Gesinnungsgenossen und den Lesern meines Buchs zusammengefasst.

Ich habe mich bemüht, die einschlägige in- und ausländische Litteratur möglichst vollständig anzugeben, und hierbei auch die sekundäre berücksichtigt. Ich glaube, wie dies auch der Herr Rezensent anerkennt, hierin einen Vorzug meines Buchs erblicken zu können, zumal sich anderwärts entweder gar keine oder meistens nur sehr dürftige Literaturangaben finden. Warum sollten sich Voltaire, Turpin, Washington Irving, Ockley und andere über Muhammed und den Islam nicht auch ein Urteil bilden können? Ausserdem wer interessierte sich nicht für Voltaire? Bei den Litteraturangaben versteht es sich ganz von selbst, dass der Titel, die Anzahl der Bände, sowie Ort und Jahr des Erscheinens möglichst genau angeführt werden müssen; denn sonst sind Literaturangaben für die dem behandelten Gegenstand fern stehenden Leser, welche sich einige der citierten Werke verschaffen und sich darin weiter orientieren wollen, überhaupt wertlos. Dass ich diese Angaben auch bei Freytags Lexikon gemacht habe, darüber möge sich der Herr Rezensent nur beruhigen.

Der Herr Rezensent scheint von mir zu verlangen, dass ich in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht unfehlbar sein soll. Ich weiss nicht, ob Herr Professor Macdonald dies von sich selber behaupten kann. Wenn man einen Fehler findet, so verbessert man ihn ruhig, ohne viel Aufhebens davon zu machen. Eine andere Übersetzung als die von mir S. 36 gegebene „Erleichterung“ für den grammatischen Ausdruck تَخْفِيف ist im Deutschen nicht möglich. Gemeint ist natürlich die Erleichterung der Aussprache durch Auslassung eines Vokals, wodurch in diesem Falle „kudus“ zu „kuds“ wird. Jene Sentenz des Baiḍāwī habe ich deshalb angeführt, weil sie mir zur Sache zu gehören und in den Zusammenhang ganz gut zu passen schien. Bei dem Ausdruck „rūḥu 'l-ḡudusi“ habe ich das syrische رُوحُ الْغُودُسِيِّ in Fussnote gesetzt, um darauf hinzuweisen, dass Muhammed diesen Ausdruck aus der Sprache der christlichen Syrer herübergenommen hat. Ebenso handelt es sich auch bei den übrigen im Verlauf meiner Untersuchung vorkommenden syrischen, äthiopischen und hebräischen Citaten um Lehnwörter oder sprachliche beziehungsweise sachliche Parallelen. Fleischer in seiner Textausgabe des Baiḍāwī hätte zuweilen von der Vokalisation reichlicher Gebrauch machen und andere über die von ihm angenommene Lesart nicht in Ungewissheit lassen sollen. Dass نَامَ den gesunden Schlaf, وَسِنَ den leichten Schlummer bezeichnen soll, bedarf erst noch des näheren Beweises. Wenn sich der Ausdruck „Muhammedaner“ als Bezeichnung der Muslime, wie der Herr Rezensent mitteilt, bei späteren arabischen Schriftstellern findet, so ist dies kein Beweis gegen meine Behauptung, dass derselbe von den Occidentalen gebildet ist, da es immerhin möglich ist, dass jene arabischen Schriftsteller diese Bildung von den Occidentalen entlehnt und ihr nur eine arabische Form gegeben haben. Aber wenn der Herr Rezensent die betreffenden arabischen Autoren nicht namhaft macht, wird sich in dieser Frage keine sichere Entscheidung treffen

lassen. Dass meine Arbeit auf guter Sprach- und Sachkenntnis beruht, was ich weiter unten anführen werde, ist mir von einem Fachgelehrten bezeugt, der für mich jedenfalls kompetenter ist als Herr Professor Macdonald.

Dass der Titel meines Buchs, wie der Herr Rezensent behauptet, „much too narrow“ sei, davon vermag mich derselbe nicht zu überzeugen. In einer Darstellung der Offenbarungslehre Muhammeds braucht, um zur Sache zu gehören, nicht jeder Satz den Ausdruck „Offenbarung“ zu enthalten. Allerdings ist der Koran für meine Untersuchung die wichtigste Quelle, aber nicht die einzige, so dass gerade der von dem Herrn Rezensenten vorgeschlagene Titel „Qur'anic theology“ viel zu eng wäre. Indem ich „Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung“ zum Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung gewählt habe, habe ich von Muhammeds Lehre gerade denjenigen Teil behandelt, welcher für das Verständnis und die Beurteilung von Muhammeds Person und des Islam von der grössten Wichtigkeit ist. Von der Darstellung ausgeschlossen blieben auf dieser Weise Muhammeds ethische, kultische, soziale Verordnungen u. dgl., von welchen nur, wo es der Zusammenhang erforderte, einige in aller Kürze berührt worden sind.

Der Umfang meiner „reading“ im Arabischen entzieht sich vollständig der Kenntnis des Herrn Rezensenten, so dass ihm ein Urteil hierüber nicht zusteht.

Wenn der Herr Rezensent die Frage aufwirft, „what style has to do with a doctrine of revelation“, so erwidere ich, dass ich Muhammeds Lehre auch hinsichtlich der Form darstellen wollte, in die er den Inhalt seiner Lehre gefasst hat, und dass ich aus diesem Grunde auch auf den Stil und die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten seiner Offenbarungsschrift, des Koran, eingegangen bin.

S. 106–18 versuche ich, den von den meisten Erklärern behaupteten Widerspruch in Muhammeds Lehre zwischen Prädestination und Willensfreiheit zu Gunsten letzterer zu lösen. Dem Herrn Rezensenten dürfte es schwerlich gelingen, mich in diesem Punkte zu widerlegen. Diese Frage ist zu schwierig, als dass sie sich mit ein paar aus dem Zusammenhang gerissenen Sätzen entscheiden liesse.

Auf den jüdischen und christlichen Einfluss bei Muhammed weise ich im Verlauf meiner ganzen Darstellung hin.

Wiewohl ich mich bei allen vier Kapiteln, in die der Inhalt meines Buchs zerfällt, der Dreiteilung bediene, so erhebt der Herr Rezensent doch bei dem dritten Kapitel, betitelt „Der Glaubensinhalt der Offenbarung“, welches ebenfalls in drei Paragraphen zerfällt (§ 7 Die Gottesvorstellung, § 8 Verhältnis zum Heidentum und zu christlichen Dogmen, § 9 Eschatologie), die wunderliche Frage: „Is this systematic division into threes a trinitarian protest on the part of Dr. Pautz, as the Spanish monks drank in three sips?“ Wie kann man überhaupt nur auf eine solche Idee kommen! Für derartige Witze dürfte eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift wohl nicht der geeignete Ort sein. Im übrigen darf man wohl annehmen, dass Herr Macdonald als Professor der christlichen

Theologie ebenfalls an das christliche Dogma von der Trinität glaubt. Meine Untersuchung über Muhammeds Gottesidee soll gar nicht, wie dies der Herr Rezensent wünscht, philosophisch sein, sondern theologisch; ich dachte, dass meine Entwicklung auch hier an Klarheit nichts zu wünschen übriglässt. Wenn der Herr Rezensent die „lists of terms and their occurrences“ sowie vorher die „study of the different expressions in the Qur'ān used to indicate this revelation on its different sides“ excellent nennt, so ist dies für mich sehr erfreulich.

Der von dem Herrn Rezensenten für meine Ausführungen S. 220–37 gebrauchte Ausdruck „little preliminary matter“ ist völlig unzutreffend; dem hier behandelten Gegenstand habe ich durchaus die ihm nach seiner Wichtigkeit zukommende Ausführlichkeit zu teil werden lassen. (Der „preliminary matter“ ist von mir bereits in der Einleitung S. 1–12 erledigt.) Die Zusammenstellung der sachlichen Abweichungen der koranischen von den biblischen Prophetengeschichten S. 238–56 soll nicht nur dem Zweck dienen, um bei Muhammed die Unmöglichkeit der Benutzung einer schriftlichen Quelle darzuthun, sondern auch, um die originelle, zuweilen auf eine bestimmte Tendenz Muhammeds zurückzuführende Fassung der koranischen Prophetengeschichten zu beleuchten. Den hierzu von mir gebrauchten Raum halte ich keineswegs für unverhältnismässig gross.

Die Behauptung des Herrn Rezensenten: „Dr. Pautz himself seems to have had difficulty in bringing into it the points which he wished to discuss“ ist den Thatsachen nicht entsprechend; denn wenn auch der Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung ein mühevoller und schwieriger war, so hat mir doch die Einteilung und Gruppierung des Stoffes keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet.

Im Schluss, in welchem ich den Islam nach seinen Licht- und Schattenseiten einer kurzen Kritik unterziehe, komme ich auch auf die Polygamie zu sprechen. Der betreffende Satz, S. 286, Anm. 2, welchen der Herr Rezensent nur unvollständig anführt, lautet folgendermassen: „Dass das muhammedanische Institut der Polygamie, wonach es gesetzlich erlaubt ist, nach Massgabe der Vermögensverhältnisse bis zu vier Frauen und daneben noch eine unbeschränkte Zahl von Sklavinnen zu halten (Süre 4, 3), wiewohl hierin für uns Christen gewiss etwas Anstössiges liegt, mit der Frage nach der Moral überhaupt nichts zu schaffen hat, braucht wohl kaum bemerkt zu werden.“ Um jedes Missverständnis auszuschliessen, will ich meine Stellungnahme zu dieser Frage genau präzisieren. Vom rein natürlichen Standpunkt betrachtet, ist die Polygamie nach dem Satze „naturalia non sunt turpia“ an und für sich nicht unmoralisch, ausgenommen wenn sie durch ein religiöses und staatliches Gesetz verboten ist. Denn sonst müsste man auch die alttestamentlichen Patriarchen Abraham und Jakob sowie den König Salomo (welcher nach I Reg. 11, 3 siebenhundert Frauen und dreihundert Knechtsweiber besass) unmoralisch nennen. Da nun die Religion des Islam ihren Bekennern die Polygamie gestattet, so vermag ich, wenn jemand von diesem legalen Rechte Gebrauch macht (thatsächlich geschieht dies nur in sehr seltenen

Fällen), hierin eine unsittliche Handlungsweise nicht zu erblicken. Dagegen wäre im Christentum, welches die Vielweiberei verbietet, diese selbstverständlich unsittlich und sündhaft. Doch darf man in diesem Punkte nicht falsch generalisieren.

Im Anschluss hieran habe ich einen kulturhistorischen Vergleich zwischen der muhammedanischen und christlichen Frauenwelt angestellt. Ich glaube, hier eine sehr gesunde und vernünftige Ansicht zu vertreten; auch ist mir aus den Kreisen der Leser meines Buchs ausser von Herrn Professor Macdonald keine gegenteilige Äusserung zugegangen. Nicht das sind die besten Frauen, die sich in der Öffentlichkeit breit machen, und die man auf allen öffentlichen Vergnügungen und Lustbarkeiten sieht, sondern die man am wenigsten sieht, und von denen man am wenigsten spricht. Das öffentliche Leben gehört dem Manne. Das Haus und die Familie ist der Wirkungskreis der Frau, hier hat sie zu wirken und zu schaffen. Der Sitte der Muhammedanerinnen, sich in der Öffentlichkeit zu verschleiern, gebührt meiner Ansicht nach mit Recht der Vorzug gegenüber den die körperlichen Reize entblössenden und häufig nur auf die Sinnlichkeit berechneten Kleidertrachten der Christinnen; man denke nur an die Balltoiletten, wo man zuweilen den Eindruck hat, als ob man sich auf einem Fleischmarkt befände. Im übrigen können sich die Christinnen, deren Sittlichkeit schon allein im Hinblick auf die Prostitution und die vielen unehelichen Geburten in einem traurigen Lichte erscheint, an dem moralischen Lebenswandel ihrer muhammedanischen Schwestern ein Beispiel nehmen. Unsere Gymnasien und Universitäten sind nach ihrer historischen Entwicklung Bildungsstätten für Jünglinge und Männer und nicht für „Backfische“. Es giebt einen natürlichen Unterschied in der Begabung des Mannes und der Frau, indem bei dem Manne der Verstand mehr entwickelt ist, bei der Frau das Gemüt. Diesen Unterschied gilt es auch in der Erziehung und im Unterricht zu beobachten; andernfalls erzielt man weibliche Karikaturen.

Das Verzeichnis der transkribierten arabischen Wörter S. 291–4 steht zugleich an Stelle eines kurzen Sachregisters.

Da es den Lesern gewiss erwünscht sein wird, ausser den Ansichten des Herrn Professor Macdonald noch andere Gutachten über mein Buch zu hören, so seien nachstehende mitgeteilt. *Kölnisch Volkszeitung (Litterarische Beilage)*, Köln am Rhein, den 17. August 1898: „Das Interesse des Dogmatikers und Exegeten, vor allem aber auch das Interesse des Historikers verdient eine eindringende, quellenmässige Studie von Otto Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Man hat bislang in den Werken über Muhammeds Leben und Lehre das theologische Moment viel zu wenig hervorgehoben. Dem hilft Pautz nunmehr ab.“—*Blätter für litterarische Unterhaltung*, Leipzig 1898, Nr. 40: „Gegenüber den grösseren Werken über Muhammed kann diese übersichtliche und völlig allgemein verständlich gehaltene Darstellung, welche mit dem behandelten Problem zugleich den wesentlichsten Kern des Islam überhaupt untersucht, allen wissbegierigen Lesern nur

empfohlen werden.“— *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, Jahrgang I, Nr. 12, Berlin 1898: „Vorliegende religionsgeschichtlich-theologische Studie basiert auf guter Sprach- und Sachkenntnis. Es ist vor allem anzuerkennen, dass der Verfasser als überzeugungstreuer protestantischer Theologe doch ohne alle dogmatische Voreingenommenheit sich redlich bemüht, *sine ira et studio* den Propheten von Mekka und die arabische Weltreligion nach ihrem innersten Wesen und wahren Wert zu würdigen. Bei diesem ausgesprochenen Sinn für objektive, gerechte, kritische Beurteilung Muhammeds und seiner Lehre kann das stattliche, schön ausgestattete Buch auch weiteren Kreisen, vor allem natürlich den Theologen bestens empfohlen werden, zumal da allen arabischen Quellencitaten die Übersetzung beigegeben ist und besonders auch auf die vielfache Abhängigkeit Muhammeds von jüdischen und christlichen Lehrsätzen hingewiesen wird.“— *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, Wien 1899, Nr. 2, Beilage: „Wer immer sich ein selbständiges Urteil über den geschichtlichen Werdegang und über das Wesen des Islams bilden will, findet in dem Buche ein reiches und übersichtliches Material nebst einem genauen philologisch-kritischen Apparat zur Verwertung.“— *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung*, München 1899, Nr. 41: „Immerhin schwankt Muhammeds Charakterbild noch in der Geschichte, und so ist es ein ganz dankenswerter Versuch eines neueren Forschers, durch sorgfältige Untersuchung eines wesentlichen Teiles seiner Lehre die Richtung und den Zweck seines öffentlichen Auftretens überhaupt zu bestimmen. Es ist dies das Werk von Dr. Otto Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Die auf genauester Quellenforschung beruhende Darstellung kann in ihren allgemeinen Ausführungen übrigens auch weiteren Kreisen dringend empfohlen werden.“— *Theologische Rundschau*, Jahrgang II, Heft 3, Freiburg i. B. 1899: „Eine gründliche und lehrreiche Arbeit ist die Schrift von Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*. Den Theologen wird an diesem Buch besonders die weite und freie Art der Auffassung der Persönlichkeit Muhammeds interessieren, die um so bemerkenswerter und wohlthuender ist, als der Verfasser seine eigene durchaus positive Stellung zum Christentum mit aller Energie betont. Der Verfasser sieht einerseits genau die Schwächen und Flecken in Muhammeds Charakter und weiss dieselben mit feiner Psychologie verständlich zu machen und zu beurteilen; aber auf der andern Seite ist er—meines Erachtens mit Recht—überzeugt, dass in Muhammed ein Stück prophetischen göttlichen Geistes wirksam war und nicht vergebens wirksam gewesen ist. Für den Theologen und Religionshistoriker ist ferner das Buch Pautz's auch deshalb bemerkenswert, weil es reiches Material zur Beurteilung der Frage vom Verhältnis Muhammeds und seiner Predigt zum Christentum und Judentum bringt. Noch klarer als bisher wird es namentlich nach den Zusammenstellungen Pautz's, dass das Christentum und Judentum, das Muhammed kannte, durchaus heterodoxe, synkretistische Bildungen waren, und dass eine umfassende Kenntnis jener Religionsbildungen im Osten und Südosten Palästinas notwendig ist zur richtigen Erkenntnis der Genesis des

Muhammedanismus. Wir wollen dem Verfasser dankbar sein, dass er uns von seiner Seite das Material so schön zubereitet hat. Andere mögen weiter arbeiten.“— *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, Leipzig 1899, Nr. 21: „Die gesamte Litteratur älterer und neuerer Zeit ist dem Verfasser wohlbekannt, auch die arabischen Quellenwerke werden gebührend berücksichtigt. Ausführliche Indices erleichtern die Benutzung des Werkes. Der Verfasser steht voll und ganz auf dem Boden des kirchlichen Offenbarungsbegriffes. Um so mehr ist anzuerkennen, dass er der einer gesetzlichen Stufe entsprechenden Sittlichkeit der islamischen Gesellschaft volle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lässt und nicht wie gewisse kurzsichtige Apologeten der Sache des herrschenden Kirchentums damit zu dienen glaubt, dass er den Islam als in sittlicher Auflösung begriffen schildert.“— *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, Berlin 1899, Nr. 21: „Der Verfasser hat den umfangreichen Stoff übersichtlich angeordnet, und da er für jede Materie fast sämtliche in Betracht kommenden Stellen excerpiert hat, so bildet sein Buch auch für den Fachmann ein ausserordentlich nützliches und bei dem Mangel derartiger Hilfsbücher doppelt erwünschtes Repertorium.“— *The Expository Times*, Edinburgh 1899, Nr. 9: „This important and learned work . . . combines in a remarkable degree the enthusiasm of the expert with the caution of the sound and sagacious critic.“— *La Cultura*, Roma 1899, Nr. 11: „Il libro del Pautz è specialmente utile . . . l'edizione per carta e nitidezza di tipi è bellissima.“

Schliesslich möchte ich die Leser, welche sich für den von mir behandelten Gegenstand interessieren, höflichst bitten, sich durch die Lektüre meines Buchs über dessen Wert selber ein Urteil zu bilden und hiernach zu entscheiden, ob das Urteil des Herrn Professor Macdonald über mein Buch berechtigt ist oder nicht.

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Book Notices.

KRENGEL'S DAS HAUSGERÄT IN DER MIŠNAH.¹

The work comprises six chapters: (1) Tables (pp. 1-9)—practically only dining-tables, including stands, servers, etc.; (2) Seats ("Sitzmöbel," pp. 10-17); (3) Beds (pp. 18-31), including sedans; (4) Receptacles ("Behälter," pp. 32-54), including cupboards, chests, baskets, jars, etc.; (5) Mirrors (p. 55); (6) Lighting Apparatus (pp. 56-65); pp. 66-68 contain a list of the Hebrew and Aramaic words. The author has based his description of the different articles upon the notices referring to them in the Mišnah and other rabbinical literature, including, among others, the two Talmuds and the Midrash Rabbōt and Pesikta as commentaries on the Mišnah. As the two Talmuds, however, cannot be regarded as commentaries on the Mišnah in the same sense as the commentaries of Hai, Maimonides, etc., and the Midrash Rabbōt and Pesikta not in any sense, the title is quite inexact. The author was evidently not aware that Professor Georg Hoffmann in his article, "Lexikalisches," III (*ZATW.*, II, 1882, pp. 53 *sqq.*) had treated of the bedstead and bridal chair. Hoffmann established clearly in this article, with numerous examples, the different meanings of מִלְבֵּן as Krengel gives them (p. 20, note 5), with the difference, however, that according to him מִלְבֵּן is not "every brick-shaped board" as well as "other similarly formed objects," but "the periphery of a rectangular figure" (see Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 64 *sqq.*). While the sifting and arranging of such scattered and difficult material shows great diligence and will be valuable for all future investigations in the same line, it is to be regretted that the author, for the sake of clearness, did not oftener let the sources speak for themselves. The most serious objection to be raised against the book, however, is that the author not infrequently makes statements which have no basis whatever in the sources, so that his results cannot be accepted without examination. In order to prove this serious charge, it is necessary to extend this review beyond the limits which this dissertation really deserves. The sources say nothing, *e. g.*, about the structure of the דִּלְפָּקִי overlaid with marble, or of the אֲנֶרֶטִין; that the legs of the former represented figures of animals is not mentioned. Similarly the sources offer no basis for the distinction Krengel makes in regard to the shape of chairs, according as they were made of wood, clay, etc. (p. 11). The most serious instance of misinterpretation of the sources is the author's explanation of מִלְבֵּן of the עֵרִיסָה on the basis of T. Kel. B. M., viii, 4, and T. Ohol.,

¹ DAS HAUSGERÄT IN DER MIŠNAH. Von Dr. Johann Krengel. I. Teil. Frankfurt, a. M.: J. Kauffmann, 1899. ii + 68 pp.; 8vo. M. 2.50.

xiii, 5 (p. 27). I refer again to Hoffmann's article, which offers for the passages in question a translation and explanation correct save for a few minor details (*ibid.*, pp. 59 *sq.*). I need only mention here that everything in the passages in question goes to support Hoffmann's explanation (pp. 56 *sqq.*) of מַלְכָּן שֶׁל מִטָּה or שֶׁל עֵרִיסָה (Krengel's inference, that in the second passage only the עֵרִיסָה is spoken of, is incorrect) as the two short and two long pieces of the bed-frame joined to form a rectangle. It must be noticed, also, that the sources from which Krengel has drawn in regard to the massive tables, etc., of gold are, without exception, humorous religious anecdotes, characterized throughout by the most extreme exaggeration. (In regard to the golden table in the temple, p. 2, note 5, *cf.* Exod. 25:23 *sq.*, etc.) I shall only mention further that the author understood מִיָּין (Hos. 7:5) to mean leather-bag [filled] with wine (p. 47, note 5). M. BUTTENWIESER.

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WRIGHT'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.¹

It must be confessed that this book is a great disappointment. I do not mean that it is not a good and useful book—a simple reprint of the second edition would have been that, and much more this enlarged and corrected third edition—but the pity is that it is not a great deal better and more useful. We had waited long for “the new edition of Wright,” as we called it fondly, but the new edition which we looked for was something different from this. It was well known that Wright was preparing for a revision on an extensive plan and had collected much material from Sibawayhi and other sources. If he had lived, there can be little doubt that we would have had almost a new work, just as the first edition was completely transformed in passing into the second. In that revision the first volume gained almost one hundred pages and the second more than one hundred and fifty. In this edition each volume has lost more than thirty pages, against which, however, must be reckoned greater compression in printing and space gained by suppressing the sections on comparative Semitic.

But even in its second edition the book was not abreast of what might have been expected of a scholar like Wright and demanded in a grammar that was to be the constant companion of all the Arabists of Europe. I cannot express those requirements better than by quoting some passages from August Müller's review of the second edition in the *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 200–216: “Die längst anerkannte Vorzüge von Caspari's Arbeit noch einmal hervorzuheben darf ich unterlassen; einer

¹ A GRAMMAR OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE. Translated from the German of Caspari, and edited, with numerous additions and corrections, by W. Wright, LL.D., late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Third edition, revised by W. Robertson Smith, late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and M. J. de Goeje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leyden. Cambridge: *At the University Press*, 1896 (and Vol. II, 1898). xiv + 317 and xx + 450 pp.

der grössten Fehler derselben scheint mir die Systemlosigkeit der Elementar- und Formenlehre, und, was damit zusammenhängt, der gänzliche Mangel einer Lautlehre, zu sein. Ich bezweifle keinen Augenblick, dass Wright, hätte er nicht gewissermassen an die ursprüngliche Anordnung des Stoffes sich gebunden gefühlt, zum Vortheile des Lesers die Sache ganz anders angegriffen hätte. Jetzt erscheinen als rein äusserlich durch die Grenzen der einzelnen grammatischen Abschnitte zusammengehalten Haufen von Einzelheiten, welche auch nur durch fortgesetzte Verweisungen mit einander zu verknüpfen fast unmöglich, ausserdem aber unzureichend ist." After a number of examples of this, August Müller continues: "Ein anderer Mangel von Caspari's Arbeit ist der, dass in Folge der oft zu äusserlichen Anordnung des Stoffes manche Punkte, die in seinem Schema keine selbständige Stelle erhielten, entweder in beiläufige, oft zu sparsame Erwähnungen zersplittert wurden und dabei gelegentlich an Orte gerieten, wo man sie nicht sucht, oder ganz und gar wegblichen. Grade hier leidet das neue Werk gelegentlich durch den engen Anschluss an seinen Vorgänger, von welchem es sich sonst so glücklich entfernt." Examples again follow, and then he goes on: "In der That wäre sie [his above-expressed wishes] mit einer gänzlichen Umarbeitung des Buches in Bezug auf Anordnung und vielfach auch Darstellung des Materials gleichbedeutend; trotzdem kann ich nicht umhin ihm für diesen erwünschten Fall zwei weitere Bitten vorzutragen, weil sie mir beide als Konsequenzen des von ihm selbst gewollten erscheinen." The first of these requests is that there should be prefixed to the grammar a short introduction dealing with the position of Arabic among the other Semitic languages, its history and its dialects, and how it has borne itself toward foreign influences and been affected by them. The second request is that more attention should be paid to the later, post-classical, forms and usages.

Such are the requirements which August Müller expressed more than twenty years ago; they are the requirements which were before the present editors. No one can doubt their justice. How have they been met? The arrangement of the book remains absolutely the same as Wright left it. A phonology is still conspicuous by its absence. Wright's method of handling phonetic questions is practically untouched, though some of the particular passages criticised by Müller have been slightly changed. In general, this, the weakest side of the grammar, is unaltered. An attempt has been made to obviate the lack of system by the introduction of numerous cross-references and the extension of the indexes. The sections on comparative Semitic are almost all cut away, and in their place are references to Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, which is certainly his weakest book; this is one way of meeting Müller's petition for a more scientific treatment of this subject and for a general introduction to it. To Müller's second request no further attention, so far as I have noticed, has been paid.

At this point the question may pertinently come up of the exact place which this grammar is intended to fill. We can have a grammar that is

purely introductory — meant for the beginner — to be abandoned after a certain stage has been passed. In this class come Socin's golden little book and Harder's *Konversations-Grammatik*. Then come the grammars which are not introductory, but are permanent books of reference. Here there are several sub-classes. We have books of moderate compass, not professing absolute completeness, which have grown up often out of books of our first class. Such, for example, is Caspari-Müller. At the opposite extreme to these are books which aim at the explanatory reproduction of the views of the native grammarians. Such are Jahn's annotated translation of Sibawayhi and Howell's gigantic application to grammar of Lane's lexicographical method. Last there comes the class of *thesauri*, attempts at covering the whole ground with more or less completeness. An early and important place is taken here by the unfinished work of Lumsden; later come the grammars of Ewald and Kosegarten; but the crowning place is easily taken by the *Grammaire arabe* of de Sacy, with the running commentary of Fleischer. That Wright's grammar stands in this sub-class of *thesauri* can hardly be denied. It had been our hope that the new edition would make it the leading book in the class and render us independent of the others; that in it the fullness of de Sacy-Fleischer would be combined with an order foreign to both, with a recognition of the forms and usages of mediæval Arabic, on which they would have looked down, but which we find to be essential, and with a scientific treatment of the phonology of the language which was impossible in their time. Such an undertaking would have been worthy of the Press of the University of Cambridge and of the great scholars whose names stand on this title-page; but the hope has been disappointed, and that is all that can be said about it. The blame it is impossible to place. It may have been the publishers; it may have been the editors. This, at least, it is but fair to say: when the editorial charge passed into the hands of Professor de Goeje, fifty-six pages had been printed, and the revision had extended over thirty pages more. He, not unnaturally, felt himself compelled to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. The fame of the great Leyden Arabist cannot suffer through this book, but it would have been better for Arabic letters if he had insisted on the work being begun anew from the beginning.

I come now to details, and, as might be expected, what I have to set forth is not so much sins of commission as sins of omission and oversight. Professor de Goeje is one of the first three or four Arabists in Europe, and, if I may be excused the slang, what he says goes. In Vol. II, p. 180C, the statement, "But if both are substantives, this is not usually done," is too strong. Compare Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, § 48, and the quotation there from al-Khafāji. Similarly, the expression, Vol. II, p. 59B, "The second is not uncommon," is somewhat unguarded in view of Nöldeke's "äusserst selten" in *Zur Grammatik*, § 61a. One most curious omission is the lack of all reference to Nöldeke's discovery of *waw converse* in Arabic, *Zur Grammatik*, p. 68; at least I have been unable to find any mention of it. In II, 176D, the translation should be

“like lance-thrusts” or “like lance-thrusting.” The footnote to II, 114, is too brief, and should have an exact reference. In I, 11A, it would have been much better if, instead of simply expunging the sentence to which Nöldeke objected, his remarks had been incorporated from *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, p. 207; the usage which could lead Wright astray surely deserved some notice. In the *Addenda* to I, 115, footnote, there should have been a reference to Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, p. 18. In I, 286B, the notice of **نقط** is very inadequate; nor do I find it further dealt with in the Syntax. In II, 149C, the technical term **للاختصاص** should be rather translated “to show that one is specially characterized or distinguished by a thing or by the possession of a thing.” Further, the technical terms **لا لاستغراق الجنس** and **ال للاستغراق** might have been added with advantage. The term **اسم مصدر** occurs in the index, but I can find no definition of it, and its nature can only be vaguely gathered from two or three references; yet those words form a very interesting class. Many of the references are perplexing and annoying. An omission that is purely amusing is the dropping out of Wright’s dedication to Fleischer, while the paragraph in the preface speaking of that dedication is carefully reprinted. But are we to gather from the exact references by volume and page to the *Fā’iq* of az-Zamakhshari that we may look for an edition of it soon? That would be a cause of rejoicing. It is to be presumed that the references to a glossary to aṭ-Ṭabarī are to be interpreted in the same way. But it may be doubted whether in a grammar it is right to refer the student for the explanation of a point, or even for further details on a point, to some other book; references *from* books of reference are not satisfying, and there are many here which should have been quotations. A point I would gladly have seen dealt with is the nature in Arabic, and in Semitic generally, of the *waṣf* or *na’t*. It is true that no grammar, to my knowledge, except Lumsden’s, touches upon it, but it is none the less a vital point in the language, as Lumsden has shown, and a source of great obscurity to the student till simple experience makes the facts clear to him. In this grammar the only suggestion of the truth is *descriptive epithet* on p. 105A; but as that follows immediately upon the misleading term *nomen adjectivum*, the gain is not great. To return to the recognition, or rather non-recognition, of post-classical usages, it would have been greatly to the advantage of the grammar if more account had been taken of August Müller’s *Ueber Text und Sprachgebrauch von Ibn Abi Uṣeibi’a’s Geschichte der Aerzte in the Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. histor. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1884, Heft V. In some respects these notes apply also to classical usage, as that on the introduction of the *ḥabar* by *fa*, p. 922 of Müller; compare, too, the quotations in that passage and Lane, p. 2323a. Similarly, I have found nothing to explain the *fa* in Qur’ān, LXXIV, 3 (Müller in *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, p. 204), and the ellipsis of conjunctions is not adequately noticed in II, 288 (Müller, *Ueber Text*, p. 900, and especially footnote on the possibility of the second perfect being a

hāl). In general, the use of both *wa* and *fa* calls for much fuller treatment; in later Arabic such phrases as *وعلى هذا ف* and *هذا و* are very frequent. Similarly, the use of the expressions *نعم ان* and *لو نعم* by way of *استدراك*, *it is true*, might have been explained. Further, the frequent omission in later Arabic of *min* in the phrase *لا بد من* is not recognized (Müller, p. 903); II, 26D, on the omission of *'an* is hardly adequate (Müller, p. 902); II, 302, could be expanded, following Müller, p. 918; and II, 225, could be expanded and corrected by Müller, p. 920.

But if we can overcome our disappointment and take this book on its own terms as a simple reprint of the second edition, with some expansions and corrections, we must receive it with gratitude as an excellent piece of work. The external form is well-nigh perfect, as is also the proof-reading; the Arabic type is from the beautiful and clear font cut for Lane's use in his dictionary; there are sixty pages of excellent indexes, though the third might be fuller; finally, Professor de Goeje has put all Arabists deep in his debt by his additions and corrections. But would that those responsible had taken a larger view of their duty!

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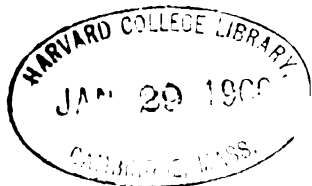
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VOL. XVI, No. 2.

JANUARY, 1900



THE
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SEMITIC LANGUAGES
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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

CHICAGO, ILL.

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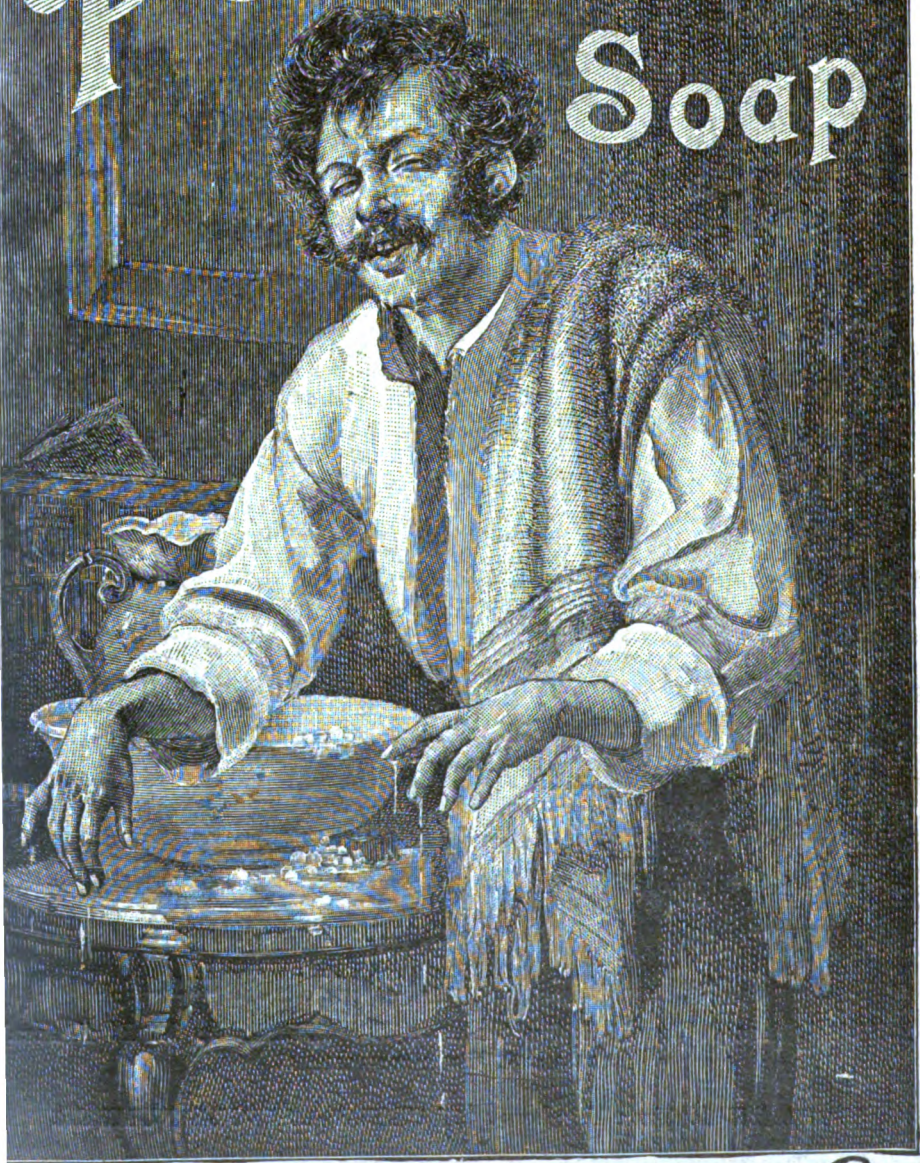
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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XVI

JANUARY, 1900

NUMBER 2

SOME CONTRACTS OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM
THE KH' COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY GEORGE A. BARTON, PH.D.,

Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages,
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The texts which are here published were copied during the summers of 1895 and 1896. They belong to the Kh' collection, which was purchased in the East some years ago for the University of Pennsylvania. It was obtained from the same source as the Kh collection, of which a notice was published in the *HEBRAICA*, Vol. VI, pp. 59, 60, by Professor Robert F. Harper.

Of the thirty-four texts here presented, two are from the reign of Cambyses,¹ twenty-seven from the reign of Darius, one from the reign of Xerxes (*i. e.*, No. 30; *cf. rev.*, ll. 5 and 11), and four from the reign of Artaxerxes. The texts are arranged below in chronological order.

Most of these texts are simple records of the loan of money or the transfer of food-stuffs. No. 2 is a contract to deliver considerable meat, dates, wheat, and an ibex at a private house in Babylon; it appears to be the provision for a large festival. No. 5 is a receipt for a sheep, purchased for a sacrifice. An interesting series (Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 29) refers to the transactions of a woman, Aquba, the daughter

¹ The sign *zi* (No. 2, l. 17) is the only part of the name legible, but the palaeography is that of the contracts of the reign of Cambyses.

of a slave, who dealt in provisions in the town of Shibtu, and who seems to have been in comfortable circumstances. She loans money, contracts with farmers for produce, loans clean wheat, to be paid in kind, and barter wheat for dates. These transactions extend through eight years. No. 8 refers to the loan of two-thirds of a shekel of money. It states that the sum is to be paid in a certain coin, but the tablet is illegible where the denomination of the coin was given. The amount of the loan makes the half-shekel coin impossible; it follows that the coin must have been the šē, of which 180 made a shekel.² No. 10 records the gift of sacrifices to the temple of Shamash by a guild of carpenters. No. 16 is a contract on the part of a woman to deliver at a certain date a coat of mail. No. 24 is the lease of a house with a cracked wall, in which is embodied a stipulation for repairs.³ No. 30, though much broken, is of great interest. It records the dissolution of the partnership of a company of herdsmen in the reign of Xerxes and the formation of another company. No. 31 is the merest memorandum of a loan, written in evident haste, without witnesses. No. 32 stipulates that after a certain date the rent of a house belonging to two brothers shall be devoted to a certain temple; that a certain man shall receive it from the agent of the owners and carry it to the temple, and another person who is designated shall receive it on behalf of the temple. No. 33 is a much-broken deed of sale of some property, the boundaries of which were carefully given. The tablet was only sun-dried and has been badly broken. No. 18 was carelessly written and contains several mistakes. For lack of space a list of the proper names contained in these tablets is not now given. It is hoped that it may be published in a future number of the JOURNAL. The Museum numbers of these tablets are as follows:

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² Cf. Reiserer, *Sitzungsberichte Ak. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896, pp. 417 sqq.

³ Cf. Strassmaier's *Inscriptionen von Nabonidos*, Nos. 9, 48, 184, etc.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.¹

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III. MORPHOLOGY.²

§ 871. טָלִילָא : טָלִילָא , אֶטְלִילָא , *sport*.

פְּלִיפְתָא : פְּלִיפְתָא ; פְּלִיפְתָא : פְּלִיפְתָא .—§ 872. a) גְּנִיבְתָא *stolen goods*; שְׁבִיעְתָא *oath*;
שְׁמִיעְתָא *tradition*.

b) With secondary doubling: חֲנִיפְתָא ; חֲנִיפְתָא ; חֲנִיפְתָא ;
difference of opinion; קְדוּשְׁתָא ; קְדוּשְׁתָא ; and perhaps אֶקְדוּשְׁתָא .

§ 873. עֵי : Plur. קְצִיצְתָא .

§ 874. עֵי : חֲנִיבְתָא .

§ 875. לִי : נְבִיאָתָא ; plur. מְדוּיָאָתָא *protests*; שְׁבִיעְתָא *cap-*
tives.

II. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE WITH SHARPENING OF SECOND STEM-CONSONANT.

1. TWO SHORT VOWELS.

נֶעֱלָ .—§ 876. שַׁבְּתָא *Sabbath, week*;³ אֶדְרָ *threshing-floor*.⁴

נֶעֱלָ .—§ 877. a) יַבְשְׁתָא *dry land*; סַפְנָתָא *danger*; חֲקִנְתָא
institution, statute; שְׁמָתָא *ban* (שְׁמָתָא = שְׁמָתָא);⁵ פְּרָשְׁתָא *chapter*,
C. MS. Meg. 4a (voc.).⁶

b) אִיפְרָתָא *letter*; נְחִמָּתָא *consolation*; סִייעָתָא *help*; שְׁפִשְׁתָא
mistake, C. MS. Pes. 112b (voc.).

§ 878. לִי : מְלִיתָא *complement*.

¹ See *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 21-78, 118-39, 177-208; Vol. XIV, pp. 17-37, 106-28, 195-206,
252-66; Vol. XV, pp. 224-43.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 50, 118, 177; Vol. XIV, pp. 17, 106, 195, 252; Vol. XV, p. 224.

³ שְׁבָתָא, like בִּרְיָא and Targumic בִּירְיָא, plur. of בִּרְיָא = בִּרְיָא, are due to the
being mistaken for the feminine ending.

⁴ On אֶדְרָא, cf. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 114.

⁵ Cf. שְׁמִיעְתָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

⁶ Some of these forms may be originally *qattilāt*.

נָעַל. — § 879. אִילְמָא, אִילְיָמָא, *dumb*; חִיבְרָא *lame*; טַפְשָׁא *fool*. — הִלְיָלָא.

quttal. — § 880. שִׁיחָלָא, תּוּחָלָא. ¹ שִׁחַל, שִׁיחָלָא.

quttul(at). — § 881. זִיבְרָא, זִיבְרָתָא, *wasp*; כְּתוּנָתָא, כְּתוּנָא, *linen*; צִיפְרָא, צִיפְרָתָא or צִיפְרָתָא, plur. צִיפְרֵי, *linen*; VL., B. B. 74a; צִיפְרָא, *lower part*; plur. שְׂבִילֵי, שְׂבִילֵי, Pes. 35a and VL., *ad loc.*²

2. SHORT VOWEL IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

qattal, qittal. — § 882. a) אִבְכָּא *game-cock, fighting-cock*; cf. Assyrr. abaku *conquer*; עֲרָבָא, עֲרָבָא, *surety*,³ קִצְרָא *fuller, not ordained scholar*,⁴ שְׂמַעְתָּא *servant, valet*.

b) אִבְרָא *farmer*; גִּיבְרָא *hero*; עֲקָרָא *root*; חִיבְרָא *white*.

c) צִמְוִנָא *cumin*; צִמְוִרָא. Both loan-words.

d) פּוּבֶס = קִצְרָא, SM. No. xcv (voc.); טוּמָא *blind*. Both words are Aramaic transformations of Hebr. פֹּבֶס and טוֹמָה.⁵

§ 883. צִלְלָא : עֵעַ *tanner* (= צִלְעָא).⁶

§ 884. a) דִּינָא *judge*; דִּינָלָא *servant*; שְׂוִירָא *jumper*; טַיִי Arab, طَائِي.

§ 885. a) לִרִי *student of scripture*; תַּנְאָה, תַּנְאָה, *student or teacher of tradition*. Formed as לִ' forms.

b) בְּנִיָּא = בְּנִיָּא; זִנְאִי; רִמְאִי *cheat*.

qattalat. — § 886. טַיִי : a) דִּינָתָא *female proselyte*; טַיִי Arab woman. Cf. § 884, n. 7.

b) דִּינָתִי *white*.

¹ For قُت = قُت; سِينَا = قُت; سِينَا = قُت, and many others.

² Cf. Barth, NB., pp. xxix, xxx, 24.

³ קִצְרָא TR., II, 50.

⁴ Cf. Gaster's note to SM., p. 43: "קִצְרָא tyro, young scholar not yet admitted to full honors, who has still 'to wash and cleanse' and do preparatory work."

⁵ Bacher (ZAW., XV, 301), who knew only of טוּמָא, explained it to be a form like אִרְכָּם (§ 887); but this becomes untenable in view of כּוּבֶס. If the u-vowel be due to the influence of the labial, why only in these two words? To presuppose a form qutal is equally impossible. It will, therefore, be best to consider it as a conflation of Hebr. קוּטַל and Aram. קוּטַל, the ʔ necessarily becoming ʔ before a sharpened consonant.

⁶ צִלְלָא is not the same as צִלְלָא. The first is qattal of צַלַע, the last qattal of צַלַע. צַלַע and צַלַע are parallel stems. Cf. § 978, n. 1. טַרְרָא (Saadia, *Traité de Succ.*, p. 126, n. 10),

which the learned editors could not explain, is طَرَار pickpocket, "Beutelschneider," from طَرَّ cut. The verb (*ibid.*), cut, deduct.

⁷ The word is a conflation of the Arabic name and Aramaic טַיִי wander, with perhaps a reminiscence of ضيع.

quttal.—§ 887. אוֹפֶמֶת dark, black;¹ סוֹפֶמֶת red; cf. מִשְׁפָּ red chalk; קוֹרְאָמָא , קָרְמָא , fennel flower (?);² רוֹפֶכָא softening; שוֹפֶרָא cat.

quttalat.—§ 888. a) אוֹפֶמֶתָא , אוֹפֶמֶתִי , dark, black; סוֹפֶמֶתִי ; שוֹפֶרָתָא .

qattil.—§ 889. These are all sharpened forms of *qatil* and *qatil*.

a) חֲפִימָא wise; חֲרִיפָא sharp; יִתִּירָא superfluous; צִדִּיקָא ; רִשְׁיָא ; רִשְׁיָא powerful.—זִבְיָלָא basket.

b) אִילִימָא strong (= אֱלִימָא).

§ 890. חֲמִימָא : עֵרָא warm; עֲזִיזָא strong; קִשְׁיָא old.

§ 891. לִוְיָא : לוֹיָא certain; סְגִיָא great, much.

qattilat.—§ 892. אֱלִימָתָא ; יִתִּירָתָא ; פְּרִיצָתָא dissolute; שְׁגִיָתָא confused.

qattal.—§ 893. a) חֲבִיטָא a kind of apple; חֲלִיזָא sinus; חֲרוֹבָא carob; עֲמִידָא column; שְׂפִידָא broach.

b) חֲלִיזָא = חֲלִיזָא ; חֲלִיזָא = חֲלִיזָא ; טִבְיָא ; גִּיּוֹרָא .

qattulat.—§ 894. חֲרוֹשָׁתָא witchcraft.

עֲבִירָא .—§ 895. אֲסוּרָא ; בְּשׁוּלָא ; בְּרוּפָא blaspheming; צְבִירָא congregation.³

§ 896. יִסּוּרָא : פִּוּיָא suffering; יִתִּירָא superfluity.

§ 897. גִּידְרָא : עֵרָא steep embankment; חֲלִיזָא wedding feast.

§ 898. חֲלִיזָא : עֵרָא ugliness; יִדְקָא exactness; קִידְקָא , קִידְקָא , tartness, VL., Pes. 116a.

§ 899. פִּסּוּרָא : לוֹיָא cover; רִבּוּיָא ; שְׁנוּיָא change.

נִיְשׁוּפָתָא .—§ 900. נִיְשׁוּפָתָא drop; סִיְשׁוּמָתָא seal.

§ 901. גִּיּוֹרָתָא : עֵרָא proselyte.

III. PREFORMATIVES.

א.—§ 902. The א may represent merely a prothetic vowel, as in אֶצְבָּעָא finger, אֶמְצֵעַ midst, or may be a formative element. We are concerned here only with the latter.

¹ Cf. עֲכִמָּס be dark (night); Assy. ek kimu oppressor. On the connection between oppression and darkness cf. ظَلَمَ and § 865, n. 4; also Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.*, s. v. אָנַץ אָכַל , אָשַׁם , אָשַׁם , אָשַׁם , אָשַׁם .

² Cf. קָרְמִית TG., ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

³ *Ibid.*, § 377.

aqtal(at): אֶסְכְּרָא (שִׁכַּר $\sqrt{\text{ }}$); אַרְבַּע *four*; אֶרְנָבָא, אֶרְנָבָא, ¹ hare; אֶרְנָבָא; אֶסְמִכְתָּא. The last examples may have originally been aqtal-forms.—אֶנְדָּתָא (נָדַד $\sqrt{\text{ }}$).—אֶרְכָּתָא (רָכַד $\sqrt{\text{ }}$); אֶמְנָתָא (= הִמְנִיתָא) VL., B. B. 8b.—אֶדִיתָא (דִּי $\sqrt{\text{ }}$); אֶנִיתָא (נָא $\sqrt{\text{ }}$).—אֶשְׂרָא (שִׁיר $\sqrt{\text{ }}$).²

§ 903. With long vowel: אֶשְׂפִירָא, אֶשְׂפִירָא, אֶשְׂפִירָא, *scourer of dresses*; אֶבִיבָא *flute* (בִּב $\sqrt{\text{ }}$).

aqtalat.—§ 904. אֶיִרְיָתָא *funeral repast*; אֶרְיָתָא *scripture*; אֶקְנִיָתָא *giving possession*; אֶתְרִיָתָא *warning*, VL., B. B. 21b.

itqatal.—§ 905. אֶשְׂתִּימָא *superintendent, steward*.³

haqtal.—§ 906. הֶרְוּחָא *gain*; הֶזְמָנָא *invitation*.⁴

haqtal.—§ 907. הֶכְשִׁירָא *funeral oration*; הֶפְקִירָא *lawlessness*; הֶרְוִיָתָא *gain*.

§ 908. הֶפִירָא *sign of recognition*; הֶקִיפָא *enclosure*; הֶקִישָא *inference from analogy*; הֶתִירָא.

iaqtal(at).—§ 909. יֶבְרִיָתָא *mandrake*; יֶחְמוּרָתָא *fallow-deer*.⁵

maqtal.—§ 910. מִלְאָכָא, מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, *jugular vein*, Alf. Hull. 93b;⁶ מִשְׁכָּלָא, מִשְׁכָּלָא, *basket*.⁷

§ 911. מִיִּמְרָא *word, teaching*; מִיִּכְלָא *food*; מִיִּנָא *vessel* (אִי $\sqrt{\text{ }}$).

§ 912. מִזְרָקָא *crystal*, by-form מִזְרָקָא; מִזְרָקָא *session*; מִיִּתְבָא *best part*.

§ 913. מִגְלָא *sickle* (גַּל $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ = נָגַל).

¹ Eg. Arab. plur. انارب and انارب. نبر = رنب = نرب $\sqrt{\text{ }}$. نفر = نور = نبر = * رنب = نرب $\sqrt{\text{ }}$. take fright and run off, be timid, shy.

² Hence denominated אֶשְׂרָא *to vise, believe, i. e., take as authentic, as if provided with an official stamp*; באֶשְׂרָא *on belief, on credit*. By-form of אֶשְׂרָא is אֶשְׂרָא.

³ From Tigré šajama *set over, charge with, tašajama assume authority*.

⁴ All these forms are Hebrew loan-words.

⁵ But according to Brun, *Dict. syr-lat.*, s. v., this is a compound of מִסָּח + מִסָּח.

⁶ This is connected with מִזְרָקָא (§ 979).

⁷ Hence Greek μαχαίρα; cf. Lewy, *Semit. Fremdwörter im Griech.*, p. 21.

⁸ Tigré mōqar quartz, قواريز *crystal, glass*, قارورة, عَصَا, glass bottle, حَمْلُ, amphora, مَصْفَا, massa argenti vel auri. $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ = קָרַר = יָקַר = וָקַר. Properly dug, mined glass, in apposition to manufactured glass. Reinisch, *Bilin Wb.*, s. v. kaḡana, explains mōqar differently. SM. No. CLXIX has מִנְקָרָא.

§ 914. מִשְׁרָא, מִשְׁרָא, *fan*; מִשְׁרָא, *garden-bed*, מִשְׁרָא. The Assy. *masārū*, *mašārū* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, s. v. *מִשְׁרָא*) is probably a loan-word.—מִשְׁרָא *needle*.

§ 915. מִשְׁרָא *alum*; מִשְׁרָא *drink*.

maqtalat.—§ 916. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *basket*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *basket*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *east*, Pes. 111b; מִכְּבַּלְתָּא = Eth. *kanbalō*, that which Arab. خَلَال, African *kelal*, a wooden peg to fix the hair, a hair-pin.

§ 917. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *discharge*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *gift*.

§ 918. a) מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *strigil*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא.

b) מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *booth*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *cave*.

§ 919. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *candlestick*.

§ 920. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *camp*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *drink*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא.

muqṭal.—§ 921. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *pole to propel a boat*.

maqtīl.—§ 922. a) מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *scissors*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *gutter*.

b) מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *comb*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *sneak-thief*.

§ 923. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *fire-place*.

§ 924. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *fan*.

maqtīlat.—§ 925. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *scissors*.

§ 926. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *treatise*.

§ 927. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *college* (יתב = חוב).

maqtul(at).—§ 928. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *peddler*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *sneak-thief*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *silence*.—מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *pain*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא.

maqtal.—§ 929. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *ferry* (עבר); מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *west*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא (= מִשְׁכְּלָתָא) *shoe*.

§ 930. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *declaration*.

§ 931. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא.

§ 932. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *reality*.

§ 933. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *food*; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *city*.

§ 934. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *quarrelsome person*.

maqtalat.—§ 935. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא.

¹ Cf. the interesting remarks of Rabbinowicz in *VL.*, Meg. 18a, n. 1. Cf. also המסדרונה I, No. 230.

² Cf. מִשְׁכְּלָתָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 330; מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *ibid.*, § 74.

³ The form is due to the influence of קִשְׁלָתָא. To the same influence is due مَاجَرَج (§ 846). On the "tyranny" of this form in modern Arabic cf. Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L, 327.

⁴ Does this stand for מִשְׁכְּלָתָא with interchange of labials?

§ 936. plur. מִטָּאֲרָתָא *safes*.

§ 937. לֹוִי מִטְּהָאֲחָא *hip, loin*; מִקְצָתָא *part, some*; מוֹמְתָא *oath*.

miqtal.—§ 938. מִדְּרָשָׁא *study*; מִנְהָגָא *custom*.¹

muqtal.—§ 939. מוֹסָפָא. A Hebrew loan-word.

maqtil.—§ 940. מַאֲדִים *Mars*; מוֹרִיקָא *crocus*; מִדִּיקָא *evil spirit*.

maqattalat.—§ 941. מַחְנוּרְתָא; מִשְׁבִּשְׁתָּא; מִתְקַנְתָּא; מִתְרַצְתָּא.

maqattil.—§ 942. מִרְחָמָא *friend*; מִשְׁוֹרָא *rover*.

maqattul.—§ 943. מִדְּבוֹרָא, cf. Kohut, s. v.; מְבוֹרָא *ferry-man* (= מַעְבוֹרָא).

maqatal.—§ 944. מִסּוֹבְלָא, מִסְאֲבָלָא, *load*.

maqatil(at).—§ 945. מִדּוֹבְרָא; מִסּוֹבִיחָא *bar-maid*.

mattaqtalat.—§ 946. מַתּוֹכִילָתָא, מַתְכִּילָתָא, *eatables* (אֲכָל/√).

§ 947. נִכְחָמָא *cover*; נִקְשָׁא *spoiled leavened substance*.

§ 948. צְלוּלִיבָא (§ 77).

§ 949. שִׁיזְבוּתָא *delivery*; שְׁלִפּוּתָא *bladder*;² שַׁעְבוּדָא *subjection, slavery*; plur. שְׁבִירֵי *rays*.

§ 950. taqtilat: תּוֹסְפָתָא *addition*.

tiqtil(at): תֵּיחָתָא *fig-tree*.—(תֵּיחָתָא) = (תֵּיחָתָא) *VL., Men. 35 a.* Cf. تيم.

taqtul(at): תְּסַפֵּירָתָא, תְּסַפֵּרָתָא or תְּסַפְרָתָא, *hair-cutting*; תֵּיחָתָא *bridge* (§ 44).

taqtal: תּוֹחָבָא *dress*; תַּנְגָּא *merchant* (§ 50); תַּרְבָּצָא, Assy. *tarbaçu yard*.

taqtıl(at): תַּבְשִׁילָא *dish*; תַּלְמִידָא *pupil*,³ תַּפְשִׁידָא; תַּפְחִידָא; תַּשְׁמִישְׁתָּא *use*.

taqtûl: תַּלְמוּדָא; תַּרְגוּמָא.

IV. AFFORMATIVES.

§ 951. When a *nomen agentis* is to be derived from an اسم جامد it may be formed as any similar noun of the form קטולא, e. g., סְפוּנָא *skipper*; חֲנוּרָא *stove-maker*; עֲמוּרָא *dealers*

¹ מִנְהָגָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 67.

² נִקְשָׁא/√; cf. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1882, p. 320. But see Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, ed. 12, s. v. שִׁפּוֹחַ.

³ Cf. on this word, Meissner, *ZA.*, IX, 272sq. Cf. also the proper name תַּחְלִיקָא, تَحْلِيْقَا *puḍibundus*.

in wool. If the *اسم جامد* is itself of that form, an adjective ending is added, *e. g.*, *פְּתוּרָא* *table* gives a form *פְּתוּרָאָה* *money-changer* = *שְׂוִלְחָנִי*. But, in most cases, to the given form is added the ending *י*, which is nothing but the final syllable of *לִי* forms of *קְטוּלָא*, leaving the original form of the word as much as possible unaltered. Thus, *אֶהְלִיָא* *dealer in אֶהְלָא* *Kali*; *אֶזְלִיָא*, 'אִי, *dealer in אֶזְלָא*, 'אִי, *spun yarn*; *אֶימְרִיָא* *dealer in אֶימְרִי* *lambs*, *VL.*, B. B. 22a; *נֶפְטִיָא* *dealer in נֶפְטָא* *naphtha*; *עֲמִרִיָא* *dealer in עֲמִרָא* *wool*, *Alf. B. B. 22a*; *צִדְרִיָא* *dealer in צִדְרִי* (*Assyr. gudûru*) *fine garments*; *קִשְׁתִּיָא* *archer, one that handles a קִשְׁתָא* *bow*. The same principle is applied to *מִבְרָא* *ferry*, giving *מִבְרִיָא* *ferryman*, A. Z. 65b (*Rašf, ibid. אֶבְרִיָא*'), for *עֲבֹרָא** would mean something else.²

י, *ai*.—§ 952. The ending *ai* occurs in a limited number of nouns whose gender can rarely be determined from present data: *אִמְרִיָא*, *Assyr. amurrû, west*; *כִּירְכִיָא* *crane*, *Assyr. kurkû*; *נְדִנְיָא* *dowry*, *Assyr. nudunnû*; *חִבְלִיָא* *rope*, *Assyr. tubalû*; *דִּוְקִיָא* *inference*; *חִבְלִיָא* *interest*; *כְּנִיפִיָא* or *כִּנּוּפִיָא* *assembly*; *מְדִכִּיָא* *pestle*; *סֶרְסִיָא* *servant*. A few other nouns occur with or without this ending: *אֶסְקִיָא* and *אֶסְקִיָתָא* *sail-yard*, *שִׁמְנָא*³; *אֶפְחִיָא* and *אֶפְחִיָתָא* *swelling*; *דְּבִרְיָא* and *דְּבִרְיָתָא* *bee*; *מָזָא* and *מָזִיָא* *hair*; *מִסְתִּיָא* and *מִסְתִּיָתָא* *sufficiency*; *שִׁיפּוּצִיָא* and *שִׁיפּוּצִיָתָא* *repairing*.—*אֶרְעִי*, *עֶרְאִי*, *chance*, is Palestinian.⁴

ai.—§ 953. This ending serves to derive relative adjectives, appellative nouns, and gentilic adjectives from substantives, adjectives, and proper nouns. The masculine has mostly the forms *אִי־אֶהְ*, *אִי־אֶז*, (at times contracted to *אֶהְ*),⁵ *אִי־אֶי*, *אִי־אֶי*; the feminine, *אִי־תָא*, *אִי־תָתָא*, *אִי־תָתָא*. The masculine *אִי־אֶהְ* is rare.

¹ *Cf.* *מְרִקְשָׁנָא* = *Assyr. arabsamnu*; *אֶרְסָא* = *Tñs. marzi poison*; *מַזְלִיחָא* = *אֶזְלִיחָא* *VL.*, *Pes. 40a*; *אֶנָּא* = *Eth. manana* (§ 888).

² In later literature we find an affirmative *י* attached to proper names, as *אִי־קִיָּא*, *קִשְׁתִּיָּא*, *קִשְׁתִּיָּא*, which is of Persian origin. *Cf.* about this termination Noldeke, *Pers. Studien*, I, 4 sq.; Poznański, *REJ.*, XXXIV, 161 sq.; Steinschneider's *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 20, 153.

³ For *אֶסְקִיָא* we find also the form *קֶרְסָא*, *קֶרְסָא*, *R. Nissim, המפתח*, 3a, *Igg. Sertra*, ed. Neubauer, p. 14. This is the *Hebr. קֶרֶשׁ* (*Ex. 27:6*). The word goes back to *شَق*, *be slender*, *شَق*, *vibrate*, with various transpositions.

⁴ *תִּקְנִיָא*, *תִּקְנִיָא*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, *index*.

⁵ *Cf.* § 83.

From **בְּרָא** *outside, country*, the adjective **בְּרָאָה**, **בְּרִיתָא**, **בְּרִיתָא**, is formed. From **גִּינְחָא** *garden*, **גִּינְחָא** *gardener*; from **חֲקֵלָא** *field*, **חֲקֵלָא** *countryman*; from **אָבִילָא** *gate*,¹ **אָבִילָא** *gate-keeper*; from **קִרְיָא** *city*, **קִרְיָא** *townsman*; from **עֲלָא** *above*, **עֲלָא** (= 'iliāiā) *upper*; from **יְחִידָא**, **חֲפִימָא**, the forms **יְחִידָא** *sole*, **חֲפִימָא** *one pretending to be a scholar*; from **בָּבֶל**, **רומָא**, **רומָא**, the gentilic adjectives **בָּבֶלָא** *Babylonian*, **רומָא** *Roman*, **פומבדיתָא** *Pumbedithean*. In a few cases this ending is used interchangeably with *an*; as **סָדָא** = **סָדָנָא** *maker of stocks*; **ענוּתָא** = **ענוּתָנָא** *modest man*. But more frequently both endings are combined. Cf. § 962.²

יִי, יִי, יִי.—§ 954. This affirmative occurs only before the feminine ending.

a) qatl: **אֶרְעִיתָא**, **אֶרְעִיתָא**, *bottom*, VL., Men. 11a; **עֶרְעִיתָא** *hornet*.

b) qitl: **בְּשִׁיתָא** *caper*; **בְּנִיתָא** *hair* (§ 809); **בִּיצִיתָא** a kind of boat; **עֲלִיתָא** *upper chamber* (= 'iliiāiā); **שִׁינְיָא** *female*.³

c) qutl: **גִּידְרִיתָא** *fencing in*; **זִגְיָא** *glass vessel*; **תּוֹרִיתָא** *form* (§ 55).

d) q^otal: **נְעֻמִיתָא** *ostrich*; **נִפְפִיתָא** *winnowing-fan*; **אֲמִצְעִיתָא**.

e) q^otāl: **זָהָרִיתָא** *crimson*; **סְרוּקִיתָא** *caravan of Saracenes*.

f) quttul: **זִיבּוֹרִיתָא** *wasp*.

g) qattal: **פְּבִרִיתָא** *sulphur*.

h) qūttāl: **חִידְרִיתָא** *white flour*; **תּוֹרִנִּיתָא** *cypress*.

i) qittāl: **חִיפּוֹשִׁיתָא** *scarabee*; **חִיפּוֹפִיתָא** *scurf*.

j) maqtāl: **מִצְבִּיתָא**, **מִצְבִּיתָא**.

k) maqtāl: **מִסְתִּירָא** *reel* = **مُسْقَرَة** *skein*; cf. سفر VII.⁴

l) šaqtīl: **שִׁעְמִימִיתָא** *idiocy*.

¹ This word seems to be of Kushitic origin and identical with **אֶגְלָא**, **גְּלָא**. Cf. Nuba agil *mouth, entrance*; Kufan ogul, awol, aul, *mouth*; Kafa kellō *door, gate*; Chamir bilā, mirā, *gate, door*; Amh. bārr *principal entrance*; Galla kellā *principal exit*, balbatā *door, gate*. From the last form may come **בָּבָא**.

² Notice here **מְנַבְרִיתָא**, **מְנַבְרִיתָא**, *stewardess*, 'Afar-Saho manābōytā, Tigre manābbet.

³ Assy. siništu. On the etymology cf. S. Arab. **سَنْخ** = Hebr. **נָקַב**. On its synonym **שִׁנְיָא** cf. Parisot in JA., IX^e s., XII^e t., 132 p.

⁴ **צִיב** = Quara jāb *branch of tree, border of garment*; Amh. iāf *idem*.

⁵ **فَلْفَل** = (תלחלים) **תלחל**, and as **فَم** = **فَم**, as **سفر** = **סתר** = **סִלְסֵל** *frizzle*. With **مَشْوَرَة** (Low, *Aram. PN.*, 56), it has nothing to do.

- m) šaqtal: שְׂעֻמִּיתָא *id.*
n) qatlal: עֲקוּמִיתָא *perverseness*; עִרְבּוּבִיתָא *confusion*.
o) qalqal: פְּרִיבִיתָא *Venus (planet)*, פְּרִיבִיתָא, פְּרִיבִיתָא, غرايم.
p) maqalqal: מִבְּלָבְלִיתָא *mixture of white and black*.
q, a. — § 955. a) qatl: אִיתָא *wifehood*; נַעֲרִיתָא *youth*; חַיִּיתָא *livelihood*.
b) qitl: בִּיעֲרִיתָא *fright*; מִיתָא *death*; רַבּוּא *myriad*; צִילּוּתָא *limpidness*.
c) qatal: אֲמִידוּ *condition of being a maid-servant*; חֲתֻנִּיתָא *intermarriage*.
d) qatil: a) חֲבֵרִיתָא *companionship*; סִיבִי *old age*.
b) אֲבִילוּתָא *mourning*; טְלִימוּתָא *perfection*.
e) qatil: יָקוּתָא *youth*; סְהוּדוּתָא *testimony*; סְמִיּוּתָא *blindness*; שְׁקִירוּתָא *drink*; רְמוּת *arrogance*.
f) q^otal: סְרָרוּתָא *dominion*; שְׁבָבִיתָא *neighborhood*.
g) qatl: חֲשִׁיבִיתָא *dignity*; יְהוּדִיתָא *arrogance*; מְאִיסוּתָא *repulsiveness*; בִּישׁוּתָא *badness*; חֲבִיבִיתָא *love*.
h) qattal: נִבְרִיתָא *collector's office*.
i) qattil: עֲתִירוּתָא *riches* (√, ث is connected with it); קְשִׁישׁוּתָא *old age*.
j) 'aqtal: אֲסִהּדִיתָא *testifying*.
k) haqtal: הִימְנִיתָא *trust, faith*.
l) maqtal: מִסְהוּתָא *bath*.
m) maqattal: מַעְלִיּוּתָא *delicacy*.
n) maqattil: מְנַקְרִיתָא, מְנַקְרִיתָא, *cleanliness*.
o) mitqattal: מִיִּתְבּוּתָא *M. Q. 2a*.
p) qatlil: שְׁמִנִּיתָא *fat*.
q. — § 956. אֲרִדְלָא *mushroom*, plur. אֲרִדְלָא, אֲרִדְלָא, פִּרְדִּילָא *shepherd's assistance*, properly carrier of the קֶרֶז *shepherd's pouch*; עֲרִפִּילָא, עֲרִי, *drizzling rain*; קֶרְצוּלָא, קֶרְסוּלָא, *knee-joint*.
r. — § 957. סִלְמָא *ladder*.

י.—*an, on (ân), in (en), an (?)*.—§ 958. These affirmatives are used:

1. To form from verbal stems infinitives; as צוֹרֶחָא *to cry*, VL., Ber. 20a; לְנִסְיָנֵיהֶוּ *to prove them*, Yalq. Kings 199 = Sanh. 101b. From this develop the following classes:

a) Abstract nouns; as מִנְיָא *number*; פּוֹרְעָנָא *retribution, punishment*.

b) Adjectives; as דְּלִפְנָא *blear-eyed*.

c) Nomina agentis with the sense of habitual action, occupation, etc.; as בִּזְלָנָא *robber*. This class is the most common.

d) Concrete nouns; as שְׁקִירָא *liquid*.

2. To change participles into appellatives, denoting habitual action; as מְדַבְּרָא *leader*.

3. To change concrete nouns into

a) adjectives and appellative nouns denoting the possessor of that which is denoted by the noun, with a magnifying sense; as שְׁיִנְנָא *having large teeth*; בִּישְׁרָא *fleshy*;

b) adjectives possessing the quality of the noun; as תוֹלְעָנָא *crimson*;

c) another noun with a metaphorical expression; as מַעֲיָנָא *body, properly containing bowels*.

4. To change a proper noun into an adjective denoting relation to that noun; as קִיסְרָא *Cæsarean*.

5. To change an adjective into a noun; as הָדְחָנָא *something new*.

6. To strengthen adverbs and demonstr. pronouns; as לְמִפְּנֵי, תִּפְּנֵי, דִּין, תִּפְּנֵי.

ân.—§ 959. a) qatl: נִגְחָא *goring*; עֲבָרִיָא *transgressor*; דְּקָנָא, דִּקְנָא, דִּקְנָא, דִּקְנָא = טִיִּיָא *arrogant*, passing into לִי; רִיחָא, רִיחָא, רִיחָא *fragrant*; מוֹתָא *pestilence*; אִמְרָא, אִמְרָא, אִמְרָא, אִמְרָא *station* (توى = اوى); אִמְרָא, אִמְרָא, אִמְרָא *potsherd*, cf. סִפְתָא *scale*, חֲסִפָא and חֲסִפִּיתָא (§ 963, note).

b) qatlat: רִיחָא *fragrant*.

c) qitl: אִסְתָּא *north*; בִּירְסָא *acquisition*; מִצְרָא *boundary*; אֵילָא *tree*; תִּנְרָא *second*.

d) qutl: עִילְפָא *insult*; רִמְפָא *pomegranate*; פֶּלֶךְ, סוּפְרָא, סוּפְרָא *surplus*; סוּפְרָא, סוּפְרָא, סוּפְרָא *twig*.

e) qutlat: סוּפְרָא *twig*.

f) qatal: **חֲדָתָנָא** *something new*, VL., B. B. 90b; **בִּיצְלָנָא**; **הִיקְנָנָא** *bearded*.

g) qatalat: **עִינִיחָנָא** *modest*.

h) qatil: **שְׁלֵמָנָא** *virtuous*; **רֵבְנָא**; **רִיקָנָא** *empty*; **עֵדָנָא** *time* (= *ua'idana*).¹

i) qital: **מַעֲיָנָא** *body*.

j) qatil: **מָרָנָא** *master, lord*.

k) q^otal: **אַרְרָן** a kind of sword, properly *something made of metal*.²

l) q^otil: **אַרְרִין** *id.*³ By-form **אַרְרִין** (§ 36) = *Kafa arijo sword, dirk*.

m) qattil: **קַבְלָנָא** *possessor of tradition*; **רַחֲמָנָא** *merciful*.

n) 'aqtal: **אוֹרְרִין** *teaching, knowledge*.

o) tuqtul: **תּוֹרַפְמָנָא** *interpreter*.

p) maqattil: **מַלְפָנָא** *teacher*; **מַדְבָּרָנָא** *leader*.

q) maqtal: **מַעֲלָנָא** *entrance*; **מַפְקָנָא** *exit*.

r) maqtil: **מוֹרְרִין** *teacher*.

s) maqtul: **מַצְוִינָא** *quarrelsome man*.

t) mataqtul: **מַתּוֹרַפְמָנָא** *interpreter*.⁴

u) qautal: **אוֹרְלָנָא** *crimson*.

v) qalqal: **קַרְקָפָנָא** *big-head*.

w) qalqil: **זִלְזָלָנָא** *intemperate*.

x) qulqul: **קִירְקָבָן**, Assy. quqqubanu, *craw*,⁵ **שׁוּמְשָׁמָנָא**, *ant*.

On, un.—§ 960. a) qat(i)l: **אַבְשׁוּנָא** *parched corn* (√ **אבש** = **יבש**); **אַלְיוּנָא** *thumb*; **בְּרִינָא**, Assy. baranu, *outlaw, rebel* (√ **ברא** = √ **מרא**); **דְּבִירוּנָא** *current*,⁶ **אַרְבִּינָא** *defective sight*.⁷

¹ Intervocalic **ע** is weakened to **א** in **הָאִידָנָא** *now*.

² Eth. 'arar *lead, tin*; Tigre 'arar *lead, tin*, 'arār *steel*, 'arer *bullet* (lead or iron)

غَار *point of lance, edge of sword*, **غَر** *metal bell*, **אַרְר** *pen, originally stylus*, TR., I, 81

³ All words of this form in the emphatic state are traditionally pronounced with **שָׁנָא** before **נ**; as **אַבְשִׁשָׁנָא**, **בְּרִישָׁנָא**, **שְׁמִישָׁנָא**, **צַמִּידָנָא**. This is evidently due to the retrogression of the accent.

⁴ The *u*-vowel is due to the following consonants as well as to the infinitive form sub o. Cf. Pal. Aram. **מְשִׁמְשָׁנָא**.

⁵ **קִירְקָבָן** HG. 522.

⁶ **בְּרִינָא** *Igg. Sertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 25, n. 10 = Pal. Syr. **ܒܪܝܢܐ**.

⁷ Bilin 'arab *blind*.

b) qit(ta)l: בְּזוּזָה disgrace; עִוְרוּזָה blindness; צִבְעוֹנִין colored garments.

c) qutl: דְּרָבִינִי goad-bearers; but more correctly דְּרָבִינָי.

d) qattal: חֶלְזוֹנָה snail.¹

in.—§ 961. a) qatl: אַחֲרִינָה, אַחֲרִינְתָה, contracted to אַחֲרִינָה, אַחֲרִינְתִי, אַחֲרִינְתָּ, another; הִדְרִינְתָּ swindler; נֶרְדֵּינָה rose-bush; חֶרְשִׁינָה? horse-bean; צַפְדִּינָה tooth-ache.—סִפִּינָה knife.—זִוּקִינָה swollen; plur. בּוֹצִינֵי young pumpkins, C. MS., Meg. 12ab (voc.); אֲחֻזָּה = אֲחֻזָּה kindling-wood; קִרְיָה, جِرْيَال, Assy. karānu, wine.²—פֶּרְצִידָה (= parçinda = parçinta).⁴

b) qutl: הַרְסִינָה acquisition; שׁוֹבֵינָה happy; קוֹפִינָה hole; שׁוֹדְפִינָה, שׁוֹדְפִינָה, سُور, سُور, Alg. Arab. سُورَل, Assy. šurmēnu, cypress.

c) maqattil: מְרַבִּינָה educator.

d) qalqal: שׁוֹשְׁבֵינָה bridegroom's friend, שׁוֹשְׁבֵינָה bridesmaid, Assy. susabīnu; cf. شَيْبَانِ god-father, شَيْبَانَة god-mother (√ שבב = شبن, § 858).

ר.—§ 962. עֶכְבְּרָה mouse.⁵

DOUBLE AFFORMATIVES.

§ 963. With the exception of the few examples given below, double affirmatives occur only with the feminine ending.

¹ This word denotes five different species. Cf. Epstein, *Beth Talmud*, V, 299 sq.

² This must not be confounded with Hebr. אֲחִירִית, which is of a different formation. For אֲחִירִית after ! confer אֲחִירִית.

³ √ כר = כרם, whence also kirē, qirē, groves. For a similar phenomenon, where מ is retained in the cognate languages, while having become ך in Assyrian, cf. תַּמְזִיז = du'usu.

⁴ √ فرص kernel, fruit-stone, is that which is cut out. Of the same origin is probably the ד in Hebr. קֶרֶד and קֶרֶדוֹת. The last word Gesenius' *Thesaurus* connects, probably correctly, with رَمَتْ. For the variety of sibilants cf. Yemen Arab. رَمَص, Eth. rames; for interchange of מ and נ cf. نَعْمَا = نَعْمَا. But these words may be loan-words from Kushitic, where the feminine ending ad instead of at is common.

⁵ √ عكب be thick-set. The mouse is frequently called by a name denoting this quality and is, therefore, frequently synonymous with muscle. Cf. رَكِين firm, solid, زَكِين mouse; عَصَلَة muscle, عَصَل field-mouse, فَار muscle, mouse; hence medieval Hebr. עֶכְבֶּר muscle. The same connection between muscle and mouse is found in some Indo-European languages. Cf. Kluge, s. v. Maus.

a) anī: פִּלְנִיָּא; גְּמִלְנִיָּא *large-sized*; דְּהִבְשְׁנִיָּא *honey-like*; חֲסִפְנִיָּא *scurf*, scaly appearance of the skin.¹

b) inī: מַחֲרִינִיָּא *indication*; פִּילִינִיָּא = פּוֹלִינִיָּא *anemone*; plur. כִּלְנִיָּא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

c) anū: עֲנוּחִיָּא *modesty, meekness*; רַבְרְבִינִיָּא *greatness*.

d) inū: פִּרְעִינִיָּא *fruit-stone*.

e) anai: plur. דִּרְבָּנַי *goad-bearers*.

f) inai: יִדְחִינָא *skilled in calendation*.

g) aiū: אֲרִינִיָּא *paganism*; תִּלְמִינִיָּא *something furrow-like*.

h) A few words are pronounced with שׁוּא before נ, e. g., מַחוּזנָא *one from Mahoza*. Whether originally so?

V. DIPHTHONGIZED FORMS.

1. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND SHORT VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 964. a) qautal: מִזְרָא *threshing-sledge*; דִּחְלָא = דִּחְלָה *mule*; תִּזְלָא, תִּזְלָה, *worm*.

b) qaital: דִּישָׁרָא = דִּישָׁרָה.

2. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 965. a) qautal: שׁוּפְרָא; שׁוּפְרָא (§ 23c).

b) qautil: מִזְרִינָא; מִזְרִינָא.

c) qaitil: [פִּי־לִילִ] Zeb. 118b; proper noun?]

d) qaital: שׁוּפְרָא = שׁוּפְרָא *cupping*; שׁוּפְרָא = שׁוּפְרָא.

3. DIPHTHONG IN THE SECOND SYLLABLE.

qutail.—§ 966. אִידִילָא *gazelle*; עִילִימָא *youth, young man*; plur. עִילִימִי, and with disregard of grammatical form, עִילִימִי, Zeb. 116b and Rašī *ad loc*.

NOTE.—There are some words which are spelled like those above, but probably do not belong here; e. g., אִירִיָּא = אִירִיָּא.

¹ חֲסִפָּה = חֲסִפָּה = חֲסִפָּה *scratch, peel, etc.* Hence חֲסִפָּה = חֲסִפָּה *scale*, חֲסִפָּה *potsherd*, properly *chipping*, חֲסִיפָּה *worn-out garment*, whose nap is scratched off. Assy. ḥaḡbu is loan-word. Similar development: בָּגָה, בָּגָה, *scale*, חֲסִפָּה *potsherd*; חֲסִפָּה, חֲסִפָּה, *scurf, potsherd*, חֲסִפָּה *fine linen*, whose nap is gone. Cf. also Hebr. dict. s. v. חֲסִפָּה.

שְׁדִילָא = שְׁדִילָא.

rice; רִמְיָהּ = רִמְיָהּ *speer*; § 866). The second vowel in the first two is probably a helping vowel to ease the collocation of difficult sounds. Cf. a similar helping vowel in אֲבִידִיתָּ, עֲבִידִיתָּ (§ 833, n. 1). Similar formations in Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic, belonging to various forms, are: שׁוּמִירָה, בּוּדִידָה; כּוּדִיבָּ, זׁוּנִידָּ, דּוּחִינָּ. Pal. Syr. ܡܡܡܐ, ܡܡܡܐ, ܡܡܡܐ, etc.

VI. REDUPLICATED FORMS.

galqal and similar forms.—§ 967: אֲדִירָא *net*, Assyr. huḥaru;¹ אֲסַפְתָּא *lucern*, shortened to אֲסַפְתָּא (VL., Sanh. 74b, 93a, Yalqūt Dan. 1060) = فِصَّة, فِصْفَة; בְּרִישָׁתָא, בְּרִישָׁתָא *clod*, shortened to בְּרִישָׁתָא VL., Succā 26a; cf. Eth. g^uaçg^ueq and Maltese grix; דַּעַשׁ *door, gate*, Amharic daḡ, Eth. dēde; דִּידְבָּא, דִּידְבָּא *fly*; דִּקְדִּקְתָּא *tow*; plur. דִּרְדִּיק *young children*, דִּקְדִּיק *broom*; פִּרְכָּבָּא *star*; פִּרְכָּבָּא *talent*; לֵילִיָּא *night*, SM. No. xxv (voc.); מִינְיָא (*נענע*) *mint*; מִינְיָא, זֶאנָּא, awn = شَعَاع (§ 794a); סוּסָא *horse*, Eg. Arab. سيسي *pony*; צִילְצִילָא, צִילְצִילָא, צִילְצִילָא, turtle-dove; קִיקְלָא, קִיקְלָא, קִיקְלָא, heap of refuse, Tña. qulqulet *declivity*; קִיקְלָא *jar*; קִיקְלָא (= קַעֲקַעָא) *throat*; קִיקְלָא *head*; שִׁישָׁלָא, שִׁישָׁלָא, שִׁישָׁלָא, chain.

¹ Cf. § 77.

² Cf. מִסְפָּרִיתָא (Lōw, *Aram. PN.*, p. 96). The 𐤎 became 𐤌 through 𐤒 (cf. وقير = فقير = Eth. uaxēma *hymn*, Tigre yonne = fanfane), or it was mistaken for the Egyptian article and dropped (cf. Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L. 617, 654). The fact that اسپست makes sense in Persian need not prove more its Persian origin than our "sparrow-grass" the English origin of "asparagus." فِصْفَة is a transposition of صَفْصَفَة, etymologically the same as Hebr. צַפְצַפָּה, whose verbal stem is found in Eth. safafa *abound*. סִירָּ reed may also belong here.

³ Halévy compares קִיקְלָא with Assyr. kigallu *lowland* (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, s. v.).

⁴ فکر = ذکر. For interchange of 𐤌 and 𐤒 cf. قف = قد = قد. The primitive meaning was evidently *hollow out*; hence the correlative *be convex*. This explains all the derivatives of the root. The first meaning appears in קִיקְלָא, قَفَّة, basket; קִיקְלָא, قَف, hole of the axe; קִיקְלָא, מקִידָּ, pot, bowl; the second, in קִיקְלָא, cupola, קִיקְלָא, قَفَا, occiput, whence the denominative قَفَا *be behind, follow*, قَفَلَة *head*, קִיקְלָא, Assyr. qaqqadu; קִיקְלָא, قَدَد, elevation, קִיקְלָא, ascend a mountain, קִיקְלָא, قَدَال = קִיקְלָא, high top; Tña. qerqerti occiput = *qedqedti (§ 36).

qulqul and similar forms.—§ 968. קִּלְקִילָה, *skull*; פִּירִיכָמָא *crocus*; קִדְקִידָא *elevation*; קִירְקִיר *raven*; שִׁמְשָׁמָא, *sesame*.

qalqal, qalql, qalqal.—§ 969. *בְּרִיָּא* *briar*; *בַּדְּהִיָּא* *bad thoughts* (√*פ*); *דִּמְזוּמָא*, *טִילְטוּלָא*, and similar forms; *לִיָּלְבָא*, *לִיָּלְבָא*; *פְּרִישׁוּרָא*, *פְּרִישׁוּרָא*, *chain*.

gataltal and similar forms.—§ 970. תְּצוּצָרָא *trumpet*; אֶקְרִיתָא, and shortened: אֶקְרִיתָא, אֶקְרִיתָא, אֶקְרִיתָא, אֶקְרִיתָא, חֲמֻמָּא, عَفْرُف, *frog* (✓ عفر = قر = قري = قري).

qutaltil and similar forms.—§ 971. פְּרֻמָּשָׁא = פְּרֻמְיָשָׁא;
 plur. פְּרֻמָּתָא = פְּרֻמְיָתָא.

qatqal, qatqil.—§ 972. **זִבְזֹנָה** *lizard*, **נִלְגָא**. Cf. Maltese *bazuga bogaraves*, *zibbūgi olive-colored*. **זִרְדִּיפָתָא, זִרְדִּיפָא**, *squirting*.

qatlal.—§ 973. חֵלֶל *clue, skein*, plur. יָלָקוּת *Yalqut Ps.* 862 = Hull. 60a (§ 81);¹ רִיכּוֹן *rich landlord*; פְּקָרָא *infernal liar*.

qatlil.—§ 974. *הַבִּלְיָלָה* *stomach of an animal*;² *פֶּרֶץ־בִּצָּה* *pullet in the egg-shell*;³ *וְהַרְיָא*.

qatlal.—§ 975. *חֲלוּלָא* *scare-crow*; *רִצּוּצָא*, shortened to *רִצּוּצָא*; *זַמּוּטָא*, *young man*;⁴ *חֲבִירוּרָא* *chum, crony*.⁵ *רִחוּשׁוּתָא* *emotion*; *שִׁלְפּוּפָא* *Assyr. suluppu*.

qutulal.—§ 976. Plur. **טִּלּוּלֵי**.

VII. INFIXES.

§ 977. The infixed elements are: ב, מ, נ, ס, פ, ר, ש, ת. Some of these infixes have arisen from syllabic metathesis, others from resolution of doubling; still others come from verbal forms

¹This word is given by the Syriac dictionaries sub. ܢܝܢ, but it belongs to ܢܥܝ, a by-form of ܢܝ. Cf. ܢܥܝܐ hang down loosely.

² This is Tigré eš bilō = Bilin š bilō *small intestines*.

³ رَضَّ lay an egg with one push. Cf. زَكَبَ to bring forth a child with one effort and زَكَبَةٌ foetus.

Cy. Alg. Arab. يطوط , زعطو , ring-dove, properly the cooing bird.

⁵The variant **חברותא**, which has misled our lexicographers, is not **תְּבִרְיָתָא**, but **חברותא** *female companions*.

hose; ¹ יִרְנָקָא or יִרְנָקָא *wine flavored with herbs*; סְבִינָא לֵא *load, burden*, VL., R. H. 26b; (شرف) סְרוּנְכִי; פִּשְׁטָקְצָא = פִּשְׁטָקְצָא (§ 980).

הַלְקוּסָתָא, הִלְקוּסָתָא (= אֶסְפָּא); סְרִיקוּסָתָא = סְרִיקוּתָא; סְלִיקוּסָתָא = סְלִיקוּתָא; חֵיבֻסָתָא comb; קְלִיבוּסָתָא hipbone; אֲשִׁכָּפָא (§ 46); פֶּשֶׁקֶצָא she-raven (فقس), literally the egg-breaking bird; ? פְּרִימָשָׂא service-tree.³ Cf. כְּרוּמוֹס fig-tree, but Dozy has ! کړطوس

7.—§ 981. אַרְדִּילָא, אַרְדִּילָא, *hammock* (עזל); *gazelle*, אַרְדִּילָא; *stump*, גַּרְדִּילָא; *cubit*, גַּרְמִידָא; *couch, bed*, Eth. *medqas*, דִּרְנָשָׁא; *scabs*, חִרְפוּסִיתָא; ? טִרְפָּשָׁא; *قَنْبَرَة* = פֶּרְבִּלְתָּא, with dissimilation of last stem-consonant; *arm-chair* (quttal), פִּרְסִיָּא; *pearl* = Eth. *mogart precious stone*; מִרְזִיבָּלָא, *نیل*, *palm-mat*; *سبطا*, *rag*, סִבְטִיבָּלָא; *naked*, עִרְסִילָא; קִרְפָּדָא = קפוד.

(= dz) loses its z before ج and ح and ج and ح are transposed. *جزل* to cut; cf. Italian *mancino*. On the connection between left-handedness and ambidexterity cf. *عَسِرَ*, which means both. Hence *جَزَّ* to grab with both hands, rob, and *جَزَل* give with both hands, be generous.

¹ Cf. Assy. *zurīqāti* implements of irrigation, زَرَّاقَة watering-pot, زَرْنُوق rivulet, زَرْنُوقَان watering-machine, Eg. Arab. دُرُوق long-necked water-bottle.

² Cf. Z.A., VII, 179 sq.; ZATW., XVII, 351.

* Cf. *איסטליק* *Italian, VL.*, 'Er. 64 b, *פסחא* (= *פחא*) *Igg. Sertra*, ed. Neubauer, p. 31; *איסתא* = *אסא* *ibid.*, p. 44 (but this may be an istaph'al form). Here probably belongs *עשתרת* *Istar*, *√ עטר*, goddess of sexual lust. *عز* (§ 793, n. 1) rough, strong, passionate, hence fruitful. From the idea of fruitfulness and plenty we have *عتر* *kid*, *عتر*, Eth. and dialects 'atar beans, peas, grain, Hebr. *עָתָר*, *עֲתָרָה*, *עשתרת*, abundance, increase. *עטר* *kid* and *capers* may contain the idea of sexual passion; cf. Hebr. *אֲבוֹנָה*, the goat being known for lustfulness, and the capers may have been used as an aphrodisiac. *עשתרות* in *עשתרות צאן* may be identical with *עטר* *kid*. Cf. also Skipwith, *JQR.*, XI, 256.—From such a form as *סליקוסחא* has probably developed the Syriac independent suffix *ܣܠܝܟܐ*.

⁴ For the double treatment of the last stem-vowel cf. Hebr. קרמלית with קרמלו.

⁵ The etymology of this word is not certain. It has two series of synonyms. On the one hand, אצבע, חצרא, אבנחא; on the other, יוחרת and زيادة. It may go back to טפס as well as to طرف.

* It is, however, not impossible that the stem is כרב, since קרב = קרב. Cf. Tnā. k^horebtā *hill*. But cf. the spelling of קרבִּיתָא created in Jellineck's בית המדרש VI. 108.

ת.—§ 982. אֶתְכָלָא *cluster* (§ 790, n. 1); זִבְטָרָא (§ 56);¹ צִיִּיתָרִי, צִיִּיתָרִי, *savory*, *VL.*, Sabb. 128a.²

VIII. PLURICOONSONANTAL.

§ 983. אֶמְרָשִׁנָּא, אֶמְרָשִׁנָּא. Assy. abursanu;³ אֶמְרָכָלָא or אֶמְרָכָלָא, Assy. abkallu; אֶמְרָכָלָא, Assy. urmabbu (= urvabū), *great lion*; אֶמְרָכָלָא, Assy. dimgallu (§ 50); אֶמְרָכָלָא Somali *armali widow*;⁴ חֲרִדְלָא *mustard*; כֶּרְפָּס, פֶּרְפָּסָא *lean lamb*; שִׁרְקָפָא, שִׁרְקָפָא, *nest*; תַּרְנֻגָּלָא, תַּרְנֻגָּלָא, Assy. tarra-nugallu, a compound of tarra *hen* and nugallu *king*;⁵ תַּרְנֻגָּלָא. Here belongs also אֶרִיִּיתָא *lioness*, from a stem אֶרִי, אֶרִי;⁶ בָּקָרָא *baker* = Assy. nu-ḫatimma.⁷

APPENDIX.

HYPOCORISTIC ENDINGS.

§ 984. Proper nouns end in יָא, אִי, יָ or יִי, or וְ, וְ, and אֶ. *E. g.*, חֲנָא, אֶבְרָהָ, אֶיִּיבָ, אֶיִּכָ, אֶשִׁי or אֶשִׁי, רִחְוִמָא, מְשִׁרְשִׁיָא (for חֲנָא, § 794). Most or all of these endings occur also in the other Aramaic dialects and in Hebrew-Phenician.⁸ In Amharic we find the endings *el*, *al*, and *ol*.⁹ The origin of these endings is still unknown.

¹ The Ma'lula dialect still retains the ע in זִבְטָרָא.

² צִיִּיתָרִי. *cf.* أَمْرٌ صَعَاتِرٌ *difficulties, unpleasant things*, Maltese *santra trouble-some*; also نَدَغَ = صَعَتَرَ بَرِّي and نَدَغَ = צָעַר *offend with words*.

³ The word seems to be a compound. The first half seems to contain Eth. *aḥṛ ram*, Amh. *aḥrā male*, *aḥrē wild beast* = Eth. *aḥrē* and אֶרֶרָא and אֶרֶרָא. In the Kuschitic languages the word, under various forms, means *son, daughter, child, youth, husband, man*. What is the other element?

⁴ *armali* is a compound of (w)ar+ma+li *husband+not+having*. The Kunama drops the last element and says *ermatā no+husband*. To the Somali form go back أَرْمَلَةٌ, אֶרְמָלָא; to the Kunama form, Phenician אֶלְמָרָא.

⁵ *cf.* Oppert, *ZA.*, VII, 339. Is modern Arab. تَرْغَلَةٌ *turtle-dove* connected with this?

⁶ אֶרֶרָא *stable* is probably connected with this stem, meaning originally *the place for the animals*.

⁷ *cf.* Zimmern, *ZDMG.*, LIII, 115; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, 1899, pp. 278 sq.

⁸ *cf.* Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phöniz. Inschriften*, p. 34; Renan, *REJ.*, V, 161 sq.

⁹ *cf.* D'Abbadie, *Dict. Amar.*, s. v. gābrā (col. 847).

c) Very seldom we find the ending נָאִי, נָיִי. The following are all that occur: גִּסְנָיִי *Se'el*. § 92 = Hull. 17b;¹ נִנְאִי = נָאִי = נָאִי *stocks*, Pes. 28a; סִמְנָיִי B. M. 85b, סִמְנָיִי *VL.*, *ibid.*;² סִקְבָּיִי 'Arakh, Sanh. 98a; צִפְרָיִי Gitt. 70a.³ In words with this ending occurring only in the plural it is sometimes doubtful whether the singular ended in נָאִי or not; e. g., שְׁוֹפְטָיִי, צְוֹרְנָיִי.

2. Feminine Endings.

§ 990. a) The usual endings of the feminine are: *abs. st.* נָ, *est. st.* תָּ, *defn. st.* תָּא. E. g., בָּנִי daughters; דְּמֵעֵי tears, Sabb. 33b; דּוּכְתָּא places.

b) Not infrequently we find the double plural תָּיִי, תָּחִי, תָּתִי. E. g., בָּנִי Meg. 14b; צְנִיעֵתִי Sabb. 140b; שְׂיִדְתִּי *VL.*, Pes. 111b; חִיָּתִי *VL.*, Sabb. 110a; נְבִיאָתִי Meg. 14b.

c) In a few cases the plural ending is attached to the ending of the singular; e. g., שְׁמֵעֵתָא traditions, שְׁפִתָּא lips.⁴

d) The endings וְתָא, וְתָא (וְתָא), which are regular in feminine nouns from לִי-stems, are also taken by the following nouns:

a) Nouns ending in וְתָא, וְתָא, וְתָא; as אֲתֵרוֹתָא localities, קְדַמִּיתָא capers, קְדַמִּיתָא first, from אֲתֵרוֹתָא, אֲתֵרוֹתָא, בְּשִׁיתָא.

β) Masculine participial nouns from לִי; as רְעוּתָא, אֲסוּתָא, מְרוּתָא, from רָעִי, אֲסִי, מְרִי.

γ) A number of other nouns, with or without feminine ending in the singular, which cannot be classified; as חֲבֵרוֹתָא, נְהִירוֹתָא, from נְהִירָא, חֲבִירָא. Cf. § 992.

δ) A few nouns ending in a labial show in the plural the ending וְתָא instead of וְתָא, וְתָא: אֲבֵהָתָא fathers, parents, אֲמֵהָתָא mothers, אֲמֵהָתָא maid-servants, אֲמֵהָתָא cubits, אֲמֵהָתָא flanks, שְׁמֵהָתָא names.

ε) In a few cases it is impossible to decide whether the plural ending is וְתָא, וְתָא or וְתָא, וְתָא, אֲצִבְעֵתִיָּה or אֲצִבְעֵתִיָּה, E. Y., A. Z. 29a, פְּרִשְׁיֹתֵיכִי or פְּרִשְׁיֹתֵיכִי, Ber. 8b, תְּקוּפֹתָא or תְּקוּפֹתָא, Hull. 60b.⁵

¹ גִּסְנָיִי, 'Ānān, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

² סִמְנָיִי *JQR.*, IX, 701.

³ שְׁוֹפְטָיִי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 550, *ibid.* רָבִי is Palestinian.

⁴ אֲתֵרוֹתָא *HG.* 140; מְסִבְתָּא *ibid.* 285; הִילְבְּתָא *Igg. Sertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 19. From these forms we get a singular with two ת's: שְׁמֵעֵתָא, *Se'el.*, § 8; אֲתֵרוֹתָא Sabb. 134a.

⁵ בְּנֵי בָנִי *his daughters*, *Hal. Pes.*, § 88.

FORMATION OF THE PLURAL.—§ 991. Nouns with long vowels, with formative elements, or with sharpened second stem-consonant, undergo no change in the plural. Nouns of the forms **فُعَل**, **فُعُل** show sometimes in the plural a full vowel, or a trace of a vowel. *E. g.* **מַלְכִּי**, **אַלְפִּי**, **זַמְמִי**, **פְּנִימִי** (Alf. B. Q. 27b).¹

§ 992. The following is a list of nouns having an irregular plural, or several plural forms. The list is not exhaustive, though nearly so. The q&tuł-forms ending in **נָּ** (§ 847) and the nouns ending in **וֹ** (§ 989) are not included here:

אֲבָא אֲבָהָא — אבא
 אֲוִרְתָּא אֲוִרְתָּא²
 אֲהֵתָא אֲהֵתָא, אֲהֵתָא — אהתא
 אֲהֵתָא אֲהֵתָא
 אֲמָא אֲמָא, אֲמָא — אמא
 אֲנָתָא אֲנָתָא, אֲנָתָא — אנאתא
 אֲמָהָתָא אֲמָהָתָא
 אֲמָתָא אֲמָתָא, אֲמָתָא — אמתא
 אֲנָשִׁי אֲנָשִׁי, אֲנָשִׁי — אנשי
 אֲנָתָתָא אֲנָתָתָא
 אֲנָתָתָא אֲנָתָתָא (§ 989 d, e)
 בּוּעֵי בּוּעֵי — בועי
 בִּיעֵי בִּיעֵי
 בִּישׁוּתֵי בִּישׁוּתֵי
 בִּיתֵי בִּיתֵי
 בְּרֵי בְרֵי (VL, Sanh. 17b)
 בְּנָתָא בְּנָתָא (c. פת. c.) — ברתא
 בְּרִיתָא בְּרִיתָא (M. MS. B. M. 39b).⁴
 גְּבִרְתָּא גְּבִרְתָּא, גְּבִרְתָּא — גברתא
 גִּישָׁאֵי גִישָׁאֵי
 דּוּפְתָא דּוּפְתָא⁵
 דּוּפְתָא דּוּפְתָא [דופנא]

¹ Cf. § 783.—**נִרְאָה** variants, TR., II, 50.

² *HG. 140.* אִרְתָּא

³ *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 331.

Hal. Pes., § 88. בנותיה.

⁵ *Igg. Šerida*, ed. Neubauer, p. 15.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 19. הילכתא תהו

שְׁבִיתִי, שְׁבִיתָא—שְׁבִיתָא, שְׁבִיתָא	שְׁעִי—שְׁעִיתָא
שְׁבִי ¹	שְׁפִיתָא, שְׁפִיתָא—שְׁפִיתָא
שְׁדִירִי—[שְׁדִירָא]	שְׁאִי, שְׁאִי—שְׁאִירָא
שְׁדִיתִין—[שְׁדִיתָא]	שְׁאִי—שְׁאִירָא
שְׁוִירָא—שְׁוִירָא	שְׁאִי, שְׁאִי—שְׁאִלָא
שְׁוִירָא, שְׁוִירָא—שְׁוִירָא	שְׁפִילִי—[שְׁפִילָא]
שְׁוִירָא—שְׁוִירָא	שְׁאִי, שְׁאִי—שְׁאִירָא
שְׁוִירָא—שְׁוִירָא	שְׁקִירָא—שְׁקִירָא (§ 989d)

NOUNS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 993. *1st person sing. com.*—a) With singular nouns: רִישִׁי *my head*, Ned. 50a; אִתְּרִי *my wife*, *ibid.*; אֲנָרִי *my wages*, B. M. 70a; חֵילִי *my power*, Meg. 16a.

b) With plural nouns: חַיִּי *my life*, Yoma 13a; נְשָׁיִי *my wives*, Sanh. 38b; קְרִיבָאִי *my relatives*, B. M. 87a; אֶצְבָּעֵי *my fingers*, Ber. 56a; זְכוּרָתִי *my documents*, Ned. 27a; לְאֶחָדֵינוּ *ibid.* 50a.

§ 994. *1st person plur. com.*—a) With singular nouns: נַפְשֵׁינוּ *our soul*, Ned. 25a; יָדֵנוּ *our hand*, Pes. 50a; אֶרְצֵנוּ *our land*, M. MS. Ber. 58b.

b) With plural nouns: עִלְיוֹנוּ *upon us*, Men. 40a; תְּרֵינוּ *both of us*, Šebu. 37b.

§ 995. *2d person sing. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: בְּרֵךְ *thy son*, Ned. 28b; לִבְךָ *thy heart*, *ibid.* 21b.

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵיךָ וּבָנֹתֶיךָ *thy sons and thy daughters*, Ber. 56a; תְּפִלֶּיךָ *thy phylacteries*, *ibid.*

§ 996. *2d person sing. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: נַפְשֶׁיךָ *thy soul*, M. Q. 16b; לֶחֶמְךָ *thy bread*, Taan. 25a; סֵעִידֶיךָ *thy meal*, Ned. 24a; דְּבִיתְךָ *thy wife*, *ibid.* 13a.

b) With plural nouns: פְּרָעֶיךָ *thy legs*, Nāz. 24b; כְּשֻׁרֶיךָ *thy joists*, Taan. 25a; מְגִירֶיךָ *thy female neighbors*, Ned. 21a;⁵ חַיֵּיךָ *thy life*, Yoma 13a; בְּנֵיךָ *thy sons*, VL, Sabb. 151b.

¹ שְׁבִיתָאִי *Igg. Šeritā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 13; שְׁבִיתָא *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 13.

² שְׁבִיתָא *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg, p. 2.

³ שְׁבִיתָאִי *HG.*, ed. pr., 2a; שְׁבִיתָא *SM*. No. 53.

⁴ Syr. ܡܠܐ. This is connected with Maltese *qafila string, tie, band, bond*, 'Afar-Saho tufal *yarn, bond, ribbon*. תְּפִלֶּיךָ mean properly *fillets*. The doubling of the ל may be due to the same law as in a form like תְּפִלִּים, but is more probably due to a popular etymology, connecting it with תְּפִלָּה *prayer*, and differentiating it from תְּפִלָּה *folly*.

⁵ From the method of Talmudic spelling it does not seem likely that the ending could be תְּפִלָּה. It is, however, possible that we have to read it תְּפִלָּה, as with singular nouns.

§ 997. *2d person plur. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: אֶרְצְכֶן *your land*, Keth. 112a; אֱלֹהֵכֶן *your God*, M. MS. Sanh. 39a; לְבֵיתְכֶן *to your house*, C. MS. Pes. 101a; כֻּלְּכֶן *all of you*.¹

b) With plural nouns:² אֱלֹהֵיכֶן Sanh. 39a; רַבּוֹתֵיכֶן *your teachers*, Gitt. 68b; רַבִּיכֶן *your teacher*, Ker. 6a (= רַבּוֹנְכֶן TF. *ibid.*); עֲבִדְתִּיכֶן *your doings*, Meg. 16a (§ 833, note); יוֹמֵיכֶן *your days*, M. MS. Sabb. 136b.

§ 998. *2d person plur. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: No example.

b) With plural nouns: כְּדֵרֵיכֶן *your pots*, Pes. 30a; פִּרְחֵיכֶן *your crumbs*, *ibid.* 110a; קְדֵרֵיכֶן *your pots*, C. MS. *ibid.*; תַּבְלוֹנֵיכֶן (= תַּבְלֵנֵיכֶן C. MS.) *your spices*, *ibid.* 110b; פִּמֵּיכֶן *your mouths*, C. MS. Pes. 110a; גִּילְתֵּיכֶן *your clocks*, Bēṣā 38b.

§ 999. *3d person sing. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: כּוֹלֶיהָ, *all of it, passim*,³ בְּרִי בֶר *his grandson*, Ned. 48b;⁴ דְּבִיתָהּ *his wife*, Sōtā 22b, 40a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* Ned. 23a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* M. MS. Yōma 83b, Sabb. 151b; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* VL., B. M. 84a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* C. MS. M. Q. 9b;⁵ לְבֵיתָהּ *to his house*, VL., B. B. 10a.⁶

b) With plural nouns: בָּנֶיהָ *his sons*, Ber. 8a; יָדֶיהָ *his hands*, *ibid.* 91a; טַעֲמֶיהָ *his reasons*, Ned. 81a; עֲלֵיוֹהָ (§ 80): כִּלְתָּהּ *his baldachins*, M. MS. Sabb. 138a; מְצָרֶיהָ *its boundaries*, B. B. 68a; מֵעֵרָהּ *his belly*, Zeb. 5a; אִפְּוֶיהָ *his face*, M. MS. Ber. 56a; אִפְּוֶיהָ Sabb. 129a; דִּפְנוֹיָהּ *his beadles*, Gitt. 34a.

§ 1000. *3d person sing. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: אַחֲרָהָ *after her*, Meg. 7b; דַּעְתָּהָ B. B. 151a; פְּתוּבָתָהָ B. M. 104b (פְּתוּבָתָהָ = מִכְתּוּבָה, not = כְּתָב).

b) With plural nouns: בָּנֶיהָ *her sons*, Ber. 56a; בָּתֵּיהָ *her daughters*, *ibid.*; קְרִיבָהּ *her relatives*, *ibid.*; עֲלֵיהָ *upon her*, A. Z. 28a; מְצָרֶיהָ *her boundaries*, B. B. 128a; שִׁיבְתָּהָ *her woman-neighbors*,

¹ גִּזְוֹן = גִּזְוֹן = גִּזְוֹן = כֶּן = קָא. § 42. TG. ed. Mussafia, § 42. שְׁאֵלְתָּהָ *your question*, TG. ed. Mussafia, § 42.

² Singular nouns with plural suffixes are classed here.

³ כּוֹלֶיהָ is not a plural, as given by the dictionaries. A plural of *all, totality*, is hardly conceivable. For the use of the word before plural nouns cf. Hebr. יָחַד.

⁴ Cf. Pal. Syr. لَمَصَمَص = لَمَصَمَص (Schwally, *Idioticon*, s. v.).

⁵ With helping vowel. The expression דְּבִיתָהּ *for wife* is explained by the Talmudists as a euphemism. This is probably correct as far as Jewish usage is concerned. But if the expression be not of Jewish coinage, it must have meant originally قَعَانَة *stay-at-home*.

⁶ קְדוֹשָׁתָהּ TG., ed. Luria, § 207; אִסְתָּהּ *his physician*, TG., ed. Mussafia, § 89; אִתְּתָהּ *his wife*, TG., ed. Cassel, § 86; שִׁיבְתָּהּ *his neighbor*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 182.

Sanh. 82a; עֵלְוֹה C. MS. Pes. 8b (voc.); עֵלְוִידָה SM. No. xxiii (voc.).
(ר = י; cf. "Additions and Corrections" to § 116.)¹

§ 1001. 3d person plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: פּוֹלְחוֹן all of them, 'Er. 30a; רִישָׁוֹן their head, C. MS. Meg. 11a; מִרְדּוֹן their lord, Ned. 62a; דִּישָׁנֹוֹן their beard, Nāz. 39a; פּוֹלְחָה Ned. 2a; אִמָּן their mother, Sabb. 143b; נִפְשָׁן themselves, Pes. 118b; בִּדְרָחוֹן (= בִּדְרָחוֹן) their being scattered, VL., A. Z. 10b; אִנְרִיכָהּ their way, Alf. Ber. 38b.²

b) With plural nouns: פְּרִמִּיָּהּ M. Q. 4b; מִלְּחָוֹן their words, VL., 'Er. 68b; אֲלֵהֶיהָ C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.); מְנִיָּהּ their garments, Sabb. 130b; מִתְנִיָּהּ VL., Šebu. 38b; עֵלְוָה Ber. 50a; חֵידוֹן Pes. 113b; חֵידָה VL., *ibid.*; מְנִיָּהּ M. MS. Sabb. 33b; קִימִיָּהּ B. B. 161b; פְּרִיכָהּ their wings, Succā 5b; שְׁבוּיָהּ their captors, Keth. 23a.³ With loss of final vowel: אֲבִתְרִיָּה VL., Sabb. 109b.⁴

§ 1002. 3d person plur. fem.—a) With singular nouns: פּוֹלְחִי Keth. 20b.

b) With plural nouns: גְּבֻרָהּ C. MS. M. Q. 9b; קְרִמִּיָּהּ VL., Pes. 74b; קְתִירָהּ VL., Pes. 30b.

ADJECTIVES WITH ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

§ 1003. A few adjectives take enclitic personal pronouns, like participles: גְּבִירָהּ thou art high, Sabb. 67a; חֲכִימָהּ thou art wise, Bekh. 8b; עֲצִיבָהּ thou art downcast, Beḡā 16b; זֹטְרִינָן we were small, B. B. 142b; חֲכִימִינָן Bekh. 8b; קְשִׁינָן we are old, B. B. 142b; קְשִׁינָן *id.* VL. *ibid.*⁵

אָבָא, אָחָא, אָחְתָא, חָמָא, שְׁמָא WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 1004. 1st sing. com.—a) With singular nouns: אָחִי VL., 'Er. 138b;⁶ אָחְתָא Meg. 13b; שְׁמָא Sabb. 145b.

b) With plural nouns: אָבְחָתִי Taan. 23a; אָבְחָתִי VL., B. B. 8b; אָחְוֹתִי Sabb. 57a.

¹ לְחֻדְהִי HG. 235; לְחֻדְהִי *ibid.* 288; עֵלְוִידָה *ibid.* 272; תְּלִמִּידוֹהִי Igg. Šertrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

² נִתְלָחוּ to them, HG. 108 (נִתְלָחִי shows that this preposition is used in the singular); תְּלִתֵּיהֶּם they three, *ibid.* 61; עֵינֵינוֹן (= עֵינֵיהֶּם) Igg. Šertrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 13.

³ מְנִיָּהּ SM. No. xxv (voc.); לְחָ *ibid.*; רִדְוָהּ HG. 215; בִּרְנָהּ TG., ed. Harkavy, § 70; שְׁוִיָּהּ TR., II, 14; אֲפֻרָּהּ Šed. R. 'Amrām, p. 7; אֲנִקְסָאֲוִהֶוֹן Igg. Šertrā, p. 24.

⁴ פְּלִגְנִתִּיהִי Igg. Šertrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 44; בְּתֻרִיהִי MV. 31.

⁵ With adverb: מְקָרְבָּא טְפִי HG. 411, for מְקָרְבָּא טְפִי.

⁶ אָחְתָא HG. 318.

1st plur. com.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוֹן Ber. 18b, Keth. 92a; אֲבוֹנִין Keth. 85b; אֲחוּנָא Yeb. 37b, 38a, B. B. 135a; אֲחֻנָא, אֲחֻנָא, M. Q. 28b.¹

b) With plural nouns: אֲבֹתֵינוּ VL., B. B. 7b; אֲבֹתֵינוּ Pes. 50b; אֲבֹתֵינוּ E. Y. *ibid.*

2d sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבִיךָ Ned. 28b, 50b; אֲבִיךָ Sanh. 23b.

2d plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבִיכֶם B. M. 34b; אֲבִיכֶם VL., B. B. 58a; אֲחוּכֶם Yeb. 37b; אֲחוּכֶם E. Y. *ibid.*

3d sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבִיהָ Ber. 18b; אֲבִיהָ Nāz. 30a; אֲחוּהָ Sanh. 5a; אֲחוּהָ C. MS. Meg. 6a, VL., B. Q. 88b (voc.); חֲמוּהָ Sanh. 28b; אֲחוּהָ *ibid.* 5a; שְׁמִיהָ Ber. 19a.²

b) With plural nouns: אֲחוּרֵינוּ Nāz. 5a, Hull. 60a; אֲחוּרֵינוּ B. B. 151a; אֲחוּרֵינוּ VL. *ibid.*; אֲחוּרֵינוּ Meg. 16a; אֲחוּרֵינוּ Sabb. 13a; אֲחוּרֵינוּ VL., B. M. 104b.

3d sing. fem.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבִיהָ her father, Succā 31a, C. MS. Meg. 16a; אֲבִיהָ his father, Šebu. 47a; חֲמוּהָ his father-in-law, eds. Qidd. 12b;³ אֲחוּהָ Ned. 74a.

b) With plural nouns: אֲחוּרֵינוּ B. B. 141a.⁴

3d plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: אֲבוּהֶן B. M. 34b; אֲבוּהֶן VL., B. B. 7b, B. Q. 104b, Šebu. 47b.⁵

b) With plural nouns: אֲבֹתֵינוּ Meg. 15a; אֲחוּרֵינוּ Keth. 52b; שְׁמֵנוּ Gitt. 11b; שְׁמֵנוּ Zeb. 4a; שְׁמֵנוּ C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.).⁶

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS.

§ 1005. Nominal compounds are of various kinds: a) Two nouns standing in genitive relation; as בֵּית כְּנִישָׁתָא *synagogue*, בַּעַל דְּבִבָּא *enemy*. Sometimes both words are contracted into one, with occasional phonetic loss; as אֲחֻבָּא *paternal uncle*, Tña. ha uebbō, גֻּמְסֵי דְּרִשְׁיָנִי *gums*, מֵי מִינְיָ *fish-brine* (= מֵי נִינְיָ VL., Sabb. 105b), שְׁלֵיחַ צִיּוֹן = שְׁלֵיחַ צִיּוֹן, נְהַרְדֵּעָא, פּוֹמְבֵּדִיתָא, names of cities.

¹ אֲבִינָא Se'el., § 14; אֲבוֹנִין *ibid.*, § 23; שְׁמֵנָא TG., ed. Harkavy, § 1.

² אֲבוֹנִין HG. 543; אֲחוּרֵינוּ *ibid.* 248; אֲחוּרֵינוּ Igg. Šerāṭa, ed. Goldberg, p. 39; שְׁמֵנָא HG., ed. pr., 97c.

³ Cy. § 105.

⁴ אֲחוּרֵינוּ Se'el., § 21.

⁵ אֲבוּהֶן TG., ed. Harkavy, § 232.

⁶ שְׁמֵנוּ Igg. Šerāṭa, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; שְׁמֵנוּ *ibid.*, p. 2; שְׁמֵנוּ *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; שְׁמֵנוּ, שְׁמֵנוּ, RLOW., § 42.

b) Two nouns in apposition; as רַבִּינָא, רַבִּינָא, רַבָּה (= רַב אַבָּה, רַב אַבִּינָא). Instead of a noun the first element may be an adjective or participle: קַדְשֵׁינִינָא, שְׁלִינִינָא, kinds of fish.¹

c) Noun in apposition to participle or participial noun: בֵּר מְדוּלָּא, בְּנֵי הָרִיזִי VL., Sanh. 109a.

d) Noun and numeral in genitive relation: סַמְתָּר, סַמְתָּרִי, plaster made from product of dragon-tree.

e) Noun and attributive adjective: אֶשְׁתְּקַד (= אֶשְׁתָּא קַדְמִיתָא).

f) Two numerals: הָרִיזִי (= הָרִיזָא הָרִיזָא).

g) Adjective and noun: קֶשֶׁן שְׂקִינָא.

h) Preposition and noun: אִימָר = Assyr. *ina mati, אֶתְמַל = Assyr. ina timali.

i) Relative particle and noun: הַבִּיתָא wife.²

§ 1006. In the nominal compounds described above, the second member of the compound determines the gender and number, and receives the endings which would otherwise be attached to the first word: פּוֹמְבִידִיתָא, נְדָר פְּקוּדָא, בֵּי הוֹזָא, בֵּי כְנִישְׁתִּי. But cf. בֵּיתִי כְּסָאִי MM. Ber. 62a.

¹ The nature of the first element in קַדְשֵׁינִינָא and שְׁלִינִינָא is uncertain. קַדְשֵׁינִינָא is probably מְרַבֵּץ אֲחוּת agus, galeus.

² For similar formations in Assyrian cf. Jensen, ZA., VII, 174, n. 1.

A COLLATION OF THE GOSPEL TEXT OF APHRAATES WITH THAT OF THE SINAITIC, CURETONIAN, AND PESHITTA TEXT.¹

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MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
2:20	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= P
	om.	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	om.	om.	= A
3:2	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	om.	om.	om.
4:11	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= Ss
5:3	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
5:9	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
5:13	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A	ܡܥܕܐ
5:14	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	ܡܥܕܐ	= A
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	ܡܥܕܐ	= Ss
5:18	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
				but adds ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	but also			
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	om. ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A
	ܡܥܕܐ	= A	= A	ܡܥܕܐ
5:19	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= Ss
		ܡܥܕܐ	but om.	
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	= P
	ܡܥܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐ	rest = P	but om. ܡܥܕܐ

¹ See Dr. Bewer's article on "The History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church," I, *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1900, pp. 64-98.—A = Aphraates; P = Peshitta; Ss = Codex Syrus Sinaiticus; Sc = Codex Syrus Curetonianus.

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MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
18:14	לא (יחז) יחא אחא	לא אמד יחא מחז אעחא	= A	= A
18:15	אחא om. om. אחא זח	= A א חכח אחא זחא } מחז אעחא	= A = A = P	= A = A = P
18:16	om. om. אחא	אחא אחא אחא	= P = A = P	= P = Ss = P
18:17	אחא חכח לא אחא אחא חכח	אחא חכח לא אחא אחא חכח	אחא חכח לא אחא אחא חכח	= Ss = A = A
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A, but om.	אחא חכח
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
18:20	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= P	= P
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= P	= P
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
18:21	om. אחא חכח	אחא חכח אחא חכח	= A = A	= P = A
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
18:35	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
19:28	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
21:38	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= A
21:43	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= A	= P
21:44	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	omits this verse	= A except for
22:27	אחא חכח	אחא חכח	= P	= A

MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
22:27	ܘܥܡܕܐ ܥܡܕܐ	ܘܥܡܕܐ	missing	= P
	<i>cf. Ss, Sc, vs. 30</i>			
	om.	ܘܥܡܐ	missing	= P
	om.	= A	ܐܢܬܐ	= Ss
	ܘܥܡܐ	om.	= A	= A
22:29	ܐܢܬܐ	ܐܢܬܐ	= A	= A
	ܐܢܬܐ	= A	= A	ܐܢܬܐ
22:30	ܐܢܬܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܘܥܡܕܐ ܥܡܐ	ܘܥܡܐ } ܘܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ }	= Ss
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ		
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ			
	ܥܡܐ	om.	= P	= A
	ܥܡܐ	ܐܢܬܐ	= P	= P
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	= P
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	om.	om.	om.
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ			
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܐܢܬܐ	missing	= P
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ		
22:31	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ } ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ }	= P
	ܥܡܐ	om.	om.	om.
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ } ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ }	= Ss
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	= P
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	= P
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= A	= A
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	= P
23:15	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	= P
23:25, 27	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	missing
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= A	
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	<i>cf. first line</i>		
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= A	
	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܡܐ	= P	

MATTHEW	A	P	Ss	Sc
23:25, 27	חֲסִיד מִצְוָה	חֲסִידִי	= P	
	om.	חֲסִידִי	= A	
	חֲסִידִי הוּא	om.	= A	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	but om. חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= A	
24:20	חֲסִידִי	= A	חֲסִידִי	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
25:34	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	missing	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
25:35	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	missing	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
25:37	—	חֲסִידִי	= P	
	חֲסִידִי	—	= P	
25:40	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	missing	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	om.	om.	
25:41	om.	חֲסִידִי	= P	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= A	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
25:44	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
25:45	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	om.	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	om.	om.	
26:53	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	missing
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= A	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	= P	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי	but om. חֲסִידִי	
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		
	חֲסִידִי	חֲסִידִי		

117

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LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
12:19	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= Ss
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
12:21	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
14:11	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ (ܡܝܬ)	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
		ܠܐ ܡܝܬ		
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
14:12	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	om.	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= P
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	{	= Ss
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ		
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= Ss
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= A	om.
14:13	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
	om.	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= A	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ
14:14	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
15:7	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= P
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	= P
16:9	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A	om.	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= A
16:14	position of phrases	= A	different	missing
16:20	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	= P	missing
16:21	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	missing
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	om.	om.	
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	{	= A
	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ	ܠܐ ܡܝܬ		

LUKE	A	P	Ss	Sc
20:35	افلا حفتا سمع	واف لا تقا سمع	= P	= P
	تقا	حفتا	but om. واف	
20:36	مدية وخطمة	افلا بين ٧٥٤	افلا } خطمة منحصية خطمة منحصية	= Ss
	لا منحصية	خطمة منحصية		
	الا امر	امر	امدمدمه كسم	= Ss
	om.	بين	بين خمر	= Ss
	وصمما	om.	صلا خلاقا امر صلا	
	om.	امدمسم	صلا وصمما وصمما	
20:38	مدية وكمسم	كمسم بين	= P	= P
21:23	١٢١	١٢١	= P	= P
	٥٥	١٢١	= P	= P
23:43	وصمما خمد	= A	= A	وصمما وخطمة
(twice)	صمما خم	صمما وصمما	= P	= A
JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
1:5 (twice)	مخلص ١٢١	مخلص	missing	= A
1:14 (twice)	فقا سم ٧٥٤	١٢١ صمما } ١٢١	missing	= A
1:51	ص	?	missing	missing
	صمما وصمما	صمما وصمما	missing	missing
2:19	١٢١	٥٥٥	= P	missing
	وصمما وصمما	١٢١	١٢١	
	وصمما وصمما	om.	١٢١	
	وصمما وصمما	وصمما ١٢١	missing	missing
3:12	١٢١ بين خلا امكم	١٢١ وصمما } ١٢١ وصمما	= A	
	وصمما وصمما			
	وصمما وصمما	١٢١	١٢١	
	وصمما وصمما	وصمما وصمما	وصمما وصمما	= Ss
	وصمما وصمما	وصمما وصمما	وصمما وصمما	Ss, Sc differ from A only in the position and in the suff. of the last word
3:13	١٢١	١٢١	= P	= P
	١٢١ وصمما	١٢١ وصمما	= P	= A
	وصمما	= A	وصمما	= A
3:34	وصمما	وصمما	وصمما	= A
	وصمما	وصمما	وصمما	missing
	also ١٢١			

JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
3:35	וְשִׁמְשָׁה וְהָעֶבְרָאִי	מִסֵּב חֲצִיטָה וְהָעֶבְרָאִי מִסֵּב	missing מִסֵּב חֲצִיטָה וְהָעֶבְרָאִי	וְשִׁמְשָׁה = P
5:22	אֵלָּא לֹאֵל לֹא לִי	לֹא לִי אֵלָּא לִי לֹאֵל	= Sc	= A only adding לִי
	חֲצִיטָה לְמַחְסֵמָה	מִסֵּב חֲצִיטָה	= A	= A
5:25	וְהָאֵלָּא וְאִם מִתְּחִלָּה	וְהָאֵלָּא אִמְכֵּם וְמִתְּחִלָּה	missing	= P = A
	וְחִיטָה וְהָאֵלָּא	וְחִיטָה וְחִיטָה		= P
5:28, 29	וְלִי	וְלִי וְלִי	missing	= A
	מִלֵּךְ מִסֵּבִים	om.		om.
6:55	מִלֵּךְ	= A	מִלֵּךְ	מִלֵּךְ
	מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ	מִלֵּךְ	= P	= P
	מִלֵּךְ וְעַד	וְעַד	= P	= P
6:59	סָא	סָא	= A	= P
7:37 (twice)	וְהָאֵלָּא וְהָאֵלָּא	אֵלָּא לִי אֵלָּא	מִלֵּךְ וְהָאֵלָּא	= Ss
10:9	לִי חֲצִיטָה וְעַד חֲצִיטָה	לִי חֲצִיטָה וְעַד חֲצִיטָה	= A	missing
	וְעַד חֲצִיטָה	וְעַד חֲצִיטָה	וְעַד חֲצִיטָה	
10:11	מִסֵּב לִי חֲצִיטָה אֵלָּא חֲצִיטָה	לִי מִסֵּב חֲצִיטָה חֲצִיטָה	= A	missing
10:12	אֵלָּא	om.	om.	missing
	חֲצִיטָה	חֲצִיטָה	missing	missing
	חֲצִיטָה חֲצִיטָה	חֲצִיטָה	= A	missing
10:16	om.	וְעַד אֵלָּא	= A	missing
	חֲצִיטָה	om.	om.	
10:17	וְעַד חֲצִיטָה חֲצִיטָה	חֲצִיטָה חֲצִיטָה חֲצִיטָה	= A	missing
	וְעַד מִסֵּב	וְעַד מִסֵּב		
	אֵלָּא חֲצִיטָה אֵלָּא חֲצִיטָה	אֵלָּא חֲצִיטָה אֵלָּא חֲצִיטָה	= P	missing
10:30 (twice)	מִלֵּךְ	= A	אֵלָּא	missing
11:23	אֵלָּא וְעַד מִסֵּב לִי מִסֵּב	מִסֵּב אֵלָּא	missing except אֵלָּא	missing
11:26	om.	אֵלָּא	= A	missing
12:26	וְעַד	אֵלָּא	= A	missing

JOHN	A	P	Ss	Sc
12:35	ܠܚܡܐ	ܠܚܡܐ	= P	missing
	ܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܢܐ	missing
	ܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܠܚܡܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	missing
13:8	ܐܠܐ	ܐܠܐ	= A	missing
13:9	om.	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
	ܬܚܝܬ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܬܚܝܬ	= A	
	ܐܢ	= A	ܐܢ	
13:10	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
	ܡܡܢܐ	om.	= A	
13:12	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ . . . ܡܡܢܐ	
	ܬܚܝܬ ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܬܚܝܬ ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= P	
	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
13:14	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	om.	
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	but ܡܡܢܐ for ܡܡܢܐ	
13:34	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	
14:2	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	missing
14:3 (twice)	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= A	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	
14:23	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	= A	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= A	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ
14:27	ܡܡܢܐ	om.	om.	om.
15:12	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= P	missing
(several times)				
19:36	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	missing	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ		
20:13	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= P	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ	= P	missing
	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ	= P	missing

Contributed Notes.

MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG.

A FINAL REPLY.

In consequence of Dr. Pautz' *Erwiderung*¹ in the last number of this JOURNAL and of a letter from him dated October 2, 1899, it falls to me to withdraw at once and fully my inference that he is a pastor and preacher. But I cannot at the same time withdraw my reflections on Dr. Pautz' style which were the basis of that inference, and I am thus left with an unsolved problem on my hands.

Further comment does not seem to be required by Dr. Pautz' communication. Those who have any acquaintance with the subject—a somewhat out of the way one—will understand the situation, and those who have not, and who may be impressed by Dr. Pautz' cloud of witnesses, will find my position amply justified in the review of the book in Achelis' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. II, pp. 186-95, by Professor Goldziher, of Budapest, who is easily the first authority on the subject. I learned of that review from Dr. Pautz himself after my own was written and sent off.

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¹ See this JOURNAL, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 52-3, October, 1899.

Book Notices.

PAYNE SMITH'S COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY.¹

The only statement as to the purpose or plan of this book is that made on the title page, since no preface, nor introduction, appears in either part. The first point to be noticed is that words are placed alphabetically and not under roots. This method has certain advantages in a language embracing so many foreign words as the Syriac does, and also in the case of words of doubtful origin.^{2,3} Its chief disadvantages arise, first, from the fact that many words have two or more spellings; and, secondly, from difficulties about such forms as are both participle and adjective or noun. We notice that the Aphels of Pe Olaph, Pe Yudh, Pe Nun, and EE verbs are usually given. Of Pe Nun verbs, the Aphels of ܢܝܢ, ܢܝܢܐ, and ܢܝܢܐ with unassimilated Nun, and of ܢܝܢܐ, ܢܝܢܐ, and ܢܝܢܐ, with assimilated Nun, are omitted. So also are the Pe Yudh Aphels ܝܘܕܗ, ܝܘܕܗܐ, and ܝܘܕܗܐ, and the Pe Olaph Aphel ܐܠܦ. The Aphels of all E Wau verbs are omitted, though given in the *Thesaurus*. It might have been just as well to have omitted all the Aphel stems from a dictionary.

In order to compensate for not having put derivatives under their roots, a list of derivatives is given at the end of each verb or original noun. But sometimes the derivatives are not all given, *e. g.*, under ܐܢܝܢ we find neither ܐܢܝܢܐ nor ܐܢܝܢܐ; under ܐܢܝܢܐ, neither ܐܢܝܢܐܐ, ܐܢܝܢܐܐܐ, nor ܐܢܝܢܐܐܐܐ; under ܐܢܝܢܐܐ, neither ܐܢܝܢܐܐܐܐ, nor ܐܢܝܢܐܐܐܐܐܐ. Sometimes no derivatives are given, *e. g.*, under ܐܢܝܢ and ܐܢܝܢܐ.

We note that, while the meaning of phrases is frequently given, no references are found. In giving meanings to words or phrases of infrequent occurrence it would be well to cite the place where they occur, *e. g.*, we would like to know where ܐܢܝܢܐ occurs alone in the sense of "jackal."

¹ A COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY, founded upon the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne Smith, D.D. Edited by J. Payne Smith. Parts I and II; 272 pp. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Frowde, 1896 and 1898. Each part 8s. 6d., net.

² See remark by Siegfried as given in the prospectus to *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.

³ The author might have taken advantage of the alphabetical plan when treating ܐܢܝܢ, ܐܢܝܢܐ, and ܐܢܝܢܐ. Brockelmann gives a root ܐܢܝܢ for the two former, but here we are told that ܐܢܝܢ is from ܐܢܝܢ and ܐܢܝܢܐ from ܐܢܝܢ. A form like ܐܢܝܢܐ from an E Wau root is without analogy. ܐܢܝܢܐ from ܐܢܝܢ might be justified by ܐܢܝܢܐ (see Noldeke, 127). ܐܢܝܢ is attributed to a supposititious root ܐܢܝܢ instead of to ܐܢܝܢ, as Noldeke suggests (see § 105).

word only, as in *אמרי*; sometimes we have two spellings given each by itself without any reference to the fact that the other spelling occurs, e. g., *אמרי* and *אמרי*; sometimes two or more spellings are given, as in *אמרי* and *אמרי*, while again only one is given, although more are found, as in *אמרי*. It must be admitted, however, that it is too much to expect that we shall have a complete collection of variant spellings even in a thesaurus, much less in a compendium.

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BUCHHOLTZ ON THE JEWS IN RIGA.¹

This monograph covers the period from 1560 to 1842 A. D., during which Riga, the capital of Livonia, one of the Baltic provinces, thrice changed its rulers. It was first conquered by Poland; then, in 1621, by Sweden, and since 1710 forms part of the Russian empire.

The first mention of Jews in the documents of Livonia occurs in 1560, when, in the negotiations between Livonia and Poland, the former asks for a guarantee against the admission of Jews, and the narrative treats almost exclusively of the struggles of the Jews to gain a foothold in Riga and the counter-efforts of the municipal authorities to keep them out. The general government, with the exception of the Swedish, was as a rule more liberal-minded. The Swedes, with whom the conversion of the Jews was a part of their ecclesiastical ordinances, which they extended to Livonia, were averse to tolerating the Jews either in their native country or in the conquered provinces. Yet economical considerations proved stronger than sentiment. The Jews were needed for the large commercial life of the city, especially as the middlemen in the trade with Poland and Lithuania. They, therefore, were suffered to sojourn annually for a brief time in Riga, but under severe restrictions. They were allowed to carry on trade only with citizens, not with strangers. They were prohibited from remaining over night within the city walls, and compelled to live in a Jew inn ("Judenherberge") in a suburb. This Jew inn was a ghetto of the worst character. It was under the management of a Christian "father" ("Herberge-Vater"), who controlled all the movements of his wards, and even those that preferred to camp among their wares in the port had to pay a tithe to the "father," who in turn paid a considerable amount to the city for this privilege.

Under the progressive and politic Catherine II. (1762-96) the Jews obtained a kind of legal status, being licensed to sojourn annually during six weeks in Riga, living in the Jew inn, and to carry on trade, while formerly they were entirely at the mercy of the municipal authorities. The latter remained hostile to the Jews, and their petition to the city

¹ GESCHICHTE DER JUDEN IN RIGA BIS ZUR BEGRÜNDUNG DER RIGISCHEN HEBRÄER-GEMEINDE IM J. 1842. Von Anton Buchholtz. Riga: N. Kymmel, 1899. iv+161 pp.; 8vo. M. 3.80.

council, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the union of Livonia with Russia in 1810, to "allow them every permissible living under the same conditions as other citizens, and to teach their sons skilled trades"—a petition accompanied by a touching poetic appeal—fell on deaf ears.

In 1765 we hear for the first time of something like a congregational organization among the Jews of Riga. The services were held in a room of the "inn," set aside for this purpose. As late as 1814 a petition of the Jews for permission to own a synagogue was refused by the authorities on the ground that such a permission "would indirectly involve the acquiescence to a permanent residence of the Jews." It was as late as 1850 that the general government, against the protest of the council of Riga and the governor of Livonia, allowed the Jews to establish a house of worship in a suburb of Riga. At that time 605 members were enrolled in the Jewish congregation of Riga.

Since then the Jews have been allowed to live everywhere in Riga. Their number at present is estimated at about 30,000, out of a population of about 257,000, and they enjoy the possession of three synagogues, nine meeting-houses, and six schools.

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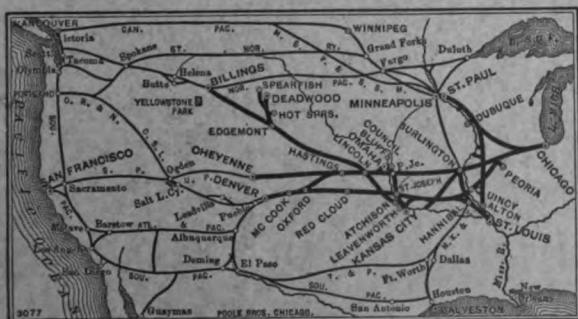
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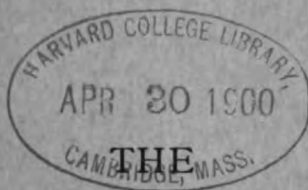
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APRIL, 1900

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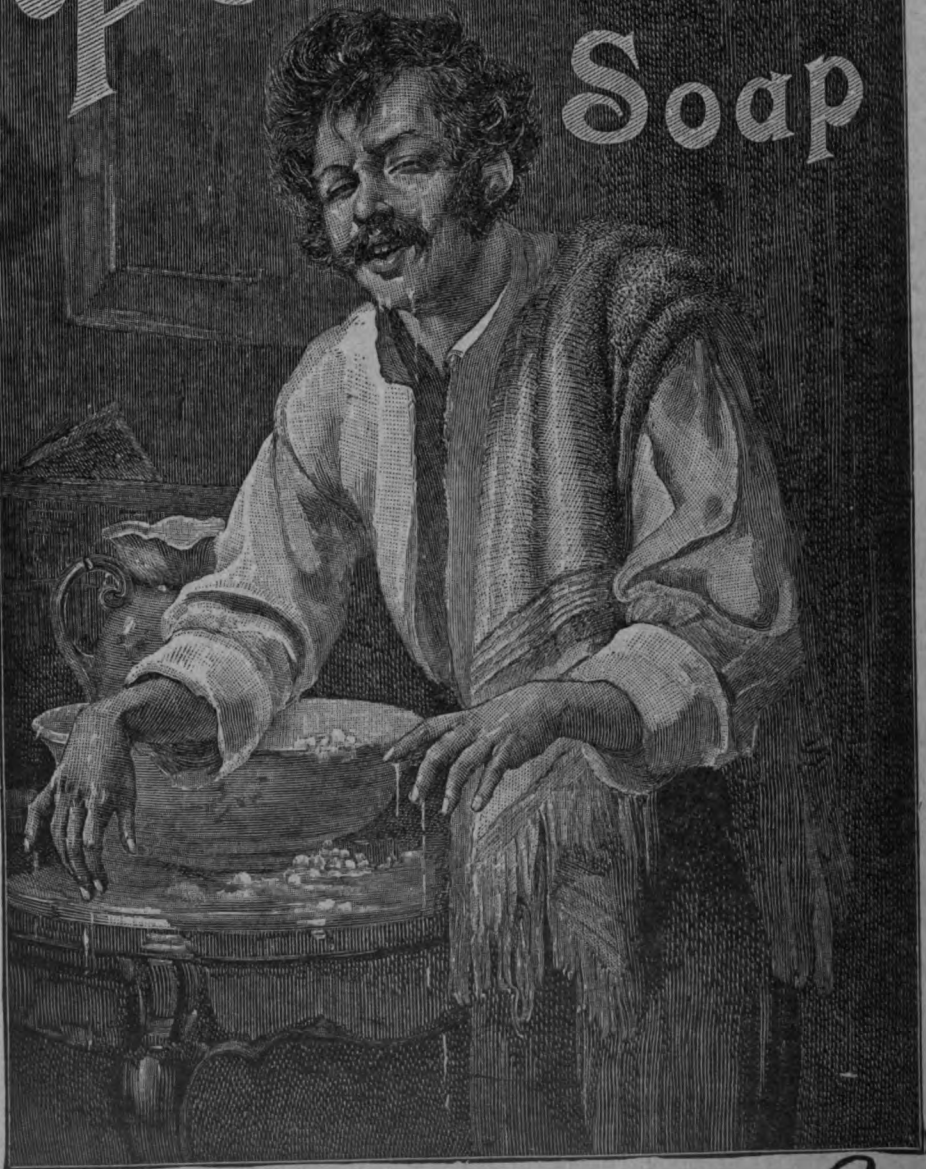
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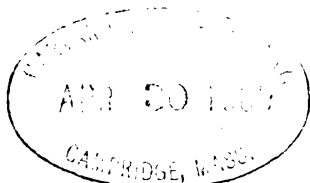
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VOLUME XVI

APRIL, 1900

NUMBER 3

THE DOCTRINE OF FREEDOM IN THE KORÂN.

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It is correctly supposed that Islâm teaches today the doctrine of a predestinating sovereignty in God. In Mohammedan theology the doctrine is called *at-taqdir*, and it implies that "whatever has or shall come to pass in this world, good or bad, proceeds entirely from the divine will, and has been irrevocably fixed and recorded on a preserved tablet by the pen of Fate."¹ I quote a more formal statement of the tenet from a small Turkish catechism :²

One must further confess that good, evil—in fact, everything—happens as a result of the predestination and foreordination of God. That everything which has been and everything which will be is decreed in eternity and is written on the preserved tablet [of the divine decrees]. That nothing can be different. That the faith of the believer, the piety of the pious, and his good works are foreseen, willed, predestinated, decreed by writing on the preserved tablet—produced, approved, desired of God ; but the unbelief of unbelievers, the impiety of the impious, and all bad actions, though they occur with the foreknowledge of God, by his will, as the effect of his predestination recorded on the preserved tablet, and are due to his operation, yet have not his approval or satisfaction.

In the same work, in the article on God, we find the same belief expressed, and an objection to it met as follows :³

If anyone ask why God did not will that all men should be believers, but that some should be unbelievers, here is the answer : One must not

¹ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. Predestination.

² *Exposition de la Foi Musulmane*, traduite du Turc de Mohammed ben Pir-Ali el-Berkhevi, avec des notes par M. Garcin de Tassy, pp. 21 sq.

³ El-Berkhevi, pp. 4 sq.

inquire as to anything that God wishes or does; to himself alone belong such questions. He is perfectly free to wish and do what he pleases. Further, in what he wills and what he does, he has conceptions of usefulness and wisdom which are beyond the understanding of the children of Adam. In creating unbelievers and in willing that they should be unbelievers, in forming serpents, scorpions, and swine; indeed, in willing every evil thing, God has conceptions of wisdom and usefulness which it is not necessary for us to understand, but of which it is necessary that we be persuaded. Finally, one must confess that the will of God is eternal and is not posterior to his essence.

The doctrine of predestination in this rigid form has been the undisputed faith of the Muslim world, as far as orthodox Islām is concerned, for 1100 years. Disputes as to the question began very soon after the death of the Prophet (632 A. D.), but no intense interest in the subject was aroused until the Abbaside caliphs came to power in 750 A. D. Under the fifth ruler of that dynasty, the famous Hārūn ar-Rašīd (786–809 A. D.), Greek philosophy made its influence felt, especially that of Aristotle. The Aristotelian and neo-Platonic view of nature as a living whole was not favorable to an extreme view of the causal agency of God in the universe,⁴ and there began to appear here and there those who asserted a doctrine of predestination which preserved to men their freedom of choice. The whole influence of this Arabic renaissance under the first Abbasides was in favor of free thought and, naturally, led the boldest spirits to protest against the domination of authority in matters of faith, and to call in question the dogmas of the traditional theology of their time. At the outset the orthodox doctors, in a grieved way, opposed the new views in lectures and writings, but were not greatly alarmed. But when the brilliant al-Ma'mūn came to be caliph, things were soon changed. He gave his open patronage and vigorous assistance to the new learning and encouraged strongly the protest against traditionalism, going even the length of a hot persecution of the orthodox doctors.⁵ The most intense opposition was made to the new liberalizing tendency under the leadership of the great doctor and saint Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, founder of the strictest of the four orthodox schools of Islām. Principally owing to the stand taken by him and his following, the tide turned, and in 847 A. D., after the persecution of the orthodox had continued

⁴ Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, English translation, p. 317.

⁵ The particulars will be found in the present writer's *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*. [See this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 200 *seq.*—EDITORS.]

somewhat over sixteen years, al-Mutawakkil became caliph and cast his influence on the side of the traditional faith. In this controversy the liberals were called the Mu'tazilites or Mutakallims, while the orthodox were the people of the Sunna, or tradition, and of the Jama'a, or orthodox communion.

The direct issues between the two parties were the questions of the divine attributes and the origin of the Korân, but what ruled the conclusions reached by the respective parties on these points was the view taken with respect to the sovereignty of God and the freedom of the human will. The triumph of the Sunnis meant that Mohammedanism for all time to come was to be a predestinarian faith. The complete overthrow of the Mu'tazilites was, however, delayed for some time, and was finally accomplished only when one of their most famous theologians, Abu-'l-Hasan al-Ashari (died 941 A. D.), deserted their cause and threw his whole influence on the other side.⁶ About this time the name Mutakallims was transferred from the Mu'tazilites to the orthodox apologists, who now set themselves to apply the logic of Aristotle in the defense of traditional theology. The word *Mutakallim* means one skilled in the science and art of Kalâm, or logic. These men devoted themselves with vehement zeal to produce a philosophical account of their Mohammedan faith, and have given us, as a result, the only original philosophical system produced by the Arab mind. Their works never became known in Europe when Arab learning spread there in the scholastic period. The Jews, who were the mediators of the Arabic learning, translated into their own Hebrew the purely philosophical works which the Arabs had either translated from other tongues into their own or had worked up from the materials furnished by the translations. From that portion of the Arab philosophical literature which had a theological motive the Jews could get no advantage, and they, therefore, did not translate it. Hence it is that the Latin translations of the Hebrew works of the Jews contain nothing of the original productions of the Arab philosophic genius.⁷ It is interesting to remark that this new scholastic theology of Islam was geographically nearer to the seats of revived learning in Europe than it was to the original centers of Mohammedan learning in Asia. Moorish Spain was the most orthodox of all Mohammedan

⁶ Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 2^{de} druk, pp. 164 sqq.

⁷ Schmölders, *Écoles philosophiques des Arabes*, pp. 104 sqq.

countries, as well as the most brilliant intellectual domain of the Muslims. Dozy in his work on Islam quotes the shocked saying of a Spanish theologian who had been twice to Bagdad, and who declared that he would never return there, because of the looseness in views which was there prevalent.⁸

It should be stated that the sources of dogma for the Mutakallims were as follows: the Koran, the traditions of the prophet which were recognized as genuine, the consensus of usage and opinion among the faithful, and, in cases of necessity only, analogical argument in harmony with the three recognized criteria already named.⁹

We will discuss later the teachings of the Koran as to the doctrine of predestination, and will now content ourselves with mentioning the basis found in tradition for the predestinarian teaching of the orthodox teachers. One tradition declares that those who are predestinated to paradise deserve it by their deeds till they die, and in like manner with those predestinated to hell. Another tradition tells us that God hath preordained five things on his servants: the duration of their life, their actions, their dwelling-places, their travels, and their portions (in the world to come).¹⁰ Building on these recognized foundations, the Mutakallims then taught:

That human actions are but divine actions created by the power of God and distributed to men. In accomplishing any undertaking or executing any labor man is only following the divine will of which he is always but the blind instrument. All that is witnessed in the world of actual piety and impiety is willed by God. He knows the man who is to die in impiety and unbelief, and cannot visit such with any retribution, for, in that case, it would be necessary that the divine knowledge should have changed, and that could not be. From all this it follows that good and evil do not exist in relation to God, but solely in human relations. God is the absolute sovereign; he does what he wills to do; he chooses as it may please him, without being determined by any cause whatsoever. Evil in relation to us is that which is forbidden by the law; good is that which is commanded. Good and evil are the attributes of the real and the non-real; of that which is beneficial or prejudicial to nature. But, as we have seen, man has no choice in his actions; it does not depend on him that he should eschew the evil, even though he is to be punished for it in the world to come. God to be perfect must have need of nothing. It is, therefore, wrong to claim with the Mu'tazilites that God ought to

⁸ Dozy, *Islamisme*, pp. 228 sq.

⁹ Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the *Miḥna*, p. 190.

¹⁰ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. Predestination.

compel men to be obedient to him. The divine actions are not the effects of any design whatever; God would have defect in his nature if he were to act following an impulsion, or allowed himself to be led in his working by or for anything outside of himself. Hence it is wrong to speak of God's design to make men good, perfect, etc. As far as God is concerned, perfection and imperfection are the same thing, and are regarded, therefore, indifferently. If that were not so, perfection in men would add to the blessedness of God, which is impossible.¹¹

It will be easily understood that with such a view of God's sovereignty a science of ethics would be logically impossible in the orthodoxy of Islâm; and, in fact, orthodox Islâm has no moral philosophy. It knows "law" as found in or developed from the Kōrân, and knows nothing further; unless, perhaps, we except a few purely theoretical attempts at ethical discussion, whose authors felt that what they said or wrote was entirely superfluous as far as practice was concerned.¹²

I have spoken of the good and the evil as being indifferent to God because of the absence of design in the divine mind and because of the immutability of the divine perfection. In harmony with what has been said on this point is the theory of the origin of moral creatures in the universe which was held by many of the Mutakallims. God does not create. The highest intelligences are emanations from his essence; from these come lower intelligences, and from these yet lower, until what we call evil spirits are reached.¹³

Al-Asharî has been spoken of as having secured, by his desertion of Mu'tazilism, the ascendancy of the predestinarian orthodoxy, and yet his view of divine sovereignty was not quite that of the majority of the Mutakallims. They held not only to the divine predestination, but to an irresistible constraint exercised upon men to secure its realization. The Asharites, on the other hand, held that the predestined actions and character were the result of the free choice of the individual agent, and that hereby was established the responsibility of each man for what he did and was.¹⁴ The name Asharites is now applied to all the orthodox theologians of Mohammedanism, but the true Asharites hold the view just stated, and the others are more truly designated Jabarites, or absolute predestinarians.¹⁵

¹¹ Schmolders, pp. 188 sq. Cf. the view of al-Ghazzâlî in Ockley, *History of Saracens*, Bohn ed., pp. 73 sq.

¹² Schmolders, p. 189.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196; Hughes, art. Predestination.

¹⁵ Hughes, art. Predestination.

We have sought to set forth the views of the Mohammedan confession at the time when they had first reached their full development, and in the opening of the present paper it was shown that precisely the same views obtain today.¹⁶ There has been no modification, no progress. Such is orthodox Islām in respect to this doctrine and in respect to its theological system generally. The lowest foundation of such a view of divine causality is the Semitic mental character; and, of all Semites, none has the same monotonous education as the Arab in fatalism or the belief in the absolute foreordination of events. The broad desert, with its limitless brown sand, and overhead the eternal regularity of blazing sun and the cold uniformity of the waxing and waning moons; the entire dependence of life on what nature provided of pasture for the herd or of dates and hunting for man; even the dreaded night raid of some hostile clan—these and other things were factors contributing to make a people, the dearest name of whose faith is Islām—"resignation."

The character made the theology; but it is to some extent true, also, that the predestinarian theology of Islām has deeply affected the Mohammedan character. Gibbon was partly correct in attributing the reckless bravery of the armies in the early Moslem campaigns to the practical fatalism of their faith. He but left out the factor of racial character. In my own mind there is no doubt that this one doctrine of sovereignty has indirectly led to an ultra-conservatism in theology generally, and has given a definiteness and sanction to the whole religious system of Mohammedanism, such as explains its hold upon all Muslims, and that compelling appeal to ignorant races which has won them to the faith of the Prophet. There is one God, the Almighty, the Compeller. This religion is all his. Such a call has imperative moral force and wins those who do not reflect.

The position of the Shiahs ought, however, to be explained at this point. They contend that the *Ḳorān* does not teach the doctrine of absolute predestination, if fairly interpreted; that it formed no part of the belief of the Prophet or of his immediate successors; and that the caliph Ali declared that all who denied free will were heretics.¹⁷ But it is necessary to state that all who

¹⁶ Cf. Muir, *Mahomet and Islam*, p. 243.

¹⁷ Bosworth-Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 163, 165. Ameer Ali, in his *Life of Mohammed and Spirit of Islam*, asserts the same.

favor this view in this day are strong supporters of the rights of reason in theology. They are the spiritual successors of the old Mu'tazilites, whose first principle was: In right and in fact our intellectual notions of right and wrong, good and evil, are anterior to religious dogma. The latter, in fact, cannot be true if it contradict the principles of reason.

With such a starting-point these rational theologians would have been compelled to throw over the Kōrân had it, in their judgment, opposed free will. But both Mu'tazilite and modern Shiah think it possible to so understand the sacred book that a system of theology entirely in accord with reason may be based upon it. The independent attitude of the Mu'tazila with reference to the Kōrân is illustrated by their contention that the book was the product of Mohammed's reflection and imagination, and not divine in any way which implied departure from the course of natural law. The production of another book equal or superior to the Kōrân is quite conceivable, if we grant the possibility of another man appearing with the gifts and elevated religious consciousness of Mohammed.¹⁸ This possibility the Mu'tazilite was quite ready to admit. The attitude of these two opposed parties in Islam finds some analogy in the attitude of modern thinkers toward the Bible. But such views have always been looked upon as infidel by the orthodox, and the mutual hatred of the strict Muslim of today and the Shiah is a matter of notoriety. Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje relates that in the orthodox schools of Mekka which he attended the Mu'tazilites were looked upon as stupid blockheads and abominable heretics, because they held that reason was the standard of truth. On one occasion he heard a professor say that the ignorant heathen who argued with Mohammed believed, just as the philosophers did, "in human reason," at which saying a smile of contemptuous astonishment passed over the countenances of his students, the professor approving it by a half-pitying shrug of the shoulders.¹⁹ Burton, in his *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Mecca*, has spoken of the contumely and persecution heaped upon the Persian Shiah pilgrims who come to visit the holy cities—so greatly, in fact, do they thus suffer that only a few of them ever make the Hajj.²⁰

¹⁸ Schmolders, p. 198.

¹⁹ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Vol. II, p. 287 and note.

²⁰ Vide also Dozy, *Islamisme*, pp. 286 sqq.; Ockley, *Saracens*, Bohn ed., p. 334, note.

Having thus brought before us the respective views of freedom held by these two divisions of Mohammedanism, we will now turn to the *Ḳorān* itself and see what it really teaches. Commentators do not help us greatly in this kind of study, and, naturally, we must eschew the views of the dogmatists. The text of the *Ḳorān*, in an investigation of this kind, must be allowed to speak for itself. It must be premised, however, that Mohammed was sometimes under the necessity of presenting his message in a form which would commend itself to his hearers, with their innate disposition to exalt unduly the power and causal agency of Deity. Further, Mohammed wrote nothing, and what he said by revelation was not collected till after his death. The several circumstances which his revelations were meant to meet were often widely divergent, and even contradictory, in their character. Add to these two considerations the third, that Mohammed was a man of too limited logical faculty to perceive that different utterances of his, if carried to their logical conclusions, would be found to be mutually exclusive.²¹ These cautions will guard us against any too exacting demands of a book like the *Ḳorān*.

Let us examine the passages which appear to imply human freedom :

1. As in the Bible, so in the *Ḳorān*, there are hundreds of passages in which men are reasoned with, invited, encouraged, exhorted, warned, and denounced, as if their doing right or wrong depended on themselves alone. As this point will be sufficiently illustrated in citations to be given under other heads, it is not necessary to quote in this place from the *Ḳorān*.

2. There are passages which deny God's connection with human wrongdoing:²²

vii:27, 28.—And when they do anything wicked, they say, We found our fathers at this, and God commanded us to do it. Say, Verily, God doth not command anything wicked. Do ye speak against God what ye do not know? Say my Lord commands only justice. . . .

xvi:92.—Verily, God bids you do justice and good . . . and he forbids you to sin and do wrong and oppress; he admonishes you, haply ye will be mindful.

ix:97.—God will not be pleased with a people who work abomination.

²¹ Schmolders, p. 190.

²² On our subject Mohammed's earlier and later teaching does not vary. We quote mainly from the less poetic Suras, which, as a rule, are late.

3. Passages wherein the sin of men is laid at their own doors :

vii:16 *sqq.*—[In the account of the fall of Adam and Eve they acknowledge their own responsibility.] They said, O our Lord! verily, we have wronged ourselves.

xvi:101.—Satan has power only over those who take him for a patron and over those who associate [other beings with God, *i. e.*, idolaters].

v:82.—Those of the children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus the son of Mary; that is, because they rebelled and did transgress; they would not desist from the wrong they did.

xi:38.—Do they say, He has devised it [the Kōrân]? Say, if I have devised it, then on me be my sin. . . .

ii:209.—But none did differ [as to the truth] but those who had been given it, after that clear evidences had come to them, out of inordinate desire among themselves.

4. Passages allied to those just cited, which make men responsible for their destiny, whether blessed or otherwise :

vi:69.—Remind them that a soul shall be banned by what it has earned. . . . Those who are banned for what they have earned, for them is a drink of boiling water, because they did not believe.

x:30.—Then shall every soul prove what it has done in time past, and they shall be returned to God their rightful patron.

xvi:36.—And the evil which they [the idolaters aforetime] had done befel them and that environed them at which they used to mock.

iii:27.—The day when every soul shall find what it has done of good present before it; and what it has done of evil, it would fain there were between itself and that a wide interval.

xvi:30.—Those whom the angels took away [on the last day] were wronging themselves . . . wherefore enter ye the doors of hell.

xvi:35.—God did not wrong them, but it was they who wronged themselves.

v:13.—God has promised to those who believe and work righteousness that for them is pardon and a great reward; but those who disbelieve and call our signs lies, these are the fellows of hell.

vi:161.—He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof, for they shall not be wronged.

ii:278.—Verily, those who believe and act righteously, and are steadfast in prayer and give alms, theirs is their reward with their Lord.

Compare, also, iii:111; xvi:34; iii:139; lxxiv:41 *sqq.*; ii:84, 286; v:54; viii:35.

5. By way of strengthening these passages which involve personal responsibility for action and destiny, I add some which oppose vicarious

responsibility. Some of the citations already made teach the same doctrine by implication, at least, but those now to be cited will make the point more clear:

iv:111.—And whoever gets to himself a sin or a guilty act [and] then throws it on another, he hath borne calumny and a manifest guilty act.

vi:164.—But no soul shall earn aught save against itself; nor shall one bearing a burden bear the burden of another. . . .

x:108.—Say, O people, there has come to you the truth from your Lord, and whoever is rightly guided, he is rightly guided only for himself, and whoever may err, he errs only against himself.

liii:37 *sqq.*—No bearer is burdened with the burden of another, and (that) a man receives only that which he has wrought, and (that) he shall be shown his work.

6. Passages which represent God as determined in his attitude toward men by their attitude toward him:

vii:133.—And the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they were patient; and we destroyed that which Pharaoh and his people had made and that which they had erected.

vii:152.—But those who have done bad works, and then turn again after them and believe—verily, thy Lord, after that, is forgiving and merciful.

xiii:12.—God changes not what a people has until they change it for themselves.

iii:70.—Verily, God loves those who fear.

xi:119.—Thy Lord would not have destroyed the cities [of the plain] unjustly while the people of them were well-doers.

viii:39.—Say to those who disbelieve, if they desist they will be forgiven what is past.

Compare also viii:33; ii:155; iv:20, 21; vi:54; v:43.

7. More particularly is guidance to and in the true way of salvation said to depend upon the disposition of men:

ii:260.—For God does not guide the unjust people [explained by the commentator Beidhāwī as those who do themselves injustice by the refusal of right guidance].

ii:266.—For God guides not the unbelieving people.

xvi:39.—Verily, God guides not those who go astray. . . .

iv:69 *sq.*—But had they done what they were admonished to do, then it would have been better for them, and a more firm assurance. And we would surely have brought them from ourselves a mighty hire, and would have guided them into the right path.

vi:88.—That is God's guidance, he guides whom he will of his servants; and if they fall into idolatry, vain is that which they have wrought.

iii: 80.—How shall God guide people who have disbelieved after believing and bearing witness that the apostle is true, and after there came to them manifest signs? God guides not the unbelieving people.

xvi: 9.—God's it is to show the path; from it some turn aside. . . . Compare also xiii: 27; iv: 136; v: 18; iii: 19.

8. A few places where the voluntary character of religion is clearly recognized:

ii: 258.—There is no compulsion in religion.

x: 99.—But had thy Lord pleased, all who are in the earth would have believed altogether; as for thee, wilt thou force men to become believers?

xvi: 108.—Whoso disbelieves in God after having believed, unless it be one who is forced, while his heart is resting in the faith . . . on such is wrath.

9. Passages in which gradation in merit and award is set forth:

ix: 19.—Have ye made out the giving drink to the pilgrims and the repairing to the Sacred Mosque to be like being a believer in God and in the last day, who is also strenuous in the way of God?—They are not equal in God's sight.

ix: 20.—Those who believe and who have taken part in the Hijra and been strenuous in the way of God with their wealth and with their persons are highest in rank with God. [A description of their reward in paradise follows.]

xvi: 90.—Those who disbelieve and turn people off God's path, we will add torment to their torment for that they were evildoers.

x: 31.—There [at the judgment] shall every soul prove what it has sent on before.

Compare also iv: 97; iii: 156; viii: 4; x: 28.

10. There are other classes of passages which imply human freedom, such as those which speak of the books in which each man's recording angels write down his actions, which books are the basis of the final judgment at the last day. Here we see judgment according to man's action. Other passages speak of the fairness of the final awards, because God will not wrong the worlds; of God looking to see how men are going to act; and of messengers whom God sent with his own messages, and who were yet rejected by those addressed.

I think this examination of references to human freedom shows that the doctrine is taught in the Korân. A question, however, arises as to whether the book teaches the divine sovereignty in any such sense as would deprive this mass of evidence of the force it appears to have. To answer this question we turn to the presentation of God's sovereignty in the Korân.

As to the fact of the doctrine of divine sovereignty being in the book none is ignorant. The only question is as to how it is there set forth, and to what extent it appears to restrict human freedom. We confine ourselves to a summary presentation of the different aspects of the subject found in the *Ḳorān*, without citing passages.

The *Ḳorān* says that God has knowledge of all things. How much this means will depend on the correctness or incorrectness of the orthodox view that God and his knowledge are one and the same; in other words, that there is no distinction of attribute and essence in God's being. It appears most reasonable to say that Mohammed had no theory on this subject.

God has power over all things. It ought to be noted at this point that the Arabic adjective expressing the idea "able to do," which is oftenest used of God's power, may be connected with two related verbal roots, one of which means "to be able," "to have power;" and the other, "to arrange," "to make ready," and, secondarily, "to decree," "to fix," "to assign a part." The nouns and adjectives derived from these roots have in the different cases, sometimes, rather the idea of "power or ability to do or control," and, sometimes, that of "decree, prearrangement, destiny." It appears that the Arab most readily thought of one who had power as determining things beforehand according to the measure of his power and then unflinching bringing them to pass.

God is independent of everything outside of himself. He is *al-Qaiyūm*, the self-existent. I do not remember that any other Semitic language expresses the same idea by a single word.

This self-existent Deity owns everything as its proprietor. He made his creation as he pleased, and distributed what he had created in orders and places as he pleased. He is the creator, the disposer, the dominant. He set the sun and moon, and by his decree ordained them as measurers of time for men. That the day should be for labor, the night for rest, is preordained. The plants germinate, grow to their perfection, and decay; men are born, grow up, fail, and die by decree. The forms of animals and their modes of locomotion have been fixed, and for each creature there is an invariable law. That the race should be bound into a unity by marriage and by descent is a preconstituted order.

As to the method of creation, all things are in ideal or heavenly possession by the creator, first of all, and, then, by his decree become real and extra-heavenly.

Turning from creation to providence, the Kōrân expressly teaches that all events are the progressive realization of God's appointment. No plans devised by men can change or defeat the order of God for the earth and its people. The evil he purposes to do none can avert, and the good he has resolved on cannot be defeated. No change of a man's circumstances, no change of his choice, can affect what God has predetermined for this life.

The appearance and extinction of nations have their respective hours decreed, and none is able to either advance or retard the time fixed. Rule in the earth God gives to whom he will, whether we speak of the ruling nations or the rulers of the nations. Individual men, too, die at God's hour which has been written in a book. They will be raised again at an hour which has been likewise decreed.

God is the constrainer, the forcer. He provides everything, does everything in the natural world, and governs everything. If he have willed to give to the Muslims the victory at the battle of Bedr, it will make no difference whether they go out to fight or stay at home. The victory will come in either case. If the weaker side win in battle, there has been an antecedent "permission" of God controlling the issue. The miracles of Jesus had this governing "permission" behind them, likewise.

Now, this "permission" is very often alluded to in the Kōrân, and there are some things which, at one time, God is said to have appointed and, at another, to have permitted; *e. g.*, the battle of Bedr, and even the saving act of faith.

Passing into the sphere of purely moral relations, we meet whatever real difficulty there is.

The Kōrân declares that God has created many of the jinns and men for Gehenna (vii:178); that he appoints to paradise and perdition whom he will. No power can produce in men faith unless God please, and, had he willed it so, all men would have believed; those who do not believe have been stupefied by God's having inspired them with a horror of Islām. God makes idolatry seem right to the unbelieving heathen, or, if it be their idols who so delude them, it is by that apparently compulsory factor, the

divine "permission." God leads astray whom he pleases, and can do so in spite of all the warnings and exhortations of his own messengers. Still, for all that, idolatry is a sin which he will never pardon.

God gives to men such knowledge of himself as he chooses to give. When Gabriel, the Holy Spirit of the *Ḳorān*, gave his revelations to the Prophet, it was by the divine permission. And the recitation of the revelations to men is controlled by the same cause, for I think we may call it such.

If it be the divine pleasure that a man embrace Islām, his heart will be opened to receive it; if otherwise, God will close the man's heart. No intercession can avail on behalf of those whose hearts God has made to disbelieve. Intercession itself, in fact, is by God's permission.

Forgiveness of sins, special wisdom, mercy, or grace are bestowed as God wills and on whom he wills. In the written record of human actions God blots out and confirms according to his own good pleasure. In general, God guides whom he will to present and eternal salvation.

One interesting passage makes Satan say to God: "For that thou hast led me into error, I will lie in wait for them [the believers] in thy straight path."

The punishment of the wicked in this world is accomplished by God, who torments and disgraces unbelievers by the hands of his servants.

After God has raised the dead at the last day, there is to occur the judgment, and thereat no soul shall speak save by his permission.

What has been said indicates the comprehensive range of God's sovereignty. We need only add that all this is strengthened by the vehement unitarian monotheism of the *Ḳorān*. The intensity of this unitarian belief is illustrated in the name given to the polytheistic pagans of the *Ḳorān* age and later times. Their standing designation is "associators," "those who give to God a fellow, or fellows." The Muslims do not call the Christians "Mushrikūn" (associators), as they do the heathen, but they do charge them with "Shirk" (associating, giving a fellow), because of their doctrine of the Trinity. Those who say that God has a son make a grievous mistake, and if they urge that Jesus the

Messiah, the son of Mary, is the son of God—"may God fight them! how they lie!" The Holy Spirit in the Kōrān teaching, far from being of the Godhead, is the angel Gabriel, who brought the Kōrān revelations to Mohammed. However, the Muslims own to a certain community with Christians, as also with Jews, inasmuch as each people has had divine revelations, and is therefore not Mushrikūn, but Ahlu-'l-Kitāb, "people of the book."

The sovereignty of God is an unshared sovereignty, even as it is an irresistible sovereignty.

What conclusion can we now come to with reference to the divine sovereignty and human freedom?

First, it will, perhaps, have been remarked that we have an unqualified sovereignty over nature; that, in providential events not involving human choice, there is also an absolute foreordination, irresistibly realized; but, immediately human freedom comes into question, the notes of the Kōrān teaching are not harmonious.

A good authority says on this phase of our subject:

Mohammed taught the foreknowledge of God, but he did not lay down precisely the doctrine of predestination. He found it, as all have found it, a stumbling-block in the way of man's progress. It perplexed him, and he spoke of it, but often contradicted himself, and would become angry if the subject were mooted in his presence: "Sit not with a disputer about fate, nor begin a conversation with him." Mohammed vaguely recognized that little margin of free will which makes life not wholly mechanical.²³

The Muslim, however resigned to God's will he may be, so far believes in its conditional relation to himself as to adopt any measures of prudence which suggest themselves in the conduct of his life.²⁴

The Kōrān tells us frequently that God guides aright whom he will; but it is equally clear in saying that those who turn to him, who repent, believe, and do good works, are those whom he guides. He leads astray whom he will, but, again, we learn that he leads astray only the evildoers (ii: 24). From our examination it seems clear enough that in moral relations God's sovereignty is conditioned by man's freedom.

When God is represented as the author of sinful dispositions and actions, and the evil consequences attaching to them, we must

²³ Lane, *Selections from the Korān*, 2d ed., Introd., p. lxxxi.

²⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Minerva edition, p. 263.

bear in mind other cases where it is said that God acts in some way or other, as a cause of good or evil, only after a disposition is present in man or an action accomplished by him. And, if it be finally asked how God comes to be made the author of evil at all—whether he be so by bringing it into existence, or by confirming and increasing it when in existence—we must remember that this was the belief of Mohammed's auditors, and that the *Ḳorān* and Islām to a very large extent show accommodation to the native ideas and prejudices of the Arab mind. This explains the presence of such teaching in the *Ḳorān*, but does not seem to remove the contradiction of human freedom which it implies. However, I think it does so if we regard the expressions of this kind regarding God as, not the language of Mohammed's conviction, but, rather, the language of the theater—used for its effect. Mohammed often employed such preaching, too, when he found it impossible to secure the conversion of those he wished to convert. His hope was to bring all Arabia to the faith of el-Islām, and, when they would not be brought, he found the fact best explained by adopting and proclaiming such a view as this, that God had made men to disbelieve, etc. In this case the idea was an afterthought to explain certain events, and would be dismissed just as soon as the prophet had to proclaim a new revelation—perhaps to be resumed if this, in its turn, were not received.

The declaration that idolatry is a sin which God will never pardon might seem to imply limitation of human freedom, but it, too, must be looked upon as hyperbole used for effect, inasmuch as all Muslims had been idolaters, except a few who had been Jews or Christians.

While I cannot accept Emanuel Deutsch's statement to the effect that Islām does not mean absolute submission to God's ordering, but rather striving after righteousness with one's own strength, I fully agree with his view that the *Ḳorān* of el-Islām does not teach that God's ordering is absolute.²⁵ After making all necessary deductions, we can still find the unmistakable teaching of free will in the Mohammedan scriptures.

²⁵ Deutsch, "Essay on Islam," in Bosworth-Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 331 *sq.*

NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF 2 SAMUEL.

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The narratives of which 2 Samuel is composed are of unique importance for the student of Hebrew history. They are our only old source for the life and age of David, and a clear conception of their aim and contents is the key to a consistent view of the times which immediately precede and follow. It is fortunate, therefore, that criticism can be applied more easily to the material at our command in 2 Samuel than is the case with the few chapters in 1 Samuel (too often of Ephraimite origin) which recount David's earlier history.

It is generally agreed that, relatively, the latest passage in this book is chap. 7, while the fact that the connection between chaps. 9-20 and 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2, is broken by chaps. 21-24 shows that the latter was placed in its present position after the separation of the books of Samuel and Kings had been effected. As for the rest of the book, it is agreed that we have plainly the work of more than one hand. In the case of chaps. 9-20, however, criticism is unanimous that, apart from a few glosses, these chapters are from one writer, and that they form, perhaps, the oldest and most trustworthy section in the whole book. In short, it is generally held that the book shows few traces of editing; it has, in fact, suffered more from the copyist (as is shown by the state of the text) than the editor.¹

The present article has grown out of a study of Absalom's rebellion. From a consideration of certain peculiarities in the narrative the writer came to the conclusion that it had suffered considerable revision, and was to be assigned to an earlier period of David's life—before he became king over all Israel. To estimate the bearing this had upon the rest of the book a new study

¹ Mention should be made of Kautsch's opinion, *Abriß d. Gesch. d. alttest. Schrift.* (1897). Apart from E (probably 1:6-10, 13-16), D (7:1-12, 14-29), and passages of unknown origin (chiefly in chaps. 8; 21:3-14; 23:15-7; 24), he finds two sources: (1) a Jerusalem narrative (time of Solomon or Rehoboam), in chaps. 5; 6; 9-11; 12-20 (a few passages excepted); and (2) a David narrative (most probably Judean tenth or ninth century), in chaps. 1-4; 5; 21:15 *seq.*; 23:8-39 (a few passages excepted)

of the remaining chapters in 2 Samuel became necessary. Fresh light seemed to be thrown upon certain features which, if they did not bear directly upon the main issue, appeared at least to be of equal interest. A separate discussion of these was impossible at this stage, and hence it seemed desirable to throw the following pages into the form of an independent contribution to the analysis of 2 Samuel, and to aim at presenting material for future investigation and criticism.

Throughout the following pages frequent use has been made of Budde's *Richter und Samuel*, and the introductions, commentaries, and handbooks of Cornill, Driver, Kittel, Klostermann, Kuenen (*Einleitung*, Erster Teil), Reuss, Stade, Wellhausen, and Winckler.² In referring to the sources of 1 Samuel Budde's analysis in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* has been generally followed. It should be mentioned, however, that his J and E represent the Judean and Ephraimite documents respectively, and it is still an open question whether these correspond to the familiar Yahwist and Elohist of Hexateuchal criticism.

For the sake of convenience the narratives have been divided into eight sections: § 1, chaps. 1-4; § 2, chaps. 5-8; 21-24; § 3, chaps. 9-12; § 4, chaps. 13-19, the history of Absalom; § 5, chaps. 19-20:22, Sheba's revolt; § 6, the interviews in chaps. 16, 19; § 7, 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2; and § 8, general results.

§ 1. *Chapters 1-4.*—*a*) The first section of this book is chiefly concerned with the history of David and Ishbaal (Ishbosheth), Saul's successor, chaps. 1-4. To this, chap. 1, which describes the manner in which David receives the news of Saul's death, is an introduction. The account of Saul's death, as has been often observed, does not agree with that in 1 Sam., chap. 31, and seems to be explained best by Budde (p. 238, *cf. SBOT.*),³ who ascribes 1:6-10, 13-16 to E. He is doubtless right in assigning vs. 5 to JE, since Jonathan, who is mentioned in David's inquiry (*ibid.*), is absent from the following verses. The description of the messenger's fate appears to have suffered some redaction; in 1:15 the Amalekite is slain by one of David's followers,

² Professor H. P. Smith's *Books of Samuel*, in the International Critical Commentary series, appeared after the MS. of this article was sent off.

³ *SBOT.* = *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Paul Haupt.—Kuenen (*Einleitung*, § 21, note 9) suggests that the two accounts are doublets. No stress should be laid upon the use of הָאִישׁ (vs. 2) and הַיָּעָצֵר (vss. 5, 6); similarly in 1 Sam. 4:16 *sq.* we find both הָאִישׁ and הַיָּעָצֵר. There is a slight resemblance between these two passages; *cf.* מִהָרֶגֶץ הָיָה, vs. 16; 2 Sam. 1:4a, and vs. 12b; 2 Sam. 1:2a.

whereas in 4:10 allusion seems to be made to another (earlier?) tradition wherein he is killed by David himself. There may have been two traditions in circulation, but linguistic criteria in chap. 1 suggest that the older tradition has been replaced by one tending to remove the stain of bloodshed from David's hand.⁴

The chapter concludes with David's lament over Saul and Jonathan quoted from the book of Jashar (vss. 17 *sqq.*). The question of its Davidic authorship will rest partly upon psychological grounds (Budde, p. 238), and partly also upon our conception of the relation subsisting between Judah and Israel at Saul's death. It is to be noticed that the song is addressed to Israel, and with Israel alone is it essentially concerned, thus rendering it difficult to accept Klostermann's ingenious reading in vs. 18 (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל קָשָׁה).

Stade (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 257) has pointed out that the natural sequence to 1 Sam., chap. 31, is to be found in 2 Sam., chap. 2, and, indeed, chap. 1 does not appear to belong to the original groundwork of David's history. Its obvious purpose is to account for the transmission of the regalia from Saul to David, whence it is probable that it has been introduced by the redactor, who combined the two histories of David and Saul.⁵ The evident sympathy for Saul and his house naturally suggests an Ephraimite origin, and in this connection it is worth remembering that it is E, also, who, in Josh. 10:13, has again quoted the book of Jashar. We perhaps owe the introduction of the song to the author of vs. 5, with which verse the mention of Jonathan (vss. 22, 23, 25 *sq.*) connects itself.

b) Chap. 2 resumes the personal history of David, and is, therefore, the immediate continuation of 1 Sam., chap. 30. He leaves Ziklag and goes up to Hebron, where the men of Judah come to anoint him (vss. 1-4a). The abruptly introduced mention of the men of Jabesh-Gilead (vss. 4b-7) rests upon 1 Sam. 31:11 *sqq.* (Saul's history), and, with Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altertums*, Vol. I, § 297), does not belong to the original narrative.

⁴ "House of Israel" (vs. 12b) in Hexateuch only P, but once D² in Josh. 21:43, E² in 1 Sam. 7:2 *sq.*; in 1 Kings 12:21 D. For 2 Samuel see 6:5, 15; 12:8; 16:3. "People of Yahweh" (*ibid.*), 1 Sam. 2:24 E²; "anointed of Yahweh" (vs. 14), RD in 1 Sam. 2:35 (*cf.* vs. 10), E² in 1 Sam. 12:3, 5, and Midrash in 1 Sam. 16:6. In earlier narratives 1 Sam. 26:9, 11, 23 (E) and in 24:7, 11 (J, according to Budde).

⁵ This he has done by prefixing vss. 1-2a (to "the third day"), a strikingly precise notice which does not appear to agree with the situation represented in 1 Sam., chap. 30. It has probably been derived from 1 Sam. 30:1 (three days' journey from Aphek to Ziklag).

Ishbaal is crowned by Abner at Mahanaim, and rules over Benjamin, Ephraim, Jezreel, Gilead, etc. The extensive district over which he held sway may be understood if we assume that he was a vassal of the Philistines (*cf.* Kamphausen, *ZATW.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43 *sqq.*). Continuing, vss. 10a, 11 are acknowledged glosses (Wellhausen, Budde), but the close similarity between 10b ("but the house of Judah followed David") and 20:2; 1 Kings 12:20 makes it probable that vss. 10, 11 are both from the same hand.

Next we meet with certain details of the war between Ishbaal and David. Vss. 14–16 describe a small skirmish at Gibeon; the story is possibly an etymologizing attempt to explain the name חֶלְקֶת הַצִּדִּירִים (Budde, p. 240).⁶ Vs. 17, on the other hand, speaks of a big battle wherein the men of Israel are beaten; vss. 18–24 a self-contained narrative follows with the account of Asahel's death. The latter can hardly be connected with the preceding passages (note the fresh introduction, vs. 18), nor does it seem to be the prelude to vss. 25 *sqq.*⁷ In the verses which follow, vs. 27a (with the use of אֱלֹהִים) can scarcely refer to vs. 14 (RV mg.); a fight would surely have occurred under any circumstance, and, as Driver (*Books of Samuel*, p. 188) notes, the verse must refer to vs. 26. The chapter concludes with the cessation of the war (vs. 28; *cf.* vs. 30a), and Abner's return to Mahanaim (vs. 29).

In chap. 3 vs. 6b follows immediately upon vs. 1, vss. 2–5 belong to chap. 8, and vs. 6a is the redactor's addition (*cf.* Budde, *SBOT.*). Vs. 1 directly contradicts 2:28, and the use of בֵּית דָּוִד (vs. 1; *cf.* 1 Sam. 20:16 R^{JE}; 2 Sam. 7:26, see below), אֵרֶץ (*ibid.*, rarely before D), and לֵל (*ibid.*, Gen. 41:19; Exod. 23:3 E, but Judg. 6:15 J), favors the assumption that vss. 1, 6b *sqq.* have been worked over (at least) by a later hand (מתחזק, vs. 6b, see our note on 10:12, § 3, c). Further support is found in the words of Abner (vss. 9 *sq.*; note אֱלֹהִים, vs. 9a), which are related to the passages in 1 Samuel where David is spoken of as accepted by Yahweh, all of which, however, are later than J (1 Sam.

⁶ LXX presupposes חֶלְקֶת הַצִּדִּירִים "portion of the plotters," and the context suggests חֶלְקֶת הַצִּדִּירִים "portion of the sides." For conjectures the writer may be permitted to refer to his article *Helkath-Hazzurim* in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II. *cf.* חֶלְקֶת in Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32 E; see also 2 Sam. 14:30 *sq.*; 23:11 *sq.* below.

⁷ Wellhausen, however (*Die Bücher Samuels*, *ad loc.*), suggests the original identity of גִּבְעַת אֲמֵה (vs. 24) and גִּבְעַת אַחֵה (vs. 25).

15:28 E²; 16:1, 12 Midrash; 18:12a E; 28:17 R^{JE}).⁸ A similar feeling is observed in vss. 17 sq., where זקני ישראל points to E (cf. 1 Sam. 4:3 E; 8:4 E²).⁹ That 2:12-16 is older than 1 Sam. 18:20-29; 19:11-17, has been rightly noticed by Marquart (*Fundamente*, p. 24). But is our passage conflated, or should we read "Abner" for "Ishbaal" in vss. 14, 15? Why should David send to Ishbaal for Michal when, as we learn from vs. 13, the marriage was to confirm the *secret* alliance which Abner was seeking with David?

Vs. 30 is ascribed to a late redactor (see *SBOT.*), and, by the unexpected inclusion of Abishai, is obviously to be connected with vss. 29 and 39, which, instead of Joab alone, speak of "Joab's house" and the "sons of Zeruah." The lament which follows (vss. 33, 34) may be an insertion; vss. 32b and 34b are closely parallel, and בני עילה recurs in 2 Sam. 7:10 (see below), and elsewhere in later passages. Suspicion attaches itself also to David's curse in vss. 28 sqq., from the awkward manner in which it is introduced (וַיִּשְׁמַע דָּוִד בְּאַחֲרֵי-כֵן; for a parallel construction cf. 2 Chron. 32:23b), and from its unfriendly feeling toward Joab (see below, § 6, b).

There is little to notice with respect to chap. 4. The tradition in vs. 10 has been already mentioned (see above), and David's regard for Ishbaal reminds us of the Ephraimite tendency in chap. 1 (above).¹⁰

c) Not a few traces of redaction and combination of passages from different sources have been found throughout this section. We have no clear conception of the struggle between David and Ishbaal (cf. Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 262). We find traces of a narrative which suggests that Abner and Ishbaal are supported by Benjamin alone (2:14-16, 18-27, 30-32), whereas other verses presuppose that Joab is fighting against all Israel (vss. 17, 28). It is curious, moreover, that in chaps. 3 sq. there is nothing to suggest that Saul's court is still at Mahanaim, with the possible exception of 4:7b.¹¹ This city is mentioned only in

⁸ "Dan to Beersheba" (vs. 10b) is generally late; cf. Budde, p. 258, and see especially Hope W. Hogg, "Dan to Beersheba," in *Expositor*, Vol. VIII, pp. 411-21 (1896).

⁹ Probably J² in Exod. 3:16; 4:29; 12:21; E in Numb. 11:30; 16:25; Exod. 17:5, 6; 18:2; 24:1, 9; Josh. 24:1; and R^{JE} in Josh. 7:6. On 2 Sam. 5:3; 17:4, 15 see below, and on 1 Kings 8:1, 3 see Kuenen, § 25, note 2.

¹⁰ בער (vs. 11b) is markedly D.

¹¹ The murderers of Ishbaal come (from Mahanaim?) "through the Arabah" to Hebron; cf. 2:29.

2:8, 12, 29; 2:8 *may* belong to an Ephraimite writer, and vss. 12, 13a, 17 28 *sq.* appear to form part of an originally independent account (R^{JE}?). Which is the more historical, the Benjamite or the Israel narrative?

It is well known that the Philistines, after their victory at Gilboa, occupied the cities in the northern plain at Jezreel, and since Saul's court was forced to flee across the Jordan, it would appear that Benjamite territory was no longer secure. It is, therefore, remarkable that the only recorded skirmish was in Benjamin, and that Abner seems to have stood at the head of this tribe, and exercised some authority over it (*cf.* 2:25, 31; 3:19).

Another noticeable peculiarity in chaps. 2-4 is the absence of all reference to the Philistines. It is natural to suppose that it would be in their interest to leave the rival houses of David and Saul in a state of warfare, and it has been plausibly conjectured that David, as well as Ishbaal, was their vassal. Consequently one expects that it would have been the Philistines' policy to preserve the balance of power, and it is difficult to understand for what reason they abstained from interference. As we know from 2 Sam. 5:17, they do not reappear until north and south are united and David has become king over all Israel.

§ 2. *Chapters 5-8.*—All the tribes come to David and anoint him king over Israel, he goes up to Jerusalem, the Philistines are driven away, and the ark is brought up. David proposes to build a house for the ark, but Nathan, at Yahweh's command, forbids him. Successful wars are waged against the surrounding nations, and we seem to reach the climax of David's history. His authority is felt far and wide, and in everything David perceives the hand of Yahweh working on behalf of His people.

It will be impossible to consider these chapters without taking into consideration the appendix (chaps. 20-24),¹² and since our intention is to gain an idea of the age and character of the various narratives, it will be convenient to classify the contents according to their subject-matter.

a) *Narratives dealing with Jerusalem.*—Following the introduction (see below) comes the abrupt notice of the capture of

¹² The position of chaps. 21-24 shows that they were inserted after the separation of the books of Samuel and Kings (Driver, *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 183), but did the writer who inserted them leave them untouched? Chaps. 22-23:7, the song followed by the last words (*cf.* Deut., chaps. 32 *sq.*, Moses' Song followed by the Blessing), are later. For 21:1-14 see below, § 3. Budde (*SBOT.*) arranges the narratives as follows: 5:1-3, 17-25; 21:15 *sqq.*; 23:8 *sqq.*; 5:6; 6:1; 5:7-12; 6:2 *sqq.*; chap. 7; 8:1-14; 3:2-5; 5:13-16; 5:4, 5; 8:15-18.

Jerusalem by David and his "men" (5:6 *sqq.*). Chap. 6:1, which mentions the assembling of thirty thousand of the chosen men of Israel, does not seem, therefore, to be an apt prelude (against Budde, p. 243). The notice of Hiram and his message in vss. 11 *sq.* probably refers to the latter part of David's reign, since the Phœnician king was a contemporary of Solomon (see Kittel, *History*, Vol. II, p. 157, note 2).¹³ It is possible, however, that he has been introduced from 1 Kings, chap. 5, just as the account of Saul's victories in 1 Sam. 14:47 seems to be based upon 2 Sam., chap. 8.

Chaps. 6, 7, which break the connection between 5:25 and 8:1, do not appear to belong to this section (*cf.* Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 286). Opinions vary as to the source of chap. 7. Wellhausen (*Hexateuch*, p. 257) and Kuenen (§ 22, note 5) ascribed it to D. Kittel, however (*History*, Vol. II, pp. 46 *sq.*, 160, note 2), and Budde (p. 244) would find in it traces of older material. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, to recollect that it is agreed that a hand later than J has worked over it.

Chap. 6 is composed of two incidents: (α) the bringing up of the ark from Baal of Judah to the house of Obed-Edom, and (β) its removal to Zion. These are kept distinct by the chronicler and characteristically treated after his own manner (1 Chron., chap. 13 = 2 Sam. 6:1–11; 1 Chron. 15:25 *sqq.* = 2 Sam. 6:12 *sqq.*). In vss. 2–4, 6, 7b (where David is accompanied by his "men") אלהים consistently recurs, but in vss. 5, 7a, 8 *sqq.* (where David is accompanied by Israel, vss. 5, 15, 19) the divine name is regularly יהוה (so read in vs. 12b with LXX, Lucian).¹⁴ The close resemblance between α and 1 Sam. 6:19–7:1 will not pass unnoticed. In view of the obvious relation between chap. 6 and chap. 7 it is not improbable that the former (derived from some "History of the Ark") has been introduced into its present position by the final editor of the latter.¹⁵ To him we may, perhaps,

¹³ See the article Hiram in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

¹⁴ With regard to the Yahweh-narrative it is noteworthy that vs. 5 has no real connection with the context, and that the words "the anger of Yahweh was kindled upon Uzzah" (vs. 7a) are a parallel to, and perhaps a gloss upon, "and Elohim smote him." יהוה occurs in vs. 2b, which is possibly a gloss.

¹⁵ On the whole chapter see Kesters, *Theolog. Tijdschr.*, 1893, pp. 361–78. 2 Sam. 6:20–23, which connects itself with vs. 16, is omitted by the chronicler (1 Chron. 16:43b = 2 Sam. 6:20a). Its tone is distinctly anti-Benjamite, and vs. 21, in particular, resembles in spirit such a passage as 3:9 *sq.* (on which see § 1, b, above). But 6:20–23 is very probably an addition. One notes that in β (and also in the יהוה fragment in α) David is king over all Israel, and that from 6:23 it is to be inferred that Michal has only just become David's wife.

ascribe 6:1, and see traces of his hand in such expressions as **בית ישראל** (6:5, see above on 1:12), and **ברך בשם** (6:18b; cf. Deut. 10:8; 21:5). Finally, we have chap. 24, relating the census of Israel, Yahweh's wrath, and the erection of the altar at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. Has the existence of an old altar been the origin of the narrative? The close relation between chaps. 24 and 21 has been frequently observed (see, e. g., Wellhausen, *Hexateuch*, p. 263); cf. further 24:13 (LXX) with 21:1 (the duration of the famine), and 24:15 (LXX) with 21:9b (the time of year), and see Kuenen, § 22, note 13. The exact source of this chapter can scarcely be decided; a number of noteworthy usages found in it are given in a note.¹⁶

b) *Wars*.—Incidents in the wars with the Philistines are found in 5:17–25; 21:15–22, and 23:8–39. In the first passage, the scene is laid in Baal-Perazim and the valley of Rephaim, and the Philistines are beaten from Gibeon to Gezer (cf. LXX and 1 Chron. 14:16). In the second, the scene is removed to Gob (read Gezer?) and Gath, and in the last we find amid various notices the account of a fight at Lehi (23:11), a list of David's heroes, and strangely enough a fragmentary passage where the Philistines are again in the valley of Rephaim and actually have a garrison in Bethlehem! It is, indeed, strange to find them so near the capital. It is evident that we have a number of fragments, secular and religious, which have been loosely brought into their position by a later hand (so also Wellhausen, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, p. 212, note), to whom we may *inter alia* ascribe the introduction, 5:17a.¹⁷ That they rest upon an old tradition we need not doubt;¹⁸ possibly, indeed, they once formed part of the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," which is quoted by E in Numb. 21:14 sq.

¹⁶ כהם וכהם (vs. 3), see Deut. 1:11; עיני ראות, cf. Deut. 28:32. For the geographical description in vs. 5 sqq. (on text see Wellhausen, Klostermann, Driver, Budde) cf. Deut. 2:36; 3:12; Josh. 12:2; 13:9, 16; the mention of Tyre and Sidon is striking. For "Dan to Beersheba" (vs. 2) see on 3:10 above (note 8). נסכלר (vs. 10), see Gen. 31:28 E; 1 Sam. 13:13 J² (so Budde); 28:21 E; for 2 Sam. 15:31 see § 4, c); מלאך יהודה (vs. 16), see on 14:17 below, § 4, a); הערה (vs. 17), cf. 2 Sam. 7:14 (see above), and for 2 Sam. 19:20 see § 6, b); מנשה (vs. 21) in Hexateuch E and P (plural in Exod. 9:14 J); with נעצר, cf. Numb. 17:13, 15; 25:8 P; רצה (vs. 23), old in Gen. 33:10; Deut. 33:11, 24, generally D and later. In vs. 24 the order שכלים חמשים is unusual and generally late (cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). ארז for ארז, characteristic of the Elisha narratives (1 Kings, chap. 20–2 Kings, chap. 8), recurs in Josh. 10:25; 14:12 D (cf. Driver, *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 188, note).

¹⁷ Note also vs. 24, "Yahweh will go before thee," and cf. Deut. 9:3; Judg. 4:14 (E, so Budde, Moore). חלקה in 23:11 sq. is also a sign of E; cf. on 2:16 above, § 1, b).

¹⁸ E. g., the notice of the slaying of Goliath in 2 Sam. 21:19 as compared with 1 Sam., chap. 17.

In chap. 8 we have some account of David's campaigns which, in its present form, shows signs of much revision and redaction (according to Budde, *SBOT.*, vss. 1-6a R^D, 6b, 11, 12 R^P).¹⁹ Compared with chap. 10 the chapter is a panegyric idealizing David's successes; see further below, § 3, c).

c) *Family and official lists.*—Little need be said respecting the family lists. Amnon (3:2) was the son of the Jezreelite Ahinoam, and Dodiel (so Klostermann, and Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 25; MT, דָּוִיָּאל, דָּוִיָּאל) was the son of Abigail the Carmelite. The third, Absalom b. Maacah, was the grandson of Talmai king of Geshur. Since David's first two wives came from the south of Judah, we can hardly suppose that in the case of Absalom the Aramean state of Geshur is referred to (cf. Josh. 12:5). It is not easy to see how David at this early period of his life was able to contract an alliance with so distant a principality, and it becomes more probable, and indeed agrees better with his policy to suppose, that Geshur is the less known south-Palestinian district which seems to have been situated beyond the Philistine territory (cf. Josh. 13:2; 1 Sam. 27:8, and see below § 4, b). The fourth son, Adonijah, is briefly styled "ben Hag-gith," possibly a corruption of בֶּן־הַגִּתִּית "son of the Gittite (woman)."

The list of officers, 8:16 *sqq.*, recurs in 20:23 *sqq.*, where, however, it seems out of place. As Bonk has already suggested, it is probable that these lists are comparatively late (see *ZATW.*, Vol. XI, p. 142). Benaiah, for example, is nowhere mentioned in the following narratives (9-20:22), and the head of the Cherethites and Pelethites, so far from being Benaiah, was Joab (cf. 20:7, and on text see Budde, *SBOT.*). Possibly the LXX addition to 1 Kings, chap. 2, is more correct in styling him chief τοῦ πλυνθείου (vs. 46h), i. e., of the מִלְכָּךְ or "brick-kiln" (?);²⁰ cf. 2 Sam. 12:31, Keri.

d) It is evident that this section comprises a number of heterogeneous fragments of various ages and sources (cf. Wellhausen, *Hexateuch*, p. 258), and has as much right to be ascribed to the oldest narrator as the appendix (chaps. 21-24), which, in the matter of contents, it closely resembles. The *terminus a quo* of

¹⁹ Also דָּוִיָּל (vs. 9) with the meaning "army" in Hexateuch P, in 1 Sam. 17:20 E; 10:26 R^J.

²⁰ The exact meaning of the word is very uncertain.

the various incidents is apparently fixed by the introduction, 5:3, which dates this section at the anointing of David over all Israel, i. e., seven years after the death of Saul (cf. vs. 5a). Internal evidence, however, as well as the existence of several phraseological criteria, make it probable that this introduction, a twofold one (vss. 3 and 1 sq.), is late, and that it has proceeded from the editors who have collected and revised the several fragments which follow.²¹

When once we recognize that these introductions are due to later editors, we are able to gain a rather different, and perhaps a clearer, conception of the early history of David's reign. The few encounters between David and the Philistines which are recorded will belong to a time when David had not become king over all Israel, and apparently precede the incidents in chaps. 2-4, where we find, strangely enough, no mention of the Philistines (cf. also Asahel's name among David's heroes in 23:24). In these fights David has neither "host" (צבא) nor "army" (חיל) as in chap. 8 or 10, but is accompanied only by his "men" or "servants" (cf. 5:21; 21:15, 17).

It seems difficult (following the accepted view) to believe that David was already king of Israel when he took refuge in the "hold" (מַצְדָּה) from the Philistines who came out against him (5:17). It is more probable that David had been previously engaged in subduing the Philistines around Jerusalem at the same time as Ishbaal and Abner were fighting those who had settled in the more northerly parts of Palestine (1 Sam. 31:7). The absence of the Philistines in chaps. 2-4 may then be due to the fact that they had become a negligible quantity. David probably seized Jerusalem before he became king over Israel. In Ziklag his rule had extended over his "friends" in the Negeb, whose support it was perhaps necessary to assure with gifts (1 Sam. 30:26 sqq.).²² How lasting his success was we shall see when we come to consider the rebellion of Absalom.

²¹ שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is found in J in Gen. 49:16; JE in Josh. 4:5, 8; 7:16; E in Josh. 3:12; 24:1. In Judg. 18:1; 20:2, 10; 21:8 post-exilic (Moore). Also in 1 Sam. 2:28 RD; 10:20 E; 15:17 E; once J (?) in 1 Sam. 9:21. In 2 Samuel it occurs in 7:7; 15:2, 10; 19:10; 20:14; 24:2. For 1 Kings 8:16; 11:32 see Kuenen, § 25, note 2. הַמְּבָרָא וְהַמְּצָרָא (vs. 2), cf. 1 Sam. 18:13 E; רֵעֵה, here first in the metaphorical sense (cf. 7:7), and frequently in Jeremiah. The promise in vs. 2b is related to 1 Sam. 13:14 J; 15:28 E; 16:1-13 (Midrash), and for זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (vs. 3) cf. above on 3:17. קָנִיד (vs. 2), however, is found only in J in 1 Samuel (9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 25:30).

²² Stade (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 239) suggests that the passage refers to the time immediately following Saul's death.

In Hebron, David seems to have been able to increase his power by alliances, thus gaining, doubtless, some hold over Jezreel, Carmel, and Geshur. By driving out the Philistines from the north of Judah he would be better able to devote his energies to the more northerly tribes. It would be rash to assume that the extension of his power over all Israel followed immediately after the death of Ishbaal—we can hardly suppose that there was no one to lead the north against David. The editor of chaps. 5–8 has simply attempted to thrust back the date of David's rule over the united north and south, just as the chronicler, by omitting 2 Sam., chaps. 1–4, made David's supremacy begin immediately after the death of Saul.

§ 3. *Chapters 9–12.*—The following chaps. 9–20 (together with 1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2) comprise the so-called “court history” or “family history” of David. They may easily be divided into two parts: chaps. 13–20, narrating the rebellion of Absalom and Sheba's rising; chaps. 9–12, a collection of narratives which deal with *a*) Mephibosheth (chap. 9), *b*) the circumstances attending the birth of Solomon (11:2–12:25), and *c*) the Ammonite war (chap. 10; 11:1; 12:26 *sqq.*).

In considering *a*) it will be necessary to take into account 21:1–14, which, according to Budde (pp. 256 *sq.*), should immediately precede it. It is difficult, however, to ascribe both narratives to the same writer or age. In chap. 21 David deliberately hands over seven of the sons of Saul to the Gibeonites,²³ whereas in chap. 9 this is ignored, and David, apparently unaware of their fate, has to inquire whether there are yet any of Saul's house alive. David's solicitude toward Saul's descendants is marked, and the whole motive of the chapter is David's acknowledgment of the obligation entailed by his covenant with Jonathan. Chap. 9 is obviously related, therefore, to 1 Sam. 20:15 *sqq.*, R^{JE}; cf. 18:3 E² and 24:21 R^{JE},²⁴ and we are probably justified in ascribing it to E;²⁵ to determine the source of chap. 21, on the other hand, is more difficult. The chapter seems to refer to a comparatively early period in David's history, when he was feeling his way to an extension of power, and by complying with

²³ Vs. 7 (the saving of Mephibosheth) may be a gloss (cf. Budde).

²⁴ Besides אֶלְדָּרִים (9:3), the use of שָׂדֵה (9:7) to denote a single field (and not “country” collectively) possibly points to E (cf. Holzinger, *Einführung*, § 13, p. 105).

²⁵ The chapter seems to follow upon chap. 4 (cf. רָחֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר נִתָּן, 9:1), and probably belonged originally to a somewhat earlier stage in David's history.

the request of the Gibeonites may have hoped to obtain their good services. It agrees with the benevolence shown by David to Saul's house to suppose that the burial of the remains of Saul and Jonathan (vs. 12) would have been attended to at an earlier period. Whatever be its ultimate source, the narrative lies imbedded in a later frame, and shows some signs of having been worked over by a later editor.²⁶

b) The story of David's sin with Bathsheba and the birth of Solomon (11:2—12:25) is inserted in the account of a war against Rabbath-Ammon, of which it was originally independent. Our story commences abruptly with the vague notice "and it came to pass one evening." Joab and the men of Israel and Judah are besieging a certain city; its name, as well as that of the enemy, is unmentioned.²⁷ In vs. 11 **יְשִׁבִים בְּסִכּוּחַ** seems superfluous by the side of **עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה חָנִים**, and should we read with Lucian "the ark of God, and Israel and Judah," etc., we surely have a gloss.²⁸ Further, in vs. 12, David undertakes to send Uriah away on the morrow, whereas vss. 13 *sq.* show that the latter does not depart until the third day (on the text see Budde, *SBOT.*) David in his letter (vs. 15) orders Joab to place Uriah in a dangerous position and desert him, whereas in the continuation of the narrative he is slain along with other warriors in a general onslaught (vs. 17; cf. vs. 24). Has a glossator endeavored to minimize David's treachery? Finally, the introduction of Abimelech at the close of the chapter is hardly an apt parallel; it is not easy to see how the city was to be taken unless the army approached the wall. The story of Abimelech in *Judg.*, chap. 9, occupies a unique position in the "History of the Judges" (see Moore, *SBOT.*, English translation), and the account of his death (vss. 42 *sqq.*) is due to E.²⁹

In 12:1–25 Nathan reproves David for his sin, Bathsheba becomes David's wife, and with the birth of Solomon the repentant king is restored to the divine favor. Already Schwally (*ZATW.*, Vol. XII, p. 158) has suggested that vss. 1–15*a* are a later insertion, but it is probable that the whole of 11:27*b*—12:24*a*, 25 has

²⁶ For expressions later than J cf. **דָּמָה** (vs. 5), *Judg.* 20:5; *Numb.* 33:56 (P), and on **נָחֳלֵת יֵר** (vs. 3) see 14:16 below. For **יָחַזְקֵל** (vs. 7, a gloss?) cf. 1 *Sam.* 15:3, 9, 15; *Exod.* 2:6 E; 1 *Sam.* 23:21 J(?); for 2 *Sam.* 12:4, 6 see below. Elsewhere Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and later.

²⁷ A name might have been expected, e. g., in vs. 17.

²⁸ Cf. the late *Lev.* 23:42 *sq.*; *Neh.* 8:14, 17.

²⁹ **גִּבְרִי** (2 *Sam.* 11:23) in Hexateuch only E and D.

been written to render Solomon's birth as stainless as possible.³⁰ The insertion is twofold: (α) 11:27b; 12:15-24a; (β) 12:1-15a, 25, and it is noteworthy that in (β), which is a later addition to (α), we find the only allusion to the Ammonite war (vs. 9). It is equally noteworthy that the only reference to Uriah in the historical books is found in 1 Kings 15:5, a passage whose genuineness is not free from suspicion (Kuenen, § 26, note 7).³¹

Omitting δ) as a lengthy and complicated narrative artificially inserted in its present position, there remains ϵ), a running account of the Ammonite war,³² the sequel to chap. 10. Chap. 10, compared with chap. 8, is a perfectly straightforward account of David's successes (vss. 15-19a are, however, open to suspicion). It is not our intention to analyze the account of these wars; we ask, rather, whether they could have occurred before the events related in chaps. 13-20. The hospitality with which David was received in Mahanaim (17:27 *sqq.*) has always been difficult to understand in view of the sanguinary war he had previously waged against Ammon. Instead of large armies chaps. 13 *sqq.* seem to presuppose mere bodyguards (15:18; 20:7; see below), and David does not appear to possess the authority and power which the accounts of the successful wars in chaps. 8 and 10 imply. Whatever be the source of chap. 10—and there are a few data which point to a hand later than J³³—we venture the

³⁰ 12:24b accordingly follows immediately after 11:27a.

³¹ The chronicler characteristically goes farther than the writer in 2 Samuel and makes Solomon the *youngest* of the four sons of Bathsheba (1 Chron. 3:5). That Solomon was really the *first-born* has been conjectured also (on different grounds) by Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 26. The present writer based his conjecture on the linguistic evidences which were found in chap. 12: בן־מורח (vs. 5), cf. 1 Sam. 26:16 (E); חמל (vs. 6), see on 21:7 above, § 3, a; "I have anointed thee" (vs. 7); cf. 1 Sam. 16:13 (Midrash); בזה (vss. 9 *sqq.*), cf. 1 Sam. 2:30 E³⁴; 10:27 E³⁵; 17:42 E; חמל with חמל (vs. 13), cf. 24:10 (§ 2, a); אלהים (vs. 16); בך (vs. 19), in Gen. 41:33, 39; 1 Sam. 3:8 E; once J in 1 Sam. 16:18 (so Budde); חלם (vs. 20), of garments, in Hexateuch E; ברת ירהו (vs. 20), an anachronism (Reuss, Wellhausen). ריהוה אהב (vs. 24b) is probably a gloss; observe (a) its position, (b) the order of the words, and (c) אהב, with ירהוה as subject, is a mark of D (Holzinger, *Einführung*, p. 284).

³² The text of 2 Sam. 12:26-29 is difficult. עיר המים (vs. 27b) appears to be identical with עיר המלכה in 26; both are doubtless corrupt, and Cheyne (*Expository Times*, December, 1897, pp. 143 *sq.*) reads עיר מלכום "city of Milcom." Vss. 28 *sq.* expressly state that the city has not yet been taken, whence it follows that vss. 26b and 27b (נמלכדתי) must either be hopelessly corrupt or else glosses. The repetition of the notice of the destruction of Ammon (11:1; 12:31) and of the siege of Rabbah (11:1, צור; 12:26, נלחם) indicates editorial revision.

³³ רגל (10:3), generally E or later; cf. Budde, p. 145; חקר (*ibid.*), cf. Dent. 13:15; Judg. 18:2, and 1 Sam. 20:12 E³⁶; חרוזק (vs. 12), cf. Numb. 13:20; 1 Sam. 4:9 E, but Gen. 48:2; 1 Sam. 30:6 J; for 3:6 cf. § 1, b) above. כלם (vs. 5), cf. Numb. 12:14 E, but 1 Sam. 20:34; 25:7, 15 E; in Judg. 18:7 corrupt. נקרא שם (12:28), cf. Gen. 48:16 E; 2 Sam. 6:2 (later than J? See § 2, a).

suggestion that, chronologically, the wars of David should follow, and not precede, the events related in chaps. 13–20. Further support for this will be pointed out below.

§ 4. *Chapters 13–19: The history of Absalom.*—Chaps. 13 *sqq.* deal with the revolt of Absalom and, in their present position, are closely connected with the account of Sheba's short-lived rising. Chaps. 13, 14 form an introduction to the following chapters (15 *sqq.*), of which, with the solitary exception of the reference in 15:8 to Geshur (*cf.* 13:37 *sqq.*; 14:23, 32), they are virtually independent.

a) In chap. 13 the use of *החלה* in a twofold sense (vs. 2, he fell sick; vs. 6, he feigned himself sick) and the occurrence of *חכם* (more frequently E and later; see below) and *לל* (see on 3:1, above) would suggest that vss. 3–6a, which tend to throw part of the guilt of Absalom's crime upon Jonadab, are secondary; in vs. 32 Jonadab is introduced as a new character. The closing verses have clearly suffered some transposition: vss. 34a, 37a, 38a (the flight of Absalom) are parallels, but Klostermann in the first would read *ויתר אחיי שלום* (connecting with vs. 33). Vs. 38a is an insertion, the correct order being: vss. 36, 37b, 37a, 38b, 39 (Wellhausen, Driver, Budde), and it is difficult, therefore, to avoid suspecting the genuineness of the chronological note, vs. 38b, which may have been a marginal note. Chap. 14 betrays the hand of a later scribe, but there is no sign of any legal regulation for blood-revenge, and the chapter may be pre-deuteronomic.³⁴ Vss. 25–27 are recognized glosses, but since vs. 28b = vs. 24b, it is probable that vs. 28 is equally intrusive. The construction *שנחים ימים* (*ibid.*) may point to E; *cf.* Gen. 41:1 (E). In the closing verses we may again find traces of E in

³⁴ *חכם* (vs. 2), old in Deut. 32:6, 29; Judg. 5:29; doubtful in Exod. 1:10; in Gen. 41:33, 39 E, elsewhere D (Deut. 1:13, 15; 4:6; 16:19), and in poetry; *cf.* also 1 Kings 2:9 (§ 7, c); 5:11, and for 2 Samuel *cf.* 14:20 and 20:16. *חכמה*, 1 Kings 2:6; Deut. 4:6; 34:9 (elsewhere in Hexateuch P); for 2 Samuel *cf.* 14:20; 20:22. *נאל הדם* (vs. 11), in Hexateuch D and P. *עם אלודים*, *cf.* Judg. 20:2 (post-exilic), and note the consistent use of *אלודים* throughout this chapter. *נחלת אלודים* (vs. 16), *cf.* ירדה, 1 Sam. 26:19 E; *cf.* also 2 Sam. 20:19; 21:3. *מלאך האלודים* (vs. 17), J in Judg. 13:6, 9; 1 Sam. 29:9; for 2 Sam. 19:28 see § 6, a); in Hexateuch E. *מי ירדה*, J in Gen. 16:7, 11, but Exod. 3:2; Numb. 22:22 *sqq.* doubtful; E² in Gen. 22:11, *ibid.* 15 R¹. Other old passages are Judg. 2:1a; 5:23; 6:11 *sqq.*; 13:3, 13, 15 *sqq.*; for 2 Sam. 24:16 see above, § 2, b). *מדיבר* (vs. 13), *cf.* the similar form in Numb. 7:89 (P); Ezek. 2:2; 43:6. *אשם* (*ibid.*), *cf.* Gen. 42:21 E. *ירא* (vs. 15), in Piel; *cf.* 2 Chron. 32:18; Neh. 6:9, 14. *אמה* (*ibid.*), in Hexateuch E. *שפחה* (vss. 12, 15, 17) is indeed a sign of J, but its genuineness is not free from doubt, since LXX in vs. 17 presupposes *אשה*; see Wellhausen, *Die Bücher Samuels*, *ad loc.* Vss. 15–17 carry the woman back to her plea on behalf of her boy and should perhaps come between vss. 7 and 8. *חרי נפשד* (vs. 19), *cf.* 1 Sam. 1:26 (E²); 17:55 (E). *המין והשמיל* (vs. 19); *cf.* D's *סור ימין ושמאל* (Driver, *Introduction*, p. 101, note 30).

חלקה (vs. 30; see above on 2:16), and in the construction of נשק with ל (cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 107). For vs. 32b cf. 1 Sam. 20:8 (R^{JE}).

b) The remaining chapters (15 *sqq.*) proceed with the account of the revolt. Absalom steals the hearts of all Israel (15:6) and four years later (vs. 7, LXX) raises the standard in Hebron. At the trumpet-call he is to be proclaimed king. Gradually the men of Israel fall away to him, and David, accompanied only by the Cherethites, Pelethites, and 600 Gittites, is forced to flee. Absalom and all Israel come to Jerusalem (16:15), and a council of war is held with the elders (cf. 17:4, 14a). David is informed of their plans and hurriedly crosses over the Jordan to Mahanaim (17:22, 24). A fight ensues, Absalom is killed, and all Israel return to their homes (18:17b; cf. 19:9b). All the tribes are in confusion, and finally David, by offering to Amasa (Absalom's general) the post held by Joab, becomes reconciled with Judah, who come to meet him at Gilgal (19:12-16). David now realizes that he is king over Israel (vs. 23). A quarrel, however, has sprung up between Israel and Judah (vss. 42-44), which culminates in the revolt of the Benjamite Sheba (chap. 20). All Israel follow him, and Judah alone remain faithful to the king. But the Benjamite is put to flight, and the rising is speedily quelled by Joab (20:22).

The events in chaps. 15-20, as the above brief outline shows, do not by any means give the impression that David was then king over all Israel. If Absalom had all Israel on his side, it is difficult to see how David could collect a force strong enough to meet him. Surely he would have been easily defeated. It seems not improbable, therefore, that the revolt has been exaggerated, and that it was Judah alone which took part in the rebellion.²⁵ This view is clearly suggested in 19:12 *sqq.*, and finds support in the fact that the two leading men in Absalom's rebellion were men of Judah. Amasa was a Jezreelite (Jezreel in Judah; see Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 24, after 17:25, Lucian), and Ahithophel belonged to the south Judean town of Giloh. Further support is to be found in the choice of Hebron as the meeting-place of the rebels. Had "all Israel" shared in the revolt, we should have looked for the rallying-place in Benjamin, or even in a more

²⁵ Similarly, e. g., Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 429 *sq.* On the part played by Benjamin in this revolt see § 6.

northerly site, whereas for Judah the old capital would not unnaturally form the most suitable center.

The land of Geshur, whither Absalom fled, was the home of his mother Maacah, and, as we have already seen (see above, § 2, c), was situated to the south of Philistine territory ("in Aram," 15:8, is a gloss). It is perhaps permissible to identify his mother with the Maacah whose son Achish received David at Gath.³⁶

The tribe of Judah was largely composed of Calebites, Jerahmeelites, and other non-Israelite peoples of the Negeb (*cf.* 1 Chron., chap. 2, and see Wellhausen, *De Gentibus*, etc.), and does not appear to have become prominent before David's time. In Hebron David would be easily able to retain firm hold upon these clans, with some of whom he was allied by marriage,³⁷ and it follows that it would not be until his removal to Jerusalem that any suitable opportunity for revolt would present itself to them.

c) Supported by the chronological notices which are found, the revolt is placed in the last decade of David's reign (*cf.* Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 284, note 1; Kittel, Vol. II, p. 175, note). These notices are four in number. In the first (13:23a) the expression לְשָׁנַיִם יָמִים (two years, *i. e.*, after the outrage upon Tamar) may point to E (Gen. 41:1). For 13:38b (Absalom in Geshur two years) and 14:28a (Absalom in Jerusalem two years) see above, *ad loc.* The fourth is 15:7a, which states that four (so LXX) years elapsed between the time when Absalom *openly* revolted (by preparing his fifty chariots and men) and his departure to Hebron. Although these doubtless rest upon some (late?) chronological scheme,³⁸ they cannot be unreservedly accepted in our narrative. The general tenor of the chapters supports a date previous to the great campaigns in chaps. 8 and 10 (*cf.* above, § 2, c), and it is preferable to place the revolt shortly after David

³⁶ Maacah recurs as the name of a concubine of Caleb (1 Chron. 2:48), and Tamar (Absalom's sister) is the name of a town in the south of Palestine (Ezek. 48:28). Talmi (Absalom's grandfather) is also the name borne by a Hebronite giant whom Caleb expelled (Josh. 15:14), and David himself, according to Winckler, was a Calebite. It is possible, moreover, that the names of the other Hebronite giants, Sheshai and Ahiman, are identical with the Jerahmeelite Sheshan and Ahban (אֶחְבָּן = אֶחְבָּן) in 1 Chron. 2:29, 31.

³⁷ For David's attitude to others *cf.* § 2, d).

³⁸ If, in the present arrangement of the MT, Tamar's outrage occurred shortly after the birth of Solomon, and the events in 1 Kings, chap. 1, were referred to the year after Absalom's revolt, it is conceivable that this scheme rests upon an old tradition that Solomon was twelve years old when he came to the throne; *cf.* Nestle (*ZATW.*, Vol. II, p. 312), who, instead of the four years in 15:7, reckons the three in 21:1, and the one implied in 24:8; see also Kaufmann, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 185. If we prefer to reckon the four years in 15:7, it would appear that this scheme ignores chaps. 21-24.

had settled in Jerusalem. It was possibly this very action which caused or encouraged the rising. A close examination of the chapters comprising this section will show that the narrative bears several traces of later revision. A tendency to include in the revolt the northern tribes (under the designation "Israel") may be especially noticed.

d) Chap. 15 narrates the commencement of Absalom's revolt. He prepares a chariot and horses and fifty men to run behind him (vs. 1). He secretly gains the hearts of all the men of Israel who come to Jerusalem for justice by alleging that there is none to hear their cause (vss. 2-6). Finally he obtains permission from David to go to Hebron, and prepares for revolt (vss. 7 *sqq.*). Now, vs. 1 compared with 1 Kings 1:5 shows that Absalom's deed was in itself a sign of *open* revolt, whereas vss. 2-6 represent the preparations as *gradual*. The latter, however, includes "Israel" in the revolt (*cf.* vss. 2b, 6), and may, therefore, be secondary, perhaps E (נָכַח לִבּוֹ, vs. 6; *cf.* Gen. 31:20 E). Again, vs. 7 ("and Absalom said," etc.) reads like another account of the commencement of the revolt,³⁹ and may be older than vs. 1. It is hardly likely that Absalom would have been able to depart for Hebron after openly revolting, and it is possible that vs. 1 has been derived from 1 Kings 1:5. The notice of the sending of the spies throughout all Israel in vs. 10 is probably also due to E; for the characteristic מְרַגְלִים see on 10:3 above (§ 3, c), note). The narrative continues with the flight of David and the interview with Ittai the Gittite (vs. 19, נָכַח in Hexateuch E and D). The passage relating the meeting with Zadok and Abiathar is twofold, and appears to be fragmentary: (1) the ark is brought to David, but is sent back (vss. 24-26, 29); (2) the priests, accompanied by their sons (vs. 27, "your two sons with you"), are told to return to Jerusalem, and David undertakes to tarry at the fords until tidings reach him. It is quite conceivable that (1) has been introduced by a later editor unable to see how Zadok and Abiathar could be mentioned apart from the ark.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the close relation between vss. 23a and 30b, and the fact that in vs. 23b (Lucian) the people are passing before the king along the way to the "Olive," at which, according to vs. 18b (*cf.* LXX, and on the text see Wellhausen,

³⁹ The chronological notice (vs. 7a) may be an insertion in accordance with the scheme referred to above.

⁴⁰ We must also admit the existence of glosses; *cf.* Wellhausen, Budde, *ad loc.*

Driver, *ad loc.*), they had already arrived, makes it probable that the whole passage has been loosely inserted. The order of the names of the priests may be noticed; Abiathar was in reality the older priest, and Zadok did not attain priority until after Solomon's accession (*cf.* 1 Kings 2:35).

David then goes up by the ascent of the "Olive" and hears of Ahithophel's treachery (vs. 31; for סכל *cf.* on 24:10 above, § 2, *a*), note). He commissions Hushai to pervert the counsel of the Gilonite and tells him "whatsoever thou shalt hear out of the king's house, thou shalt tell it to Zadok and Abiathar the priests" (vs. 35). The latter by means of their sons will keep David informed (vs. 36; *cf.* vs. 27). Passing over for the present the interviews with Ziba and Shimei (16:1-14), we find Absalom and Ahithophel in Jerusalem (16:15), where they meet Hushai, who is able to explain away his apparent faithlessness to David (vss. 16 *sqq.*). Hushai is designated the "Archite" (אַרְכִי), an ethnic of uncertain origin, possibly derived from some locality in the Negeb. His title "friend of David" (רֵעֵה דָוִד) is not clear; it was perhaps used generally of David's south Judean clients or associates (*cf.* 1 Sam. 30:26*a*).⁴¹ In vs. 17 רֵעֵה is employed in its ordinary sense (David is Hushai's רֵעֵה): the writer of this verse was apparently unaware of its use as a title, and when in the following verse Hushai speaks of Absalom's seizure of the throne as the choice of Yahweh and "all the men of Israel," it is difficult to avoid seeing in vss. 17 *sq.* a redactional insertion.

e) Chaps. 16:20—17:23 narrate the advice given by Ahithophel and Hushai. That of the former is twofold. His first counsel (vss. 21-23), to which reference is made in the late 12:11 *sqq.*,⁴² was acted upon by Absalom. The incident, however, must be taken in connection with 15:16 and 20:3, the necessary notices of the wives and concubines left behind in Jerusalem. Now, neither of these belongs to the original narrative. The former is obviously a gloss (observe 15:17*a* = 16*a*); on the latter see below, § 5, *a*); and the use of וְיָנִיחַ and עֹבֵד in both suggests E (*cf.* Judg. 2:21—3:1, and see Budde, p. 158). In fact, Ahithophel's first counsel

⁴¹ In Gen. 26:26 (J) "friend" is the title of an officer of Abimelech the Gerarite; similarly in 1 Kings 4:5 it appears to have a purely official application.

⁴² Chap. 12:7 *sq.*, 10-12 is the only passage which could make us place the narrative of David and Bathsheba before the revolt. In all probability it should belong later, toward the close of David's life.

is wholly independent of the context and may be safely omitted from the oldest form of the narrative.

The story of Ahithophel's second counsel (17:1-4),⁴² and the manner in which it is perverted by Hushai (vss. 5 *sqq.*), is particularly complicated and difficult. Ahithophel advises prompt action. David has but few men with him, and if he is killed these will return to Absalom "like a bride returneth to her husband" (vs. 8, LXX). This advice is politic and consistent, but is frustrated by Hushai, who counsels delay, with the result that Ahithophel in despair goes to his home and hangs himself (vs. 23). It would appear that Hushai wished to give David an opportunity of strengthening his power, although one fails to see how David could hope to do this, especially as he takes refuge in Ammon, which, according to the received view, he had formerly decimated. Hushai counsels Absalom to gather Israel from "Dan to Beersheba" (vs. 11; *cf.* above on 3:10, § 1, *b*), but Absalom has already gained over all the people (*cf.* 16:15; 17:14, 24). If Hushai's advice had been preferred, it must have been acted upon after Absalom had crossed the Jordan, since from vs. 24 it appears that the latter was in close pursuit of David. Finally, in spite of Ahithophel's defeat, the fact remains that Hushai's counsel need never have been given. It is not alluded to in vs. 21, and, notwithstanding the approval of Absalom and "all the men of Israel" (vs. 14), it does not appear to have been followed: vs. 21, indeed, clearly showing that it was upon hearing Ahithophel's advice, and that alone, that David fled across the Jordan. Several less important difficulties and inconcinnities are found in the account of the spies, vss. 15-20. In vss. 15, 16 Hushai tells the priests of the advice tendered by Ahithophel and himself. The scene suddenly shifts to En-rogel, where Jonathan and Ahimaaz are in regular communication with David (vs. 17, the tenses are frequentative). This implies that vss. 17 and 15 *sq.* are not from the same hand, or that there is a lacuna between vss. 16 and 17. Again, in vs. 20*a* Absalom's servants know at once where the spies are concealed, which suggests that the scene is still laid at En-Rogel. Possibly two traditions have been combined; the one placed the spies and the well at a woman's house in En-Rogel, the other at a man's house in Bahurim.

⁴² The "moreover" of 17:1 EV is misleading.

From a consideration of the difficulties in 16:20—17:23 it is probable that we may discover three strands in the narrative: (*a*) Ahithophel counsels immediate action; the spies hear of this and tell David, who at once crosses the Jordan (16:20(?); 17:1-4 . . . 17-22); (*β*) a later hand has told how Ahithophel's advice was frustrated by Hushai (17:5-14, 23); finally there has been added (*γ*) the nefarious advice of Ahithophel (16:21-23), the writer of which is no doubt responsible for those passages with which it is so closely connected (see above). Of the three (*a*) is doubtless the oldest, and to the editor who inserted (*β*) we owe the harmonizing link 17:15, 16, and probably also 15:27, 28, 35, 36. It is not impossible even that he is also the author of 15:31-34; 16:16-19.

f) The conclusion of the chapter narrates David's arrival in Mahanaim and his hospitable reception at the hands of Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai (17:24-29; with 29*b* cf. 16:2*b*). Absalom passes over the Jordan and makes Amasa "captain of the host" in the place of Joab (17:25*a*; cf. 1 Kings 2:32). The latter statement is intelligible only on the assumption that there existed at this time an "army" or "host" (צבא), such as is mentioned in the account of the great wars (chaps. 8, 10), and that Absalom had control over it; in other words, that all Israel was on his side.

It has always been difficult to understand David's favorable reception among the Ammonites, whom, according to the MT arrangement of 2 Samuel, he had previously crushed. It is precarious to base any argument of relationship upon the fact that Nahash appears both as an Ammonite and Judean name (2 Sam. 10:2; 17:25*b*), since in the latter passage the correct reading is no doubt "Jesse" (see Klostermann, *ad loc.*). Of the three names mentioned in 17:27 that of Shobi (ben Nahash) alone is unknown. Now, the omission of the verb after "Mahanaim" makes the verse unbearably heavy, and in accordance with Hebrew idiom one expects in place of וּשְׁבִי a verb in the imperfect with *waw* consecutive. For "and Shobi ben Nahash" (וּשְׁבִי בֶן נָחָשׁ) should we not read "and Nahash . . . brought" (וַיָּבִיאוּ נָחָשׁ בֶּן . . .)? בֶּן was inserted before נָחָשׁ to make sense after וַיָּבִיאוּ had become corrupted to וּשְׁבִי. This Nahash of Rabbah is the king mentioned in 10:1 *sq.*, a chapter which has

⁴⁴ Budde, *SBOT.*, and others read הַבִּיאוּ at the beginning of vs. 28, but the construction is still awkward; for a parallel cf. the late 2 Chron. 31:6.

been taken (on other grounds) to refer to a time following the revolt of Absalom; and we are now able to understand the nature of the kindness which Hanun's father had shown to David, and which the latter was so eager to repay.

g) Chap. 18 narrates the fight between Absalom and David. The army of the latter, according to Josephus (*Antiquities*, vii, 10, 1), numbered 4,000 men, which from its extreme moderation invites confidence (cf. Mez, *Josephus*, p. 76). With the exception of vss. 6-8 the chapter hangs round Absalom. Here the wood in which Absalom met his death becomes one which causes the loss of more men than the battle itself. Its name is variously given as the "wood of Ephraim" (MT) or "Mahanaim" (Luc.); Josephus, on the other hand, locates the fight in the Great Plain (cf. vs. 23b). It was probably wanting in the original narrative, and in vs. 6b we should read simply בִּיַּעַר; cf. Budde, *SBOT.*, *ad loc.*

Absalom's death is ascribed in vs. 14 to Joab, but in vs. 15 to Joab's armor-bearers. It is difficult to evade this inconsistency, since the statement in vs. 15 is clear and precise (הַמִּיתָ, not מוֹתָהּ as in 1:10), and it is at least remarkable that neither here nor in David's final charge to Solomon (1 Kings, chap. 2) is there anything to support vs. 14. It is difficult to treat vs. 15 as a gloss, and if we bear in mind such passages as 3:29, 39; 16:10, etc., which are filled with bitterness against Joab, it becomes easier to suppose that vs. 15 is original, and that vs. 14 represents a later polemical tradition.

The latter part of the chapter tells how the news of Absalom's death reached David. Of הַכּוּשִׁי "the Cushite" we know nothing, unless the name be an old error for הַחֹשִׁי "Hushai." "Cush" may very probably refer to the Arabian tribe of that name, and the Cushite bearer of bad tidings finds a parallel in the Amalekite of chap. 1.

In chap. 19 David, mourning the fate of his favorite son, is persuaded to show himself to his people. Vss. 9b-11, 12b⁴⁵ are an insertion to magnify the size of the rebellion; note the mention of "Israel" in vs. 9b (cf. 18:17b), and נָדָן, vs. 10 (the verb in Hexateuch only E). David sends to Zadok and Abiathar to persuade the elders of Judah to recall him, and by offering to Amasa the position formerly held by Joab is ultimately reconciled

⁴⁵ Vs. 12b is misplaced and should follow immediately upon vs. 11.

to his subjects. Now Amasa is expressly associated with Judah (*cf.* 1 Kings 2:32), and seems to have possessed considerable influence over the tribe; and unless we are to suppose that David had already become king over the northern tribes, his offer is equivalent to investing him with a post which he already held.

The rebellion has now ended, the men of Judah come to Gilgal, and David returns to the Jordan (*vs.* 16). The rest of the chapter is taken up with David's interviews with Shimei, Mephibosheth, and Barzillai, and ends with the commencement of Sheba's rising.

§ 5. *Chapters 19:41—20:22: Sheba's revolt.*—*a)* When Judah had become reconciled with David and had come to conduct the king over the Jordan, only half Israel accompanied them (19:41). A certain ill-feeling had sprung up between the North and South which culminated in the revolt of Sheba the Bichrite.⁴⁶ He is followed by all Israel, and Judah alone, "from the Jordan to Jerusalem,"⁴⁷ remains faithful to David. David returns to Jerusalem and sends Amasa to collect the men of Judah (19:42—20:4). Such is the commencement of the new revolt. It presents an entirely new situation, which does not harmonize with the impression left after the reconciliation of David with his people. It presupposes a wholly different disruption, and one, indeed, which is scarcely credible when we recollect the eager longing expressed by Israel for the return of David (19:12). It is highly probable that here again the size of the revolt has been magnified and that from the LXX of 20:14 we may obtain a more intelligible idea of the size of Sheba's following. From this verse we learn that Sheba was attended only by his clansmen, the Bichrites (*cf.* Driver, *ad loc.*), a representation which is in obvious harmony with the continuation of the story in *vss.* 15 *sqq.* Here Sheba with his small following is put to flight and finds refuge in Abel-beth-Maacah. The city is besieged by Joab, and to save themselves the inhabitants cut off Sheba's head. Thus the short-lived rebellion ceases and Joab returns in victory to the king (20:22). The chapter ends with a (misplaced) list of officers almost identical with that in 8:16 *sqq.*; see above, § 2, *c*).

⁴⁶ It is a very probable conjecture that Saul also belonged to the Bichrites (in 1 Sam. 10:21 read בכרי for מַטְרִי, and *cf.* Marquart, *Fundamente*, p. 14). The only other Benjaminite clan-name mentioned in Samuel is Gera, to which belonged the well-known Shimei.

⁴⁷ The "Jordan" seems to represent a river on the south border of Judah; *cf.* Winckler, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 174, note 2.

Now, vss. 14–22 form a continuous and straightforward account of the end of Sheba's revolt, and in all probability may be assigned to E.⁴⁸ The original commencement, on the other hand, can with difficulty be determined, inasmuch as there are several signs of redaction and insertion. A trace of this is seen, for example, in the artificial "half Israel" in 19:41b, and in the "ten (or eleven, Josephus, *Antiquities*, VII, 11:5) parts," 19:44, an obvious reference to the tribes that fell away under Jeroboam. The idea that "Joseph" is first-born rather than "Judah" (vs. 44; for text cf. *SBOT*.) is naturally Ephraimite (cf. Gen., chap. 48; 1 Chron. 5:1 sq.). Chap. 20:1b and 2b are almost identical with 1 Kings 12:16, 20b, and the writer seems to have in his mind a recollection of the separation of the two kingdoms. In fact, the account of Sheba's rising has been artificially affixed to the close of the revolt of Absalom, and the hand of the redactor who is responsible for this is to be seen again in the statement that David returned to Jerusalem (vs. 3a),⁴⁹ and explains the inconsistency between 19:41 sq. (Judah with David), and 20:4 (Amasa collects Judah). If Sheba revolted when David was at Gilgal, why was it necessary to collect the men of Judah who were already with David, and why should David return to Jerusalem? If, on the other hand, Sheba's rising was quite independent of Absalom's revolt, and occurred when David was in Jerusalem, the summoning of Judah is quite intelligible.

b) The confused state of the commencement of the revolt is self-evident. In vss. 4 sq. Amasa is sent to collect Judah in three days, but stays beyond the time allotted. Abishai is sent in pursuit of Sheba, and is accompanied by Joab (vss. 6 sq.; in vs. 7a read אֲחֵרֵי אֲבִשָּׁי with Budde, *SBOT*.), the Cherethites and Pelethites. Vss. 8 sqq. deal with the murder of Amasa, whom we find, strangely enough, in Gibeon. The account of Amasa's murder (vss. 8–10a, 11–13a) is scarcely original in its present position; one may note the reiterations (vss. 7b, 10b, 13b) which

⁴⁸ קָהַל (vs. 14b K^{ri}) in Hexateuch D (Deut. 4:10; 31:12) and P, but once E in Exod. 32:1 (קָהַל) J in Gen. 49:6; Numb. 22:4, but E in Numb. 16:33; 20:4). שְׁבַתֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*ibid.*), cf. 5:1 above, § 2, d). חֲקֵקָה (vs. 16), see on 13:3 (§ 4, a). אֲמָרָה (vs. 17) E, cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 183. נִחְלַח יְהוֹרָה (vs. 19), see 1 Sam. 26:19 (E); 2 Sam. 14:16 (§ 4a); 21:3 (§ 3a). On vs. 19 cf. Deut. 20:10 sq. In vs. 14 we should possibly transpose and read "and all the Bichrites gathered together and came after him, and they went through all the tribes," etc. Vs. 15 does not follow immediately upon vs. 14. In the latter the subject to the verb is "the Bichrites;" in vs. 15a it is obviously Joab and his followers.

⁴⁹ The rest of the verse is also due to an editor; cf. above on 16:15 sqq., § 3, e). כֹּלֵל "to nourish" is peculiar to E in the Hexateuch (Gen. 45:11; 47:12; 50:21).

remain when it is omitted, and the harmonizing link vs. 11. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that there may have been an independent story of Amasa (J?), and fragments of it may be preserved in Lucian's version of 20:7a ("and Amasa collected all the people"), but his association with Sheba's revolt is hardly genuine.

In vs. 6 for "Abishai" the Peshitta, followed by many critics, reads "Joab."⁵⁰ Budde (*SBOT.*), however, supports the MT. By charging Abishai, he observes, David is sure that Joab will not remain behind, and the fact that Joab soon takes the leadership into his own hands follows as a matter of course. But, as Driver, *Samuel, ad loc.*, points out, we need a preparation for Joab's mention in vs. 8. Joab alone is opposed to Sheba in the continuation of the narrative, and so it must have stood in the original narrative before it had been affixed to the story of Absalom's revolt. The redactor, however, was obliged to remove Joab's name in view of the preceding 19:14b, and possibly, too, introduced the account of Amasa's death in order to explain his absence in vss. 14 *sqq.* The emended אֲחִירֵי אֲבִישַׁי in vs. 7a (see above) is a redactional gloss, as also is אֲחִירֵי אֲבִישַׁי in vs. 10. The resemblance which vs. 10b bears to 2:24a leads to the discovery of several points of contact between the story of Amasa and Sheba in chap. 20 and that of Abner and Ishbaal in chap. 2. Both Abner and Sheba are followed by Benjamin (2:25; 20:14). The murders of Asahel and Amasa are narrated in very similar terms (2:23 *sq.*; 20:10a, 12, 13a). Gibeon recurs in each (2:12 *sq.*; 20:8); and the end of the war is similarly described (2:28; 20:22b). Hence it is possible that the same redactor has worked at both chaps. 2 *sq.* and 20. Amasa and Abner are to a certain extent parallel characters, the former "captain of the host of Judah," the latter "captain of the host of Israel;" each possessed considerable influence, and, though separated from one another by a score of years, in the received chronology are mentioned together in 1 Kings 2:5, 32 (the same redactor here?).

c) It is not easy to fix the approximate date of Sheba's revolt, more especially since Amasa's connection with it is a later feature. At all events, the northern tribes are treated with leniency, and, as Winckler has observed, do not yet appear to be under David's

⁵⁰ Lucian: *αμασα, i. e., "Amasa."*

sway—in other words, David has not yet become king over all Israel (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 174).

Since reason has been found for separating the narratives of Absalom and Sheba, it is useful to observe where Absalom's revolt ceases in the present MT. It must be one of the two closely related verses, 19:16 or 41, where Judah has come to escort David over the Jordan. It can hardly be the latter, however, since this is due to the redactor who is preparing the way for the introduction of Sheba's revolt. The narrative, accordingly, ends abruptly in 19:16 with the short notice of the arrival of the men of Judah at Gilgal. May it be conjectured that a writer concluded with the description of some such solemn festival or renewal of the kingdom as is mentioned in 1 Sam. 11:14 *sq.* (also at Gilgal)?

Of more importance for our present purpose is the corollary that the interviews in 19:17 *sqq.* do not belong to the original account of Absalom's revolt. This is the more suggestive since the corresponding interviews in chap. 16 also show traces of having been inserted; *cf.* the doublets 15:37⁵¹ (Lucian adds "and Ahithophel with him") and 16:15.

§ 6. *The interviews in chaps. 16, 19.*—The interviews in question deal with Ziba, Meribbaal, Shimei, and Barzillai, all Benjamites, with the exception of the last-named, and closely related to the house of Saul.

a) The passages in 2 Samuel which refer to Meribbaal the son of Jonathan, and Ziba his servant, comprise chaps. 9 (and 4:4); 16:1–4; 19:25–31 (in 19:18*a* the mention of Ziba is due to a gloss), and 21:7 (gloss; see above § 3, *a*). These mutually related passages are independent of the rest of the book. In 16:1 David leaves Hushai and meets Ziba at the top of the "Olive." Meribbaal, he is told, is remaining in Jerusalem in the hope that the "house of Israel" (vs. 3*b*; *cf.* on 1:12) would restore to him his father's kingdom. It is proper to ask whether the Benjamite claimant would expect to find support by remaining in Jerusalem. It is difficult to understand what interests Judah and Benjamin may have shared, and unlikely as any conjoint action would be toward the close of David's reign, it becomes almost impossible if we are right in dating the revolt soon after David settled in Jerusalem. Would Absalom tolerate a rival in

⁵¹ Where "city" in *a* = "Jerusalem" in *b*.

the shape of another claimant, or did he hope to conciliate Benjamin and thus obtain a free^hhand in his own plans, which, we have concluded, were with Judah alone? No adequate explanation seems possible. In 19:25–31 Meribbaal comes to meet David at the Jordan, and is able to find an excuse for his apparent treachery. But David is only half convinced, and his estate is divided with his servant.⁵² Whatever be its true origin, this passage at all events is hardly in its original position. In fact, it seems not improbable that, like chap. 9, the scene was originally laid in Jerusalem. This is still represented in the LXX of vs. 26, where Meribbaal comes to David “to Jerusalem” (so also Lucian; MT simply ירושלם, for which most critics read מיר, see Driver, *ad loc.*);⁵³ and again in 25b Lucian rightly reads “until the day he came in peace to Jerusalem.” The changes in the MT were rendered necessary when the passage was inserted in its present position.

b) The interviews with Shimei are of greater importance. In 16:5 *sqq.* Shimei encounters David at Bahurim, and follows him with curses. His words in 8a are clearly a reference to the slaughter of Saul's sons by the Gibeonites, 21:1–14, on which passage see § 3, a). His attitude, on the other hand, is unintelligible. Is his the language one would expect from a Benjamite? Would not Absalom be as distasteful a king as David had been? Why was not Shimei supporting Meribbaal in his endeavor to recover the throne of his father? After David's victory Shimei with a thousand Benjamites joins the men of Judah and meets the king “as he was about to pass the Jordan” (19:17 *sqq.*). In the interview which follows one may note especially vs. 22 *sqq.*, the familiar reproach addressed to the sons of Zeruiah (*cf.* 3:28 *sqq.*, 39; 16:10), and vs. 23b, where David seems to realize, as it were for the first time, that he is king over Israel.⁵⁴ May not Shimei's curse and subsequent confession have been written in view of David's treatment of the sons of Saul (2 Sam., chap.

⁵² For מלאך האלהים (19:28) *cf.* on 14:17 above, § 4, a). רגל (*ibid.*) E; see Budde, p. 145.

⁵³ Josephus, too, states that when the ambassadors came to David he went to Jerusalem (*Antiquities*, VII, 11:2). *Cf.* also vs. 31b: “unto his own house.”

⁵⁴ Note also לעמור (18:13), a late expression. Its repetition is quite unnecessary, and may have arisen from a corruption of the place-name which is needed in vs. 14. אִישׁ וְדָמִים (16:7) is found only in Psalms and Proverbs. וְהָעִיר (19:20), *cf.* 24:17 above, § 2, a), and note that in 1 Kings 8:47 the passage has been worked over by D²; see Kuenen, § 25, note 2. “Anointed of Yahweh” (19:22), see on 1:14; and for David's words 19:23b see 1 Sam. 11:13 R²E.

21), and may it not find an analogy in the tradition wherein David's sin with Bathsheba is atoned by the death of the son (see above, § 3, *b*)? But although we suspect that the interviews with Shimei are, in their present form at least, later than J (due to R^{JE}?), there is no doubt some genuine tradition in the person of this Benjamite. It is impossible to conjecture with much confidence what this may have been. Was Shimei at the head of some revolt against David? At all events the size of his following sufficiently indicates his power (2 Sam. 19:18).⁵⁵ The mention of the "wood of Ephraim" (18:6), apparently to the east of Jordan, has caused suspicion, and Reuss has suggested, accordingly, that we may find traces of a combination of two narratives, in which case it would be natural to connect the revolt of Absalom with the one, and that of Shimei with the other. Finally, it may be noticed that the wording of 1 Kings 2:8 compared with *ibid.* vs. 7*b* suggests that David's journey to Mahanaim and his flight from Absalom were not on the same occasion.⁵⁶

c) Lastly, we have the interview with Barzillai the Gileadite. In 2 Sam. 17:27 he appears to be in some way associated with the unknown Rogelim. Now in vs. 28 the LXX read *καὶ ἀμφιδέπους* (*i. e.*, *וּמִרְכָּבִים*; see Driver, Budde, etc.) after *מִשְׁכָּב*. This is supported by Lucian's *ἐκ πακαβειν*, which appears to be a misreading of *מִרְכָּבִים* (read as *מִרְכָּבִים*), and a still more corrupt form, it may be conjectured, is to be seen in *מִרְגָּלִים* (MT, "from Rogelim"), which was erroneously removed to the end of vs. 27 after it had become corrupt.⁵⁷ The writer of 19:32 *sqq.* has simply perpetuated the error which he found before him, and that he belonged to E may be conjectured from his use of *כָּלֵל*, vs. 34 (see on 20:3 above, § 5, *a*). In common with the rest of these interviews the presence of *c* is with great probability to be ascribed to R^{JE}.

§ 7. *1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2: the conclusion of the history of David.*—In chap. 1 we have the account of a palace intrigue which

⁵⁵ One observes that the tribes of Geba and Bichri, to which Shimei and Sheba, respectively, belonged, are the only Benjamite clans mentioned in Samuel. The names of these Benjamites are sufficiently similar to lead to the suggestion that some confusion has taken place.

⁵⁶ Hence one is tempted to find in *עֲמֹרִי* (16:13), "Amathus," which was on the way from Jerusalem to Mahanaim. It is unmentioned in the Old Testament. The Jerus. Talm. identifies with Zaphon Josh. 13:27; Judg. 12:1, against which see Buhl, *Geogr. Paläst.*, p. 259.

⁵⁷ *מִרְכָּבִים*, accordingly, has been corrupted to *מִרְגָּלִים* (MT), and *מִרְכָּבִים* (Lucian). An intermediate form of the corruption is to be seen in the Peshitta, which read *מִדְּבָלִים*.

culminates in the accession of Solomon to the throne. The fragmentary nature of the narrative is evident from the unintelligible reference to Shimei and Rei in vs. 8, and difficulties have been found in Nathan's zeal for Bathsheba, in his title "the prophet," and in the account of Solomon's anointing; see Stade, *ZATW.*, Vol. III, pp. 186 sq.; Schwally, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 153. It is possible, however, from the double entrance of Bathsheba (vss. 15, 28) and Nathan (vss. 22, 32), that vss. 11-14 and 28-31, which record Nathan's zeal for Bathsheba, are secondary (see below). Moreover, the chapter seems to have undergone some redaction toward the end. Vs. 47b can scarcely belong to Adonijah's speech; the analogy of Gen. 47:31 suggests rather that David is on his death-bed.

Chap. 2 relates David's last charges and the means by which Solomon established his throne. It falls into three parts: (a) vss. 1-12, (b) vss. 12-35, (c) vss. 36-46.

a) Vss. 3, 4, 10-12 are admittedly due to R^D; vs. 2a, "I go the way of all the earth," may be compared with Josh. 23:14 (D²), and for 2b see 1 Sam. 4:9 (E, פִּתִּי "to be courageous," generally D; see Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s. v., p. 304a). Vss. 5-9 remain. For vss. 8 sq. see below, c). The unfriendly feeling toward Joab (vss. 5 sq.) recurs elsewhere only in passages whose genuineness is not free from suspicion, and on the association of Abner and Amasa, see above on 2 Sam., chap. 20 (§ 5, b). Vs. 7, it is true, may be old, but the mention of Barzillai in 19:32 sqq. is probably due to a later hand (§ 6, c). The suspicion which attaches itself to (a) is increased by the parallelism between 1:47b; 2:1, and Gen. 47:31, 29a (J), which suggests that 2:1 originally stood before 1:47b and has been wrested from its original position by the writer or editor of (a).

b) Adonijah and the leaders of the revolt are removed. Adonijah requests Bathsheba to induce Solomon to grant him Abishag as wife (vss. 13 sqq.). He refers to his having been the legitimate heir, but, in accordance with the view of the deuteronomist (see 2 Sam. 7:12 sqq.; 1 Kings 8:20; D), acknowledges that Solomon's accession was the choice of Yahweh. His words in vs. 15 directly contradict 1 Kings 1:20, where the king's successor is unknown. Solomon, more quick-witted than the queen-mother, perceives the true nature of his brother's request, and has him put to death; for vs. 24 see 2 Sam. 7:11, 13. But, one is forced

to ask, is the episode historical? Adonijah's life has been conditionally spared, and yet he, the unsuccessful but rightful heir, goes to the mother of the reigning king with a request which in the ideas of the age was equivalent to the claim of his brother's inheritance (see Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, pp. 89 sq.). The resemblance which the alleged offense bears to 2 Sam. 3:7 sqq.; 16:21 sqq., which have been ascribed to a hand later than J, on other grounds, is noteworthy. The passage connects itself with the introductory notice of Abishag in 1 Kings 1:1-4 (vs. 15b is a gloss), and is another proof that chap. 1 has undergone revision.⁵⁸

Abiathar (vss. 26 sq.) is exiled to his "fields" at Anathoth (for שדד vs. 26a; cf. on 9:7 § 3, a), his life is spared, inasmuch as he had accompanied David in his flight from Saul (1 Sam. 22:20 sqq., J; so Budde), and had borne the "*ephod*" (so read for "ark;" cf. 1 Sam. 23:6, a gloss, and on 2 Sam. 15:24 see above, § 4, d). His place is taken by Zadok, of whose origin the earlier writings have nothing to tell us; it is probable that he occupied no important position until his promotion by Solomon. There is little else to observe except the brevity of this notice, for vs. 27b, at least, is admittedly a gloss.

Joab, hearing the tidings, flees to the "tent of Yahweh" (a noteworthy expression), and seizes hold of the "horns of the altar" (vs. 28; cf. 1:50). He is slain by Jehoiada, who takes his post (vss. 28-34). In this passage attention may be drawn to the idioms "put away innocent blood" (vs. 31; cf. Deut. 19:13; 21:8 sq.), and "Yahweh shall return his blood," etc. (vs. 32; cf. Judg. 9:24, 57, R^{JE}; see Moore, *SBOT*). Joab, like Adonijah, is not put to death for participating in the intrigue; his crime has been the murder of the two captains Abner and Amasa (vss. 31 sqq.); see above, a), and cf. § 5, b). There is also a hint in vs. 22 that he has been suspected of complicity in Adonijah's new plot.

c) Lastly, Shimei's life is spared conditionally. Three years later he goes to Achish, king of Gath (one is surprised to find him still alive!) in pursuit of some runaway servants, and on his return is put to death by Benaiah, who has apparently resumed his former position of "head of the guard" (vss. 36 sqq.; cf. Bonk,

⁵⁸ Thus at the end of the chapter for עִירֵי רִאיוֹת (vs. 48) cf. 2 Sam. 24:3 (§ 2, a), and note that the "horns of the altar" are first mentioned in Jer. 17:1 (Am. 3:14b a gloss; see Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* [3d edition], p. 78).

ZATW., Vol. XI, p. 143). The relation between vss. 44a and 42a, 46b and 45b suggests that 44–45 is an insertion (the EV “moreover” is not found in the MT). David’s charge to Solomon concerning Shimei (MT, vss. 8–9) is repeated in the LXX in a slightly different form immediately before c. Following Kittel (Vol. II, p. 51) we may prefer the LXX text and arrangement to the present MT. Hence it is to be inferred that the whole episode (vss. 36–46, preceded by the LXX form of the introduction) is an independent passage unrelated to 1 Kings, chap. 2, and that when it was inserted in its present position the introductory formula was removed and adapted in order to find a place for it among the charges in vss. 1 *sqq.*⁵⁹ For the other “Shimei” narratives, see above § 6, b), and note that רָכַם (2:9) is perhaps a sign of E (2 Sam. 14:2; see § 4, a).

The LXX version of chap. 2 contains much additional matter, partly derived from later portions of Solomon’s history, and, on the whole, is not of any great value. This arrangement, however, is of interest, inasmuch as it shows that at a comparatively late date the work of revision and redaction was not finally completed. Like 2 Sam., chaps. 5–8, 21–24, with which its heterogeneous character makes it a fair parallel, the LXX version of 1 Kings, chap. 2, concludes with a list of officers, which, apart from its connection with 1 Kings 4:1–6, presents some distinctive features of its own.

1 Kings, chaps. 1, 2, conclude the history of David and at the same time introduce Solomon. The chapters have been revised and adapted to form a link of connection between the history of David and that of Solomon; already in chap. 1 we seem to be passing from an old narrator to the redactor. The general impression of David’s weakness conveyed in chap. 1, compared with his acute calculations in 2:1–9, is as striking as the sudden change in Solomon from the helpless infant, in the early part of chap. 1, to the clever, far-seeing king in chaps. 1:51 *sqq.*; 2 (*cf.*, *e. g.*, his treatment of Adonijah’s request). Moreover, there is much in favor of the view that 1 Kings, chap. 2, has been written to shift from Solomon’s shoulders the bloodshed incurred in establishing his throne (Wellhausen, Stade, etc.). The improbable character of the excuse for Adonijah’s death, as well as the fact that the incident of Shimei seems to be an insertion, may be urged

⁵⁹ *Cf.* Benzinger, *Könige*, *ad. loc.*, whose commentary unfortunately appeared too late for the present writer to make use of in the above section.

against those who support the genuineness of chap. 2 on the grounds that Solomon's conduct was not exclusively determined by a reference to the revolt. It is a more difficult question to determine whether *a* and *b* (see above) are double attempts to frame an excuse for Solomon, or whether chap. 2 (as well as the latter part of chap. 1) owes its present form to repeated revision. In the former case we may refer to 1 Sam., chaps. 2-4, where both E² (chaps. 2, 3) and R^D (2:27-36) have paved the way for the loss of the ark, which the earliest writer (E¹) had related without comment.⁶⁰ In the latter case the suggestion that *c* is a later addition leads to the conjecture that the passages referring to Adonijah and Joab have had a similar origin, and that in 2:35 we have an old fragment upon which 2:5, 6, 28-34 and 2:26, 27 have been based.

Perhaps the second alternative is more probable. The double entrance of Bathsheba (1:15, 28) and Nathan (1:22, 32), already referred to, may arise from the fact that the original sequel to Adonijah's revolt has been replaced by vss. 28 *sqq.* This may account for the suddenness with which Solomon appears to take the place of David. That 1:47*b* and 2:1 are not in their original position has been suggested above. In chap. 2 we find old fragments in 2:1, 7 (?), and 35. To these have been added (*a*) Adonijah's request, 2:13-25, which involves 1:1-4, 15*b*, and possibly 1:50-53, (*b*) Joab, 2:5, 6, 28-34, (*c*) Abiathar, 2:26, 27, and (*d*) Shimei, 2:8, 9, 36 *sqq.* The verses which remain (2:2-4, 10-12, 44, 45) are probably from R^D.

§ 8. *General results.*—Frequently in the course of the preceding pages the present writer has found it impossible to do more than point out the difficulties which a passage contained, or indicate traces of interpolation and revision. To present a systematic and precise table of the results of these investigations would hardly be possible at the present stage of the inquiry, and it must suffice for the present to sum up briefly the general conclusions which have been reached.

The large amount of revision which we have found makes it probable that there were several recensions of David's life extant. "Such books as Samuel . . . had little place in the synagogue service, while the interest of the narrative caused them to be largely read in private. But private study gave no such guarantee

⁶⁰ It might also be noticed that both Lucian and Josephus end their books of Samuel at 1 Kings 2:11.

against the introduction of various readings as was afforded by use in public worship a student might not hesitate to make on his own copy notes or small additions or even to add a paragraph. . . . Under such circumstances, and in the absence of official supervision, the multiplication of copies opened an easy door to the multiplication of errors" (Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* [2d edition], p. 84). If these remarks are true of the copyist, do they not apply equally to the editor, and if such a procedure opens the door to the multiplication of textual errors, does it not supply an easy entrance for later accretions? The figure of David is one that would very naturally lend itself to vigorous treatment at the hands of later writers. Was the chronicler really the first to idealize David?

Turning to the narratives themselves we find traces of two distinct redactors, a later one, whose hand is seen especially in chaps. 5-8, 21-24, 16:20-23, and the related passages, 15:16; 20:3, and an earlier (R^{JE}?), seen chiefly in chaps. 1-4, and Absalom's revolt. In the revolt, the hand which added the interviews with Meribbaal is probably responsible for the introduction of chap. 9. It is in the chapters worked over by the earlier redactor that we find passages which bear traces of Ephraimite origin tending to combine the histories of David and the house of Saul; they emphasize the former's good-will toward the latter, and betray here and there a marked bitter feeling toward the sons of Zeruiah.

Finally, we may note the efforts made to antedate David's supremacy over all Israel. The editors of chaps. 5-8, 21-24 (a collection of passages relating to various periods of David's life) made it the immediate result of Ishbaal's death (§ 3, *a*). The editor of chaps. 15-20 ascribed it to a period preceding the revolts of Absalom and Sheba. Both, originally, were purely tribal, and have been revised to adapt them to a period when David's sovereignty was extended over "all Israel," a record of which event is not given by any old narrator. The inclusion of "Israel" in Absalom's rebellion is connected with the appending of Sheba's rising, and to this hand we may perhaps ascribe the removal of the Ammonite war (chap. 10) from its original position after the revolt (*cf.* § 4). Since chaps. 21-24 are a comparatively late addition to 2 Samuel, it follows that, when the account of David and Bathsheba was artificially connected with

the Ammonite war (§ 3, b), it must have stood immediately before 1 Kings, chap. 1. The birth of Solomon probably happened but a short while before the revolt of Adonijah, and the event may have been accompanied by some such promise as is referred to in 1 Kings 1:13; 17:30.

From these evidences we draw two conclusions: (1) the union of Judah and Israel under one king did not occur at any early date in David's reign, and (2) the narratives in 2 Samuel which presuppose any close relationship between Judah and Israel (or Benjamin) previous to this union are due to a redactor (R^{JE}?), and, in several cases at least, as is only to be expected, seem to be derived from an Ephraimite source. Subsequent history shows how loose was the union of North and South, and the ease with which the separation was effected after a few years of joint rule under David and Solomon (considered in the light of the second conclusion) favors the view that Judah, previous to the union, had never stood in any close relationship to Israel (or Benjamin), a view which, if not new, is now perhaps shown to be supported, so far as 2 Samuel at least is concerned, by the internal evidence of the narratives themselves. A discussion of the bearing of this view upon the earlier history of Israel in 1 Samuel must be reserved for a future occasion.⁶¹

⁶¹ The above would argue against David's connection with Bethlehem. A home to the south of Judah seems to be required, and if exogamy was really the custom in Judah—and certain indications point that way—we could determine to what clans David did not belong. Marquart's conjecture that he came from Arad may imply Jerahmeelite origin (*cf. arts. David*, §1, note 2, Jerahmeel, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*). Winckler, however, suggests that the Judean clans came from the north-Arabian land of Muḡri, of which Kadesh, it is highly probable, would form part. In agreement with this, we find in JE's account of the exodus traces of a movement from Kadesh direct to Judah, in connection with which we may place the capture of Hebron by Caleb (*cf. Hebron, Kadesh, op. cit.*). This seems to find further confirmation in the names of David's body-guard. The "Cherethites" remind us of the wady Cherith "before Jordan," *i. e.*, to the south of Judah (1 Kings 17:3; *cf. 2 Sam.* 20:2, §5a, and *art. Cherith, op. cit.*), and with the "Pelethites" we associate the Jerahmeelite "Peleth" (1 Chron. 2:33); *cf. "Peleth"* in Korah's rebellion, Numb. 16:1 ("sons" [or "son," LXX, Lucian] of Reuben" should come after "Eliab" [so in some Greek MSS, cited by Holmes and Parsons]). May we conjecture that David lived in Muḡri before he took the steps which led him north to Hebron, and then farther north again to Jerusalem? His intercourse with Achish (1 Sam., chap. 27) we need not doubt; at a later time we find Yamani of Ashdod, the leader of the Ḥa-at-ti (the south-Palestinian Hittites?) taking refuge in Muḡri (*cf. art. Ashdod, op. cit.*); friendly intercourse between Muḡri and the Philistines was not unknown. That a later age placed David's youth in the district where he afterward reigned is not surprising. 1 Sam., chaps. 16-31, has been thoroughly revised (it would not be difficult, for example, to show that chap. 27 is the continuation of 23:1-13a, 14b), and this is illustrated in a striking manner by a glance at Budde's text in the *SBOT*. The source of David's history at Saul's court is almost wholly E, in his life as an outlaw in the south of Judah J predominates, and his fortunes as an independent chieftain (chaps. 27 *seqq.*) are wholly J. Later tradition, not unmindful of David's home, brought him to the south of Judah, and, if we may retain the reading in 23:1, actually sent him to the wilderness of Paran, which is practically the district of Kadesh—or Muḡri.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF NABOPOLASSAR, KING OF BABYLONIA (B. C. 625-604).

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No. I of the inscriptions published below in transcription and translation is from the text published by Hilprecht in his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Chiefly from Nippur*, Part I (1893), 32 sq., No. 84, cited in Delitzsch, *HWB.*, Preface, p. vii, as NABOPOL. HILPR.¹ The original is inscribed on a "pointed clay cylinder," described by Hilprecht as a "cylinder of baked clay, cartridge-shaped, hollow, small hole at the top, . . . height 15.2, diameter of base 8.85, diameter of hole 2.2." The cylinder came from Babylon, and is now in the Babylonian museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where it bears the catalogue number 9090. A fine half-tone photographic reproduction may be seen on Plate XIII, No. 34, of the volume cited above.

The variants are from a clay cylinder in the British Museum, numbered 86, 7-20, 1, cited by Hilprecht as B. B was first published by Strassmaier.² The first half of B is somewhat mutilated, but, judging from the small number and the character of the variants furnished by B where its text is preserved, it would seem that no serious loss has been incurred.

Nos. II and III are from texts published by Winckler in Abel-Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen* (1890), p. 32. The originals, written in Old Babylonian script, are in the British Museum, all marked A. H. 82, 7-14, which would indicate that they came from Sippar. No. II was first published by Winckler in *ZA.*, Vol. II (1887), pp. 69-75 (cuneiform text, transliteration, translation, and commentary). At that time he had two copies on two truncated cones, 4-4½ inches high. Soon afterward he found a third (*cf.* *ZA.*, Vol. II,

¹ The indentures of NABOPOL. HILPR. at cols. i, 11, 14, 41; ii, 2, 4, 8, 15, 17, 23, 27, 30, 32, 34, 43, 50, 65; iii, 8, 13, 20, 23, 30, 42, indicate that these indented lines are to be closely connected with the preceding lines.

² *ZA.*, Vol. II (1889), cuneiform text (pp. 129-36), transliteration and translation (pp. 106-13).

pp. 144 sq.). No. III was first published by the same author in the same number of *ZA.*, pp. 145 sq., in both transliteration and translation.

All three inscriptions were rendered in transliteration and translation by Winckler in *KB.*, Vol. III, Part II (1890),³ pp. 2-9, and in transliteration by McGee in *BAS.*, Band III, Heft 4 (1898), pp. 525-8. McGee also gives a transliteration and Latin translation in his doctor thesis, *De topographia urbis Babylonis*, 1895.

My translation differs in several places from that of McGee. I have given a transliteration, but do not think it necessary to add explanatory notes.

TRANSLITERATION.

No. I, Col. i.

A-na ilu Marduk bēli ra-	20 ša 'ilāni rabūti' a-na-ku
bi-u	E-nu-ma i-na ki-bi-a-tim
ilu Bēl ilāni mu-uš-ta-ar-ḫa	ilu Nabū u ilu Marduk
a-ši-ir I-gi-gi	na-ra-am šar-ru ⁸ -ti-ia
za-a-ni-iḫ ilu A-nun-na-ki	u kakki GI.DA.LUM
5 nu-ur ilāni ab-bi-e-šu	25 ša ilu GIR.RA ra-šu-ub-bu
a-ši-ib Ê.SAG.ILA	mu-uš-ab ⁹ -ri-ḫu za-a-ri-ia
bēl Bāb-ili ^{ki} be-ili-ia	su-ba-ru-um a-na-ru
ilu Nabū-aplu-u-ḡu-ur	māt-su u-te ¹⁰ -ir-ru
šakkanakku Bāb-ili ^{ki}	a-na tilli u ka-ar-mi
10 šar māti Šu-me- ⁴ er-im ⁴	30 i-nu-mi-šu Ê.TEMEN.AN.
u Ak-ka-di-im	KI
ru-ba-a-am na-'i-dam	zi-ik-ku- ¹¹ ra-at ¹¹ Bāb-ili ^{ki}
ti-ri-iṣ (ga-at) ⁵ ilu Nabū	ša ul-la-nu-u-a
u ilu Marduk	un-nu-ša-tu šu-ku-pa-at
15 a-aš-ru-um ša-aḫ-tam	išid-za i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-e
ša pa-la-aḫ ili u Ištār ⁶	35 a-na šu-ur-šu-dam
li-it-mu-du zu-ru-uš-šu	ri-e-si-ša ša-ma-mi
za-ni-in Ê.SAG.ILA u	a-na ši ¹² -it-nu-ni
Ê.ZI.DA	ilu Marduk be-lam ia-a-ši
mu-uš-te-'i-im za-ak-ki-e	iḫ-bi-a

³ His rendering of No. I at this date was necessarily based on B.

⁴ B: *ra-am*.

⁵ *ga-at* added from B.

⁶ Sign No. 234 in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*³. Here without the determinative for the deity.

⁷ AN.GAL.GAL. B has the plur. AN.AN.GAL.GAL.

⁸ Sign to be read *ru*; cf. col. ii, 57, where B has the ordinary *ru*. For other occurrences see Neb. Grot., cols. ii, 45, and iii, 27.

⁹ B: *tab*. ¹⁰ Strassmaier's sign (9) is questioned by Hilprecht. ¹¹ B: *um*? ¹² B: *si*.

No. I, Col. iii.

- | | |
|---|---|
| lu-u ²⁹ ak-nu-un-ma | lu e-pu ³⁸ -uš-ma Ki-ma |
| libnâte u ūi-iŭ-ŭam | šadi-im |
| i-na ga-ga-di-ia | ri-e-si-šu |
| lu-u ²⁹ az-bi-il | lu u-ul-li ³⁹ -im |
| 5 tu-up-ši-ka-a-te ³⁰ (burāši | a-na ilu Marduk be-ili-ia |
| u kaspi) ³¹ | 35 ki-i ⁴⁰ ša ū-um u-ul-lu-tim |
| lu u-dar-rig(?) -ma | a-na ta-ab-ri ⁴¹ -a-tim |
| ilu Nabû-ku-du-ur-ra ³² . | lu u-ša-az-zi-im-šu |
| u-ŭu-ur | ilu Marduk be-lam |
| bu-uk-ra-am ³³ | e-ip-še-ti-ia ⁴² dam-ga-a-ti ⁴³ |
| 10 ri-eš-tu-u | 40 ha-di-iš na-ap-li-is-ma |
| na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ia | i-na ki-bi-ti-ka |
| ŭi-iŭ-ŭam bi-il-la-at | ŭi-ir-tim |
| karāni šamni u ŭi-bi- | ša la ut ⁴³ -ta-ak-ka-ra |
| iš-tim | i-bi-iš-tim |
| it-ti um-ma-na-ti-ia | 45 li-bi-it ga-ti-ia |
| 15 lu u-ša-az-bil ³⁴ | li-bu-ur a-na dāra-a-tim |
| ilu Nabû-šu-ma-am ³⁵ -li-ši-ir | Ki-ma libnâte Ê.TEMEN. |
| ta-li-im-šu | AN.KI. |
| še-ir-ra-am zi-it libbi-ia ³⁶ | ku-un-na aŭ-ŭi-a-tim |
| tu-ub-bu-su-um | išid kussê-ia ŭu-ur-ši-id |
| 20 da-du-u-a | 50 a-na ū-um ri-e-ku-te ⁴⁴ |
| iŭ allu iŭ MARlu u-ša-aŭ-bi-it | Ê.TEMEN.AN.KI a-na |
| tu-up-ši-kam | šarri |
| burāši u kaspi | mu-ud-di-ši-ka ku-ru-ub |
| lu e-mi-id-ma | e-nu-ma ilu Marduk |
| 25 a-na ilu Marduk be-ili-ia | i-na ri-si-e-tim |
| a-na ŭi-ri-iŭ-tim | 55 i-ra-am-mu-u |
| lu aš-ru-uŭ-šum | ki-ri-ib-ka [ia |
| Bīta miŭir Ê.ŠAR.RA | bītu a-na ilu Marduk be-ili- |
| i-na ul-ŭi-im | da-mi-iŭ- ⁴⁵ ta-am ⁴⁶ |
| 30 u ri-si-a-te ³⁷ | ti-iz-ka-ar-am ⁴⁶ |

No. II, Col. i.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| ilu Nabû-aplu-u-ŭu-ur | a-na za-na-an ma-ŭa-zi |
| šar Bāb-iliki | ud-du-šu eš-ri-e-ti |
| ti-ri-iŭ ga-at ilu Nabû | ur-ta-šu ka-bi-it-ti |
| u ilu Marduk a-na-ku | u-ma-'i-ra-an-ni |
| 5 I-nu ilu Marduk bēlu | 10 i-nu-mi-šu-um |
| rabu-u | Sippar |

²⁹ B omits u.³⁰ B: *tīm*.³¹ B omits.³² B: *ri*.³³ B omits *am*.³⁴ B: *bi-il*.³⁵ B omits *ma-am*.³⁶ B: *lib-bi-ia*.³⁷ B: *tīm*.³⁸ *pū*. B: *bu, pu*.³⁹ B: *lu*.⁴⁰ B: *Ki-ma*.⁴¹ B: *ra*.⁴² From B.⁴³ B: *ti*.⁴⁴ B: *tīm*.⁴⁵ B: *tīm*.⁴⁶ *am* added from B.

ma-ḥa-zi zi-i-ri	15 a-na ku-ud-dur(?) be-lu-
na-ra-am ilu Šamaš u ilu Ā	ti-šu-nu
nār UD.KIB.NUN is-si-	me-e i-ri-e-ku a-na sa-
šu-ma	a-bu

No. II, Col. ii.

ilu Nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur	a-na ilu Šamaš be-ili-ia
a-aš-ri ša-aḥ-tim	lu u-ki-in
pa-li-iḥ ilāni ia-a-ti	10 Ki-bi-ir nārī šu-a-ti
nār UD.KIB.NUN	i-na kupri u a-gur-ri
5 a-na Sippar	lu u-ša-ar-ši-id-ma
lu u-ša-aḥ-ra-am-ma	a-na ilu Šamaš bēli-ia
me-e nu-uḥ-ši el(?) -lu-	kār šu-ul-mi-im
tim	15 lu-u um-mi-id

No. III, Col. i.

ilu Nabû-aplu-u-ṣu-ur	u-ša-ak-ši-du-šu ni-is-
šarru dannu	ma-su
šar Bāb-ilī ^{ki}	a-aš-ri-im ša-aḥ-tam
šar māti Šu-me-er-im u	15 mu-uš-te'-e-im sak-ki-e-
Ak-ka-di-i	im
5 mu-ki-in iš-di māti	ša ilāni rabūti
ru-ba-a-am na-'i-dam	šarru ša ip-še-tu-šu
ti-ri-iṣ ga-at	e-li šarrāni abē-šu
ilu Nabû u ilu Marduk	šu-tu-ga a-na-ku
mi-gi-ir Ša-aš-šu	20 E-nu-ma Ša-aš-šu
10 na-ra-am ilu Ā	bēlu ra-bi-u
ḫar-ra-ad ḫa-ra-di-e	ida-a-a il-li-ku-ma
ša ilu GIR.RA ra-šu-[ub-bu]	

No. III, Col. ii.

[la ma-gi-re a]-na-ru	be-el-tim šu-ur-bu-tim
[māt za-'i]-ri-ia	e-nu-ma bītu šu-a-ti
[u-te-ir-ru(?) a]-na tilli	uš-ta-ak-la-lu-ma
[u ka]-ar-mu	15 ta-ra-am-mi-i-im ki-ri-ib-
5 i-nu-mi-šu	ša
a-na ilu Bēlit Sippar	ia-a-ši ilu Nabû-aplu-u-
ru-ba-tim ṣi-ir-tim šarra-	ṣu-ur
ti-ia	šarru za-ni-in-ki
Ē.EDIN.NA bīt ta-ap-šu-	ki-ma libnāte Sippar
uḥ-ti-šu	u Bāb-ilī ^{ki}
e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš-ma	20 ku-un-na-am a-na ṣi-a-
10 ki-ma ū-mi-im u-na-mi-ir	tim
A-na ša-at-tim ilu Bēlit	šar-ru-tim šu-ul-bi-ri-im
Sippar	a-na ū-mi-im re-e-ku-tim

TRANSLATION.

No. I, Col. i.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>To Marduk, the great lord,
 lord of the gods, the powerful,
 patron of the Igigi,
 oppressor of the Anunnaki,
 5 light of the gods, his fathers,
 who dwells in Esagila,
 lord of Babylon, my lord —
 Nabopolassar,
 governor of Babylon,
 10 king of Sumer
 and Akkad,
 the lofty prince,
 who is under the guidance of
 Nabu
 and Marduk,
 15 the humble, the submissive,
 whose heart has learned
 the fear of god and goddess,
 the restorer of Esagila and
 Ezida,
 the one who looks after the
 rights(?) (temple dues(?))
 20 of the great gods, am I.
 When, at the command
 of Nabu and Marduk,
 beloved of my royalty,
 and by the strong weapon</p> | <p>25 of the powerful Girra,⁴⁷
 who strikes my enemies with
 lightning,
 I destroyed the Subare,
 (and) turned their land
 into mounds and plow-land;
 30 at that time, as for Etemen-
 anki,
 the temple tower of Babylon,
 which before my time
 had become weakened and had
 fallen in,
 Marduk the lord commanded me
 35 to lay
 its foundation in the heart of
 the earth
 (and) to raise
 its turret to heaven.
 Baskets, spades(?), and $\frac{1}{2}$ U.
 RU <i>pl.</i>
 40 I made
 out of ivory, ushu, and Mis-
 makanna wood;
 I caused the numerous workmen
 assembled in my land
 to carry (them).</p> |
|---|---|

No. I, Col. ii.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I set to work(?), I made
 bricks,
 I manufactured
 burnt bricks.
 5 Like the downpour of heaven
 which cannot be measured,
 like the massive
 flood,
 I caused the Arahtu
 10 to carry
 bitumen and pitch.
 With the coöperation of Ea,
 with the insight of Marduk,</p> | <p>with the wisdom of Nabu
 15 and Nisaba,
 in the broad
 understanding
 with which the god my creator
 had endowed me,
 20 with my great ingenuity(?)
 I came to a decision,
 I gave orders
 to the skilled
 workmen,
 25 with a nindana$\frac{1}{2}$ measure
 I measured</p> |
|---|---|

⁴⁷ Perhaps to be identified with Dibbarra. See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 594, note 1, *et passim*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>the measurement (of the aba
aš-lam(?)),
the architects
at first
30 made
a survey
of the ground-plot(?),
afterwards
I consulted
35 Shamash, Ramman, and Mar-
duk;
to my heart
they gave decision,
they sanctioned the measure-
ments;
the great gods by decree
40 indicated
the later stages of the work.
By means
of exorcism,
in the wisdom of Ea and Marduk,
45 I cleared away</p> | <p>that place,
(and) on the original site
I laid its platform foundation;
gold, silver, stones from moun-
tain
50 and sea,
in its foundation
I set,
.....
goodly oil, sweet-smelling herbs,
and
55 I placed
underneath the bricks.
An image of my royalty
carrying a dupšikku
I constructed,
60 in the platform foundation
I placed it.
Unto Marduk my lord
I bowed my neck,
I arrayed myself in (my) gown,
65 the robe of my royalty,</p> |
|---|--|

No. I, Col. iii.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>2 bricks and mortar
I carried
on my head,
5 a dupšikku of gold and silver
I wore,
and Nebuchadnezzar
the firstborn,
10 the chief son,
beloved of my heart,
I caused to carry
mortar mixed with
wine, oil, and (other) products
15 along with my workmen.
Nabušumlišir
his twin-brother,
the offspring of my own flesh,
the junior,
20 my darling,
I ordered to take a basket and
spade(?),
a dupšikku
of gold and silver
I placed (on him),</p> | <p>25 unto Marduk, my lord,
as a gift,
I dedicated him.
I built
the temple in front of Ê.ŠÁR.
RA
30 with joy
and rejoicing,
and like a mountain
I raised
its tower aloft;
35 to Marduk, my lord,
as in days of old
I dedicated it
for a sight (to be gazed at).
O Marduk, my lord,
40 look with favor
upon my goodly deeds;
at thy exalted
command,
which cannot be altered,
let the performance
45 of my hands</p> |
|--|---|

endure forever.		to the king who has restored
Like the bricks of Etemen-		thee;
anki,		when Marduk
which are to remain firm forever,		with joy
do thou establish the foundation	55	takes up his abode
of my throne		in thee,
50 for all time.		O temple, recall
O Etemenanki, grant blessing		to Marduk, my lord,
		my gracious deeds.

No. II, Col. i.

Nabopolassar,	10	at that time
the king of Babylon,		the river Euphrates had receded
under the guidance of Nabu		from Sippar,
and Marduk am I—		the splendid city,
5 When Marduk, the great lord,		beloved of Shamash and Ā,
by his supreme command	15	and the waters were far(?) too
commissioned me		distant
to restore the cities		for the service(?) of their lord-
and repair the temples;		ships.

No. II, Col. ii.

I, Nabopolassar,		pure waters in abundance
the humble, the submissive,		for Shamash my lord.
who worships the gods,	10	I walled up
brought back (by digging)		the banks of that river
5 the river Euphrates		with mortar and brick,
(in its original channel) to Sip-		and I constructed a protecting
par;		wall
and I provided		for Shamash my lord.

No. III, Col. i.

Nabopolassar,		lets attain his every desire,
the powerful king,		the humble, the submissive,
king of Babylon,	15	who has a care for the rights(?)
king of Sumer and Akkad,		(temple dues(?))
5 founder of the land,		of the great gods,
the exalted prince,		the king, whose works
under the guidance		surpass those of the kings
of Nabu and Marduk,		his fathers, am I.
the favorite of Shamash,	20	At the time that Shamash
10 beloved of Ā,		the great lord
the hero of heroes,		walked at my side,
whom the powerful Girra ⁴⁸		

⁴⁸ See No. I, col. i, 25.

No. III, Col. ii.

<p>and I destroyed the rebellious (and) turned the land of my foes into mounds and plow-land ; 5 at that time I rebuilt for the mistress of Sippar, the exalted princess, my mistress, Ê.EDIN.NA, a temple wherein she might find peace of mind, 10 and I made it brilliant as the day. In the future, O mistress of Sippar,</p>	<p>powerful mistress, when I have brought this temple to a state of completion, 15 and thou hast taken up thy dwelling therein, do thou establish me, Nabopo- lassar, the king, thy restorer, forever like the bricks of Sippar and Babylon ; 20 and do thou permit my sover- eignty to last into far future days.</p>
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Contributed Notes.

THE SYRIAC-ARABIC NARRATIVE OF THE MIRACLES OF JESUS.

In the October (1899) number of this JOURNAL Rev. W. Scott Watson published "A Narrative of Miracles of Jesus," written in a familiar and not uninteresting type of vulgar Arabic. As the translation which he appended seems to me occasionally to miss the meaning of the original, and as some features of the Arabic text perhaps deserve an additional word of mention, I have thought that the following suggestions may not be superfluous:

P. 43, last line, for "lizards rushing about" read "gazelles feeding." The word ضبيات illustrates the common substitution in vulgar Arabic of ض for ظ (of which this manuscript contains numerous examples), and has nothing to do with ضب "lizard." The same mistake occurs several times on p. 44.

P. 44, ll. 14 *sq.*, instead of "there will not be any communication between you and men" read "men shall not have power to harm you."—L. 23, the relation of the clauses has been misunderstood. Read, "Then the locusts would come and devour it when the time of harvest came."—Ll. 26 *sq.*, read "there came together a number of the children of Israel, and said among themselves, Who knows whether this man may not be able," etc.

P. 45, l. 9, read "God hath sent thee. Even though we are not deserving, remove from us," etc.—L. 16, for "and that not one become corrupt" read "and that ye harm no one."—L. 19, for "in the [manner of] wailing of the country" read "in the various districts of the country." So also in l. 20. نواحي is plural of ناحية.—Ll. 25 *sq.*, for "nor doth he summon you without power" read "nor doth he leave you without food." The verb is from ودع, not from دعا, and the noun قوت "provision" is written quite correctly.—L. 7 from the bottom, read "for he is entering the city."—L. 3 from the bottom, for "in one hour" read "in one moment."—In the next line, for "they praised God, to whom is not difficult any of the things that he delivered as matters to the humanity of his Son" read "they praised God, to whom not anything (شي من الاشياء) is difficult; who delivered all things to the humanity of his Son."

P. 46, ll. 1 *sq.*, the translation is badly confused. Read, "Then after the entrance of the disciples into the city and into his house, the man

went out and came to the Mount of Olives."—L. 7, for "from thy majesty" read "for reverence of thee."—L. 13 from the bottom, for "establish" read "raise from the dead."—Two lines below, "death" should be "calamities." The word is plural of *أفة*, and the text is in no need of emendation.—Five lines farther, "And to him be the glory" should be "for to him belongs the glory."

In the colophon appended by the scribe Mr. Watson renders *عبد النور باسم* "the servant of the light, by name." Is it not rather the proper name *Abd en-Nūr Bāsīm*?

Of the eleven proposed corrections of the text only one, *بجناحه*, p. 40, can be allowed. The proposal to substitute *ظ* for *ض*, and *vice versa* (pp. 38, 40 [twice], 41), is most unfortunate, for it would remove one of the really interesting features of this text. The word *تقافوا*, p. 40 (twice), is apparently *قفا* III. or VI., with the meaning of *وقف*. It would hardly do to emend it, even if the proposed substitute, *تقاموا*, were possible here, which is not the case. The word is a gain for the lexicon of late Arabic. In place of *فطامنوا*, p. 40, Mr. Watson proposes to read *فطاطوا* (*i. e.*, *فطاطأوا*). This is unquestionably the word to expect here; but notice Dozy on the word *طأمن* (*Supplément*, s. v. *طمن*). It would seem that here, also, Mr. Watson's manuscript furnishes us with an important example of a rare word. The translation would be, as with the other reading, "Then all the lions bowed their heads low." The text-reading *قدسي*, p. 42, is the only correct one, "*my* Holy Spirit." The same is true of *لها*, on the same page. The proposed correction of *الافات*, p. 43, has already been mentioned.

In connection with the theory of the origin of this Arabic document, it is interesting to observe (what apparently escaped Mr. Watson's notice) that the appendix, from p. 42, l. 17, on, is composed in rhymed prose. This part, at least, is certainly not a translation.

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Book Notices.

NIEBUHR ON THE AMARNA TIME.¹

This is the second *Heft* of the new series *Der alte Orient*, herausgegeben von der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. It is a popular treatment, under five heads, of the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions and their importance: (1) discovery and kind of tablets, (2) the court and government of the Egyptians, (3) the letters of Asiatic kings, (4) the letters of Asiatic subjects, (5) the general conditions of the Amarna period. The author gives brief extracts from several of the most interesting letters. His translations agree substantially with those of Winckler. We are glad to see that he adopts Knudtzon's reading, Kadashman-Bel, as the name of the Babylonian king (formerly read Kallima-Sin) who carried on correspondence with Amenophis III. Though just a sketch, this pamphlet gives some idea of the world activity of the fifteenth century B. C., in which the cuneiform language was the language of diplomacy.

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THUREAU-DANGIN ON THE ORIGIN OF CUNEIFORM WRITING.²

Since the publication of I^{re} Partie of the above work³ M. Thureau-Dangin has secured much valuable new material touching the original forms of many of the cuneiform signs. This material embraces (1) the new acquisitions of the Louvre Museum, (2) the inscriptions discovered by M. E. de Sarzec (1897-8), (3) copies of texts made by himself in Constantinople in August, 1898, and (4) Part VII of the British Museum Cuneiform Texts. Since the issuance of I^{re} Partie he has made a new study of the Syllabaries S^a, S^b, and S^c, and observed some confirmations of and some objections to previous conjectures regarding the coalescence in modern form of two and sometimes of more distinct primitive signs.

The author has secured about 130 additional archaic forms, some of which vary but slightly from those already recorded in I^{re} Partie. He has also cast doubt on some of his former identifications, *e. g.*, those of

¹ DIE AMARNA-ZEIT: Aegypten und Vorderasien um 1400 v. Chr. nach dem Thontafelfunde von El-Amarna. Von Carl Niebuhr. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. M. 0.80.

² RECHERCHES SUR L'ORIGINE DE L'ÉCRITURE CUNÉIFORME. Par François Thureau-Dangin. Supplément à la I^{re} Partie. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899. iv + 27 pp.

³ Reviewed in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, Vol. XV, pp. 148 *sqq.*

Nos. 311, 312, 313, and 51; and has newly identified a few characters. In three cases, after some discussion of the different original characters which have become absorbed into the modern forms, his conclusions arrived at are not in agreement with his previous opinion. The first of these (No. 11) is a discussion of BAD, TIL, in which he reverses his former decision, and concludes these two readings belong to the same original form, and that the second original form should be read *iti*, *idim*, etc. The second discussion (No. 224), covering four pages, is an attempt to unravel the tangle in which the modern GIR (= *šēpu*, *nōru*, *emûqu*) has become involved through its having become the coalescence of two primitive forms—and these primitive forms, too, have each more than one modern representative. Under No. 419, on the basis of Sb, he finds that the sign read *mes*, *sangu*, represents two quite distinct primitive forms, and these forms are distinctly identified in the archaic inscriptions.

The work is done in the same neat autographic style characteristic of Ir^e Partie, and adds facts of real value for a study of the primitive cuneiform writing. We have noted a couple of slips of the pen: No. 79 should be 82, and 188 should be 187.

The further researches of M. Thureau-Dangin are awaited with interest by all lovers of Assyriology and the early history of the human race.

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GREEK AND LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN TALMUD, MIDRASH, AND TARGUM.¹

The second part of this work brings the classical loan-words in ancient Hebrew and Aramaic literatures in alphabetical order. Pp. 1-594 contain the dictionary proper; pp. 594-615, supplementary notes; pp. 617-84, two indexes of Greek and Latin words; and pp. 685-7, corrections of misprints.

Every article contains references, frequently complete, to the sources; and the explanations of predecessors are quoted, and sometimes discussed. The contributions of the ripe scholarship of Dr. Löw enhance the work greatly. Besides the notes in the body of the work, to the last-named scholar belong the indexes, preceded by prefatory remarks, from which we quote the following passage: "Das alphabetische Verzeichniss weist nahezu 1160 Lehnwörter, auf die allein sich phonetische Untersuchungen stützen dürfen, und etwa 295 Fremdwörter nach. Für ungefähr 800 Wörter kann ich die Meinung des Herrn Verfassers nicht theilen. Ich bezeichne diese häufig für gut semitisches Sprachgut in Vorschlag gebrachten Identificationen mit ??, d. h. unwahrscheinlich, oder 0, d. h. unmöglich, und betrachte diesen Widerspruch gegen die mir

¹ GRIECHISCHE UND LATEINISCHE LEHNWÖRTER IM TALMUD, MIDRASCH UND TARGUM. Von Samuel Kraus. Mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw. Preisgekrönte Lösung der Lattes'schen Preisfrage. Teil II. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899. x+687 pp.; 8vo. M. 28.

unannehmbar scheinenden Ergebnisse als den wesentlicheren Theil meines Beitrages zu dem Werke, dessen Verfasser ich sowohl für seine selbstlose Hingebung an die Wissenschaft als auch für die selbstverläugnende Bescheidenheit, mit der er im eigenen Hause gegentheiliger Meinung das Wort gönnte, aufrichtige Hochachtung schulde" (p. 622).

The indexes are intended primarily for the use of classical students. The first index is arranged in forty groups, according to subjects. The second is arranged alphabetically. Every word is accompanied by sigla showing the degree of probability of its correct identification, the sources where it is found, and its eventual occurrence in Arabic, Syriac and its dialects, Palmyrenian, Armenian, Persian, and Turkish. The work is a model of scholarly method and patient research, and, though it has not solved all the riddles, will remain the standard work on the subject for a long time to come. A few remarks may follow.

A number of the words accepted in the dictionary have been explained by me in my *Talmudic Grammar*, namely: אבולא (§ 953, n. 1), אירא (§ 951, n. 1), אקריא (§ 952, n. 3), אפריו (§ 790), אקרוחא (§ 970), אריו (§ 959, n. 2), וסחא (§ 856, n. 9), זעטוט, זאטוט (§ 975, n. 4), מרגלית (§ 981), פזביו (§ 967, n. 2), צחיה (§ 982, n. 2), קוסטא (§ 800), קרינא (§ 967, n. 3), קרקפל (§ 967, n. 4). For אודיא and ארא cf. my explanations in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, p. 309, and Vol. XIV, p. 130.

To this I would add that the Syriac form אַחַל does as little demand the vocalization אַחַל as אַחַל demands אַחַל; that זעטוט might as well have been a Hebrew as an Aramaic word. The Syriac سَهْبَل, which Löw mentions in this connection, goes back to Arab. ثَقَل "thin-bearded." For the equation ث = ث cf. سَهْبَلًا = سَهْبَلًا "trunk" = חַרְטוּמָא = חַרְטוּמָא "point of shoe;" Hebr. סַעַר "storm" = نَوْرَان "whirlwind of dust," with stem amplified by ע. Assy. šaru still shows no trace of an ע. For בילוניא Menôrath ha-māôr, ed. Padua reads גליונא זוןג is vocalized in ספרי בעשיות, ed. Gaster, § XVI, זוןג. On אסתירא cf. Jensen, Z.A., Vol. XIV, p. 183, n. 1.

איקא seems to be an apocopated form of עיקר = Eth. ḥargé "ram, wether, he-goat" = Somali orgi "he-goat," Hausa rago "ram," orraki a certain breed of asses. The latter may be the same as عَنَاف = Assy. unqu "he-goat," and this, as Löw suggests, = אַקו; or איקא may stand for עינקא; cf., however, Hausa akwia "goat."—טייד and all the forms mentioned there go back to Eth. ṭar'a = Amh. ṭārrā "to cry, appeal," asṭārrā "invoke" God or saints = Arab. أَطَرَى "eulogize" = צירח.

For the interchange of ר and ד cf. my *Grammar*, § 36.—מוק is explained in a marginal note in ספרי מעשיות, p. 78, as מנעל שלעץ, i. e., "sabots." The variant מורחא or מורחא (ed. Wilna) is not a mistake, as Löw supposes. We have two variant readings in Sanh. 95a.

According to one version פתקיה בריש מוקיה, to which ספורי מעשיות (§ CLV) correctly adds עלה. This is to be translated: "He (Abišoi) hurled it (the spindle, having stuck it) in the point of his sabot on her." Levy's translation (*s. v.* מוקא) is both against grammar, as פתקיה does not mean "I threw it," and against common-sense, as by hitting the point of his shoe with the spindle she could not kill him. The other version reads: פתקיה ברישמ וחה "he threw it on her ריש-מוחה." The ריש מוחא is evidently a part of the human anatomy opposed to the ארעית מוחא. The first means perhaps "the brain," the latter, "the cerebellum." But it is altogether possible that ריש מוקא = מוחא = ריש. מוקא may be an apocopated form of מוקר, emph. st. מוקרא "brain." For the confusion in the gender of the pronoun

many examples could be cited.—סטרא I connect with أسطادة (Dozy) in the sense of ambubaia. That of that kind of woman may be well said סטרא דא מבעלה is too well known.—On סרגל cf. Bachrach, *אשתדלות עם שדל*, pp. 140 sq.—פיקס is connected by the author with biblical Hebr. פקש! Where does such a word exist?—פלכתא does not come from πάλλαξ, which latter is itself a Semitic loan-word (cf. my *Grammar*, § 833, n. 2), but goes back to قفل.—פלתא is neither Greek (Krauss) nor a corruption (Löw); but goes back to فَل "be notchy." For development of meaning see my *Grammar*, § 963, n. 1.—שכלי is probably Arab. سَلَكَ "the young of a partridge," or = سَلَكَ (Wahrmund).—On תמחור cf. Joseph Schwarz' "Recension" of Rapa-port's ערך מלין, p. 22.

C. LEVIAS.

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VOL. XVI, No. 4.

JULY, 1900



THE

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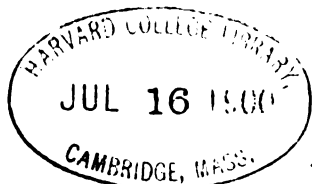
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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VOLUME XVI

JULY, 1900

NUMBER 4

THE URIM AND THUMMIM.

A SUGGESTION AS TO THEIR ORIGINAL NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE.

By W. MUSS-ARNOLT,
The University of Chicago.*

I.

We have been taught since the days of the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament that אֱרֵמִים וְתֻמִּיִּם mean "revelation and truth" (δήλωση καὶ ἀλήθεια), or "lights and perfections" (φωτισμοὶ καὶ τελειότητες); the τελειότης καὶ διδασχὴ of Symmachus (translated by Jerome: *Perfectio et doctrina*; see Field's *Hexapla* on Deut. 33:8); the φωτισμοὶ and τελειώσεις of Aquila and Theodotion). The Vulgate accordingly renders the terms by *doctrina* (after Symmachus' διδασχὴ; old Latin: *ostensio* or *demonstratio*) et *veritas*. This notion as to the meaning of the two Hebrew words has maintained itself so tenaciously through the Middle Ages down to our days that it seems almost impossible to gain a hearing for any other view. But that there is no foundation for such a view in the Old Testament itself, when correctly understood, an examination of the few passages where the words occur will readily show. These are the passages:

Exod. 28:13-30 describes the high-priestly ephod and the breastplate with the Ūrim and Tummim. It is called in vs. 15

*The author begs leave to express his thanks to Professors Ernest D. Burton, George F. Moore, and Henry Preserved Smith, and to Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, of the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C., for examining this article in proof and adding valuable material and references.

a "breastplate of judgment" (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט); it was to be four-square and double. The twelve stones mentioned in vs. 17 were not put inside of the חֹשֶׁן, but on the outside. "And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goes in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually. And thou shalt put into the breastplate of judgment the Ūrīm and the Tummīm;¹ and they shall be upon Aaron's heart when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually" (vss. 29, 30).

The חֹשֶׁן of the high priest was a small bag, or pouch, worn upon the breast, to hold the Ūrīm and Tummīm; it was called חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט by the people, because of the decisions which were supposed to be given by means of the Ūrīm and Tummīm. It was made of the same material as the high-priestly אֵפֹד, a span square, set in front with twelve jewels in four rows, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes.

In Leviticus, chap. 8, Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons as priests in compliance with the command given in Exod. 29:1-37. Vss. 7, 8 read: "And he [Moses] put upon him [Aaron] the coat [cf. Exod. 28:4], and girded him with the girdle and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. And he put the breastplate upon him: and he put in the breastplate the Ūrīm and the Tummīm."²

Deuteronomy, chap. 33, contains "the blessing of Moses." Vs. 8 reads: "And of Levi he said: Thy Tummīm and thy Ūrīm are with thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah."—Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*,³ p. 125, translates: "Thy Tummīm and thy Ūrīm belong unto him that is devoted to thee; whom thou didst prove at Massah, and for whom thou didst fight at Meribah."—Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*,⁴ p. 106: "Give unto Levi thy Tummīm;

¹ LXX has *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. On מִשְׁפָּט = justice, see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI (1892), pp. 206-11.

² וַיִּתֵּן אֵל הַחֹשֶׁן אֶת הָאֲוִרִים וְאֶת הַתֻּמִּיִּם = *καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. The LXX translator mistook אֵל (Lev. 8:8) for עַל (Exod. 28:14, 23 sqq.) ["Heb. Sam. reads עַל; cf. Pesh."—George F. Moore]; cf. also Exod. 25:16, 21; Numb. 19:17; Deut. 23:25.

³ "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von W. Nowack. I. Abtheilung, 3. Band, 1. Theil (Göttingen, 1898).

⁴ "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von Karl Marti. Abteilung V (Freiburg, 1899).

and thy Ūrim to thy favorites, whom thou didst prove," etc.—Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1891), p. 22: "Thy Thummim and thy Urim has the man of favour," *i. e.*, the Levite, tested at Massah and Meribah.—Driver, *Deuteronomy* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, p. 398: "Thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou contendedst at the waters of Meribah." See also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 157.—Baudissin, *Geschichte des Alttest. Priestertums*, p. 76, thinks that "thy godly one" was either Aaron or Moses, as representative of the whole tribe of Levi. Later on he says: "Der Fromme Jahwe's ist, so scheint es, Aaron."

The most important passage for the right conception of the Ūrim and Tummim is 1 Sam. 14:41, where Wellhausen and Driver⁵ have amended the Massoretic text, on the basis of the Septuagint, to read as follows: "And Saul said: Lord, God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this iniquity (guilt) be in me or in Jonathan my son, Lord, God of Israel, give Ūrim; but if it be in thy people Israel, give Tummim.⁶ Then Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot; and the people escaped." "Ἀῆλοι (LXX) stands for אֱוִיִּים (28:6 and Numb. 27:21; as δῆλωσις in Exod. 28:26; Lev. 8:8). . . . The amended text (which is accepted, amongst others, by Dr. Weir) shews (what has often been surmised independently) that the מִשְׁפַּט הָאֲוִרִים וְהַתֻּמִּיִּים was a mode of casting lots" (Driver, p. 89).—H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel*,⁷ p. 122: "Urim and Thummim were two objects used in the lot—perhaps stones of different colours (following Ewald, *Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 309; *Antiquities*, p. 295)—one of which gave the affirmative, the other gave the negative, answer to a question put in the form already indicated."

⁵ Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), p. 89. Also Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (SBOT., edid. Haupt), p. 63. This conjecture was made long ago (1842) by Thénienius in the first edition of his commentary on the books of Samuel ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch"). See Lagarde, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1885, Vol. I, p. 75. The הָבָה הַתֻּמִּיִּים of the Massoretic text is an arbitrary change of the correct הָבָה הָאֲוִרִים.

⁶ H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 122, translates: "but if thus thou say: 'It is in my people; give Tummim:.'" also see p. 124. The Septuagint (Cod. B) reads as follows: Καὶ εἰπὲν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθὰν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, δὸς δῆλους (ἱμῶν). καὶ ἐὰν τὰδε εἴπῃ, δὸς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ, δὸς δὴ δσιώτητα (*i. e.*, ἱμῶν τῶν ἱμῶν). GL, *i. e.*, Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canoniconum*, pars I, p. 275, has this reading: Καὶ εἰ τὰδε εἴποις Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία, δὸς δσιώτητα· καὶ κατακληροῦται Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθὰν, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ὁ λαός.

⁷ In "The International Critical Commentary." New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1899. See also Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel* ("The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"), 1891, p. 137.

1 Sam. 28:3-6: "Samuel had died, and all Israel had mourned for him, and had buried him in Ramah, his city. And Saul had removed the talismans and necromantic charms [so H. P. Smith] from the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Ūrīm, nor by prophets."

Here we have three methods of divine communication in the Old Testament: (1) The dream-oracle (cf. Numb. 12:6; 1 Kings 3:4 sqq.), of which frequent mention is made also in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. Thus, *e. g.*, the dream-vision of Gudea,⁸ and numerous references in the *Gilgamesh (Nimrod) Epic*.⁹ In a hymn to the god Šamaš, published by Brūnnow (in *ZA.*, Vol. IV, pp. 7 sqq.), we read that the interpretation of dreams (pašēru šunāte) was the specific function of the šā'ilu.¹⁰ There appears as interpreter of dreams also the šabrū (a word compounded, probably, of ša + barī, Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. VII, p. 174, rm. 1, = "der Mann des Sehens"). It is quite possible that the interpretation of dreams reverts ultimately also to the functions of the bārū, "seer" (Smith, *Ašurbanipal*, 123, 50).¹¹ Also the maxxū-priest appears as interpreter of dreams;¹² and in *Ašurbanipal*, Cyl. A, col. v, 97-102,¹³ Ištar sends a dream-vision to the troops of *Ašurbanipal*, saying unto them: "I go before *Ašurbanipal* the king, whom my hands have created." Trusting in this dream, they advanced victoriously and defeated their enemies. (2) The oracle by means of the Ūrīm; here, undoubtedly, an abbreviation for the Ūrīm and Tummim. (3) The oracle by the word of the prophets, found among all Semitic nations.

⁸ H. Zimmern in *ZA.*, Vol. III, pp. 232-5.

⁹ *NE.* (Haupt), p. 14, 14: šu-na-ta aṭ-ṭul mu-ši-ti-ja (cf. 6, 45; 13, 15); 49, 208: šu-na-ta i-na-aṭ-ṭal "he saw a dream, he had a dream-vision;" 50, 29 sq.; 55, 20: ū-um šutta iṭ-ṭu-lu; also cf. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Nos. 6, 118; 10; 18; 12, 118; 6, 43 sq.; 13, 24; IV R² 59, No. 2 b 21, 22, 23; 57 b 44. Nabd, *Scheil*, vi, 21, 22.

¹⁰ K. 3187 (*ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 8), ll. 51-2.

¹¹ Ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-xu-ru-ši | ištēn (emē) šab-ru-u u-tu-ul-ma i-na(-aṭ)-ṭal šutta | i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši |^{11a} Ištar u-šab-ru-u-šu | u-ša-an-na-a (*KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 250-1); V R. 3, 120: šabrū i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al šutta.

¹² *Ibid.* (pp. 252-6), l. 95: ina idāti šutti egirre šī-pir max-xi-e.

¹³ Ištar a-ši-bat (a) Arba-ilu ina šat mu-ši | a-na ummānāti-ja šutta u-šab-ri-ma | ki-a-am iq-bi-šu-nu-ti | um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-xar Ašur-bān-aplu | šarri ša ib-na-a qātā-a-a e-li šutti an-ni-ti ummānāti-ja ir-xu-qu, etc.

The only other instance of actual consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrim and Tummim mentioned in the Old Testament is found in Numb. 27:21, where it is said: "And he [Joshua] shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel (or inquire) for him after (by) the judgment of Ūrim (δῆλοι) before the Lord: at his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation." Eleazar was the high priest. Moses was permitted by the Lord to address him directly. Joshua and his successors could do this only through the mediation of the high priest and by means of the Ūrim and Tummim.

Ezra 2:63 = Neh. 7:65 states: "And the Tirshatha¹⁴ said unto them,¹⁵ that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Ūrim and Tummim (LXX: *Kai τοῖς τελείοις*; alia exempl. *ταῖς τελειώσεσι*)."¹⁶ It is quite probable that the age of Ezra and Nehemiah was no longer cognizant of the nature of the Ūrim and Tummim. Post-exilic Israel had neither the sacred breastplate nor the Ūrim and Tummim. This passage tacitly contradicts the assertion of Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9 (end), that the Ūrim and Tummim only first failed in the Maccabean era." "The Ūrim and Tummim, along with the Ark, the Shechinah, the Holy Fire, the Spirit of Prophecy, the Oil of Anointing, constituted the chief points, for the absence of which the Jews of later times deplored the deficiency of Zerubabel's Temple as compared with that of Solomon" (H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 32, in "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges;" Mishna *Sotā* 9:12; Tos. *Sotā* 13:2; Jer. *Kiddushim* 4:1; Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9, end).—Ecclus. 33:3¹⁷ may possibly prove a knowledge of the tradition concerning the

¹⁴ *I. e.*, his excellency, by which the writer means the governor Sheshbazzar (= Sin-bal-uḡur); see Geo. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. II, p. 52, rm. 1; Gesenius¹⁸, p. 877.

¹⁵ To the returned Jews (mentioned in the preceding verses) who "sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they deemed polluted, and were put from the priesthood." See on this period of Jewish history especially Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896, p. 194; also cf. Baudissin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

¹⁶ Compare 1 Macc. 4:46, (Judas and the blameless priests, whom he had chosen) pulled down the altar (which had been profaned) and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them. 14:41. The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet.

¹⁷ "However, the breastplate and sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this work, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws" (B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, Vol. I, p. 202).

¹⁸ "A man of understanding will put his trust in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, as when one asketh at the oracle." Professor H. P. Smith calls my attention to Ryssel's

use of the Ūrīm and the Tummīm, but it cannot be inferred from it that answers were received, at that time, by means of the Ūrīm and the Tummīm.

The Ūrīm and the Tummīm are implied, also, wherever in the earlier history of Israel mention is made of asking counsel of the Lord (= Yahweh) by means of the ephod.¹⁹ Thus, in Josh. 9:14, "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord" (cf. Numb. 27:21).²⁰—Judg. 1:1, "Now, after the death of Joshua, it came to pass that the children of Israel asked the Lord, saying," etc. Vs. 2, "And the Lord said," etc.²¹ 20:18, "And the children of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God, and asked counsel of God (בְּאֵלֵי הוָה), and said, Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up first;" vs. 23, "And the children of Israel went up [to Beth-el] and wept before the Lord until even, and asked counsel of the Lord," etc. Also see vss. 26–28 (Budde, *Buch der Richter*, pp. 135, 136), where the mention of the ark is rather out of place; Bertheau, Budde, and others have, therefore, cut out vss. 27b and 28a as late glosses, supplementing one the other.—In 1 and 2 Samuel the Ūrīm and Tummīm are consulted chiefly by Saul and by David. By Saul in 1 Sam. 10:22 (vss. 19–22, when Saul is chosen king); 14:3, 36 sqq., and vs. 18, where, with LXX, we must read: "Saul said unto Ahijah: Bring hither the ephod; for he carried the ephod at that time before the children of Israel."²² 1 Sam. 14:41 and

translation in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 394: "Der Verständige setzt sein Vertrauen aufs Gesetz, und das Gesetz bewährt sich ihm als zuverlässig wie eine Frage an die Urim." In a footnote Ryssel says: "Statt δικαίω ist mit Sin., GAL. u. a. Handschr. (die mit L meist δηλῶν ["wie einer, der eine Frage aufstellt," was nach Hatch, p. 276, zum Folgenden zu ziehen wäre, — kaum richtig], aber auch δηλῶν bieten) δηλῶν zu lesen (vgl. 45, 10 δηλοῖ [δηλῶelas] für ὁμῖν und ebenso in LXX). Der Gedanke ist: wie eine Frage an die Urim und Tummim richtig beantwortet wird."

¹⁹ "The preposition בְּ in connection with אֵלֵי followed by the name of God is to be explained as originally of local signification" (Geo. F. Moore). On the nature of the תְּנִיחַ see especially Moore, *Judges* ("International Critical Commentary"), 1895, pp. 380 sqq., where copious references and literature are given. [Also article "Ephod" in Vol. II of *Encyclopædia Biblica*.—George F. Moore.]

²⁰ Cf. Maclear, *Joshua* ("Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges," 1892), pp. 80, 81. See also Josh. 7:14–18, the story of Achan and the discovery of his theft.

²¹ See Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T."), pp. 2, 3; Moore, *Judges*, 1895, pp. 10–13; Lias, *Judges*, pp. 43, 44, 197.

²² The whole verse is rejected by Bertheau, Budde, and others, as a later gloss taken from 1:1; see also Moore, pp. 431–5.

²³ See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. 83, 84, whom it has escaped that Keil had made this suggestion many years before him; Budde, *The Books of Samuel* (= *SBOT.*), p. 62; H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 111 sq.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II, pp. 93 sq.

28:6, see above.—By David in 1 Sam. 22:10, 13; 23:2, 4, 6, 9–12, where David asked counsel of the Lord four times by means of the ephod (i. e., the Ūrim and the Tummim), and the Lord answered him each time. 30:7 sq., “And David [at Ziklag] said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech’s son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.” 2 Sam. 2:1; 5:19, 23 sq.; 21:1.

In all cases, except 1 Sam. 10:22 and 2 Sam. 5:23 sq., the answer is either Yes or No. It has been suggested by Riehm and others that these two passages have undergone editorial changes.

After the death of David no instance is mentioned in the Old Testament of consulting the Lord by means of the Ūrim and Tummim, or the ephod. This desuetude is undoubtedly occasioned by the growing influence of Old Testament prophecy (see, however, Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 473). Professor Moore calls my attention to Lagarde’s conjecture on Ps. 43:3, and to the fact that אֲרָם is intended also in Hos. 6:5.

II.

These are the passages in the Old Testament where the Ūrim and Tummim are mentioned, either directly or by implication. Before expressing our own view on the original nature and significance of this oracle, it may not be out of place to quote some of the ancient and, especially, modern explanations²⁴ of these mysterious instruments through which Yahweh communicated his will to his chosen people.

Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 8, 9,²⁵ and some of the rabbins were of the opinion that this sacred lot (or oracle) of the Israelites was identical with the gems of the breastplate, and that

²⁴ In addition to those mentioned in the preceding sections.

²⁵ Niese, Vol. I, pp. 201 sq.: “Now as to those stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyses (I think it needless to describe their nature, as they are known to everybody); one of them sparkled when God was present at their worship, namely, the one that served as a clasp on the right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by persons at a very great distance, though this was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as do not cultivate wisdom in contempt of religion. But I will mention what is still more wonderful than this, that God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendor shone forth from them before the army began to march that all the people were sensible of God’s presence for their assistance. So those Greeks who had a regard for

the splendor shining forth from them indicated God's presence for the assistance of the Israelites. It is not quite correct to maintain that Philo's opinion (*De Vita Mos.*, pp. 670 C, 672 D, E (Mangey, Vol. II, p. 152), and *De Monarch.*, p. 824 A) was that the oracle consisted in the two small images or symbols of "light and righteousness," embroidered into the cunningly woven breastplate of the high priest, like the oracle-images of Egypt (*Diodorus Siculus*, I, 48, 75; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, 14, 34).²⁶

The views of mediæval exegetes of the Christian church, as well as those of the theologians of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, are carefully registered in that monumental work of Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), pp. 515, 525, 546, 748; also in the same scholar's article, "Urim," in the *Protestantische Realencyclopädie* (Vol. XVI, pp. 746 sqq.), revised for the second edition (Vol. XVI, pp. 226 sqq.) by Kautzsch.

Catholic commentators, generally, follow in the footsteps of the great Cardinal Bellarmine, who defended the Vulgate translation and derived Ūrim from וְרִי "to teach" and Tummim from וְטִמִּ "be true," thus = *doctrina et veritas*.

Knobel (*Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Erster Theil, 1837, p. 5, rm. 2) and others were of the opinion that the breastplate and the Ūrim and Tummim were an imitation of the breastplate

our customs, as they could not possibly contradict this, called the breastplate the oracle." Cf. *Antiquities*, VIII, 3, 8; P. Grünbaum, *Die Priestergesetze bei Flavius Josephus* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1887), pp. 52 sq. The rabbins assert that, by means of the Ūrim, those letters which belonged to the answer shone in peculiar fulgency, either simultaneously or successively, while the Tummim taught the high priest in which order they were to be read and composed into words; and since the names of the twelve tribes do not contain all the letters of the alphabet, it is asserted that those of the patriarchs were added. Professor Moore calls my attention to Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Tome I, p. 197, rm. 2: "Apulée (*Metam.*, lib. IX, 2) cite un oracle perpétuel employé par des prêtres syriens: Les bœufs attelés fendent la terre, afin que les campagnes produisent leurs fruits."

²⁶ Professor Moore writes to me as follows: "If you will look up the passage [in Philo] you will see how Spencer (and some before him) fell into this error: he etymologized ἀγαλματὰ φέρειν 'support images,' and inferred that Philo represented the *ὄνο ἀπειρά, δῆλωσις* and *ἀλήθεια* as little idols. An examination of Philo's usage of the word, or of other late writers, shows that this literal etymology is entirely false. Mangey, in his note on the passage, proves this conclusively, and I have some other material to the same effect. Spencer, however, did not imagine the images woven or embroidered on the וְטִמִּ; that results from someone's attempt to reconcile Spencer's 'images' with Philo in *De Monarchia* (Mangey, II, 226), *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λογιέου διττὰ ὀφάσματα καταποικίλλει κ. τ. λ.*; and the Egyptian parallels from Diod. and Aelian were not 'embroidered.'"

Ἀγαλματα φέρειν "to carry an image; to carry the image (idea) of anything in one's own mind;" see Sophocles, *Greek Lexikon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York, 1887, p. 62. It is used by Philo; Athenagoras 997 B. (*Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. VI); Origen, III, 381 A; Euseb., II, 880 A, B, 872 B. Zonaras, *Lexicon*, 35: "Ἀγαλματοφορούμενος, ἀγάλματα, ἥτοι τύπους τῶν νοηθέντων φέρων ἐν αὐτῷ. Οὕτω Φίλων.

of the Egyptian high priest, which he wore on his breast during legal trials.²⁷ The analogy, however, is more superficial than real.²⁸

Bähr, *Symbolik*, Vol. II (pp. 134–41), thinks of something within a bag, a sacred pledge to the high priest of the enlightenment and perfection which he would receive from the Lord, when called upon to make sacred decisions.

Kalisch, *Exodus* (1855), p. 544, sees the sacred pledge in the twelve sacred gems themselves, that stimulate the priest to self-sacrifice and perfect sanctification.

August Köhler, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Gesch. Alten Testaments*, I (1875), pp. 349–50: "Gestalt und Beschaffenheit der U. und T. ist unbekannt; jedenfalls waran sie körperliche Gegenstände, welche von dem Hohepriester auf oder wahrscheinlicher in seinem Brustschilde getragen wurden. . . . Später gelten die Aussprüche der Propheten dem Alten Testamente als eine *Forsetzung* der Willensäußerung Jehovah's." Also see Vol. II, 2, 557, rm. (against Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra und Nehemiah*, p. 18; Stade, *Geschichte*³, Vol. II, pp. 103 sqq.; Ewald, *Geschichte*³, Vol. IV, p. 222).

J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*³ (1886), p. 412, rm. 1, says: "Die Thummim hat Freytag (*Lexic. Arabicum* unter *tammat*)²⁹ ausserordentlich glücklich mit den arabischen *Tamām* verglichen. Urim hängt vielleicht mit ארר zusammen (vgl. Iliad 1, 11, und Numb. 22:23); die beiden Worte der Formel scheinen sich gegensätzlich zu ergänzen." In his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* ("Reste arabischen Heidentums"), 2d ed., Vol. III, pp. 144, 167, Wellhausen rejects this interpretation of Freytag and Lagarde, and maintains that Arabic *tamīma* is simply the translation of the Greek τέλεσμα. "Urim und Thummim müssen ursprünglich zwei Lose gewesen sein, denen bei dem Orakel eine beliebige Alternative als Bedeutung beigelegt wurde."

W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2d ed., London, 1895), p. 292, note 1, writes: "In ancient times the priestly oracle of Urim and Thummim was a sacred lot. . . .

²⁷ Also the names of the oracle were derived from the Egyptian, tummim from Egyptian *ma + article = tma* = "truth;" and ūrim from Coptic *eroyōini* = "illumination, revelation."

²⁸ See Vatke, *Religion*, p. 681; Dillmann on Exod. 28:30; Riehm, "Licht und Recht" in his *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 918; Baudissin, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 70, 71. Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 280, 281, argues again for the Egyptian origin of the אֲרִי and the Urim and Thummim.

²⁹ The same observation was made also, independently of Freytag, by Paul de Lagarde in his *Prophetæ chaldaice*, p. xlvii.

This sacred lot was connected with the ephod, which in the time of the Judges was something very like an idol. Spencer, therefore, seems to be right in assuming a resemblance in point of form between the priestly lot of the Urim and Thummim and divination by Teraphim (*De Legibus Ritualibus*, lib. III, c. 3).” So also Professor Moore (*Judges*, 1895, p. 382), who writes to me: “Spencer was not the first to point out this (Christ. de Castro, 1615, etc.).”

Schwally, in Stade's *ZATW.*, Vol. XI (1891), p. 172, says: “Der Eid ist ein bedingter Fluch, vgl. den Sprachgebrauch von אָלֶה. Gerade der Zusammenhang von ‘fluchen’ und ‘losen’ schimmert noch in dem Urim- und Thummim-Orakel durch. Denn *Urim* gehört höchst wahrscheinlich zu אָרַר fluchen.”—In חֲמִים Schwally finds the idea of “blessing” (בִּרְכָּה).

W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Bd. II (1894), pp. 93 sq., says: “Nach 1 Sam. 28:6, Deut. 33:8, etc., war das Mittel, wie die Befragung des Ephod geschah, die *urim* und *tummim*. Was aber unter diesen Ausdrücken zu verstehen ist, sagt keine Stelle, eine durchaus begreifliche Erscheinung, denn der älteren Zeit war diese Einrichtung bekannt, die spätere Zeit aber hatte selbst keine sichere Kenntnis davon. . . . Es waren wol zwei heilige Loose, beziehungsweise, Steine, von denen der eine bejahende, der andere verneinende Antwort bedeutete. Kam keines der Loose beim Werfen (הוֹרֶה) der Loose zum Vorschein, so wies das auf den Unwillen Jahwes, der die Antwort verweigerte (1 Sam. 14:37; 28:6). Die Bedeutung der Wörter *Urim* und *Tummim* ist völlig dunkel.”²⁰

H. Strack, in “Strack und Zöckler's Kurzgefasster Kommentar, Altes Testament,” I. *Genesis–Numeri* (1894), p. 254: “Wir wissen nur, dass die Hohepriester vor dem Exil vermittlest der *U.* und *T.* Gottesbescheid einholten. Die *U.* und *T.* sind auch da gemeint wo einer Befragung Jahwes mittelst des Ephods Erwähnung geschieht; 1 Sam. 23:9; 30:7 bringt der Hohepriester Ebjathar den Ephod zu David. Hierher gehört auch 1 Sam. 14:3 und 37; vs. 18 ist (wie Keil anerkannt) nach LXX zu lesen.”

Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht* (1889), pp. 26, 27: “Der Hohepriester allein darf in dem Ornate, welchen er bei den gewöhnlichen heiligen

²⁰ Thus also Bertholet, *Deuteronomium* (1899); H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 4te Aufl., p. 257, etc.

Handlungen anlegt, die Urim und Tummim tragen (Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). Nur er kann das 'Recht der Urim vor Jahwe' verkündigen, wonach als göttlichem Orakel Israel sich zu richten hat (Num. 27:27)." Also see *ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, where on the basis of Neh. 7:65; Ezra 2:63 he says: "Es ist aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Urim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Urim und Tummim zu verfügen." And in chap. viii, "Geschichtliches Ergebniss," Baudissin gives a sketch of the priestcraft in early Israel: "Wie es scheint, nur der jeweilige Oberpriester der grösseren Heiligthümer war im Besitz eines besonderen von dem linnenen unterschiedenen Ephod, in welchem die heiligen Orakel-Loose enthalten waren—das Vorbild der Urim und Tummim 'Licht und Recht' des späteren Hohenpriesters. Der zweite dieser Namen verweist noch darauf, dass die priesterliche Orakelertheilung ursprünglich vorzugsweise im Dienste der Rechtspflege stand. Um einen Rechtsstreit zu entscheiden, erschien man 'vor Gott,' d. h. man rief seine Entscheidung an durch die Loose des Priesters." (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 58 and rm. 1.)

Benzing, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 382, 407, 408: "Bei den alten Israeliten treffen wir, abgesehen von dem was als Zauberei später für illegitim erklärt wurde, nur ein legitimes Orakelmittel: das *Losorakel*. Dieses erscheint in engster Verbindung mit dem Ephod. . . . Genauer erfahren wir (1 Sam. 14:41), dass das Orakel aus zwei Losen bestand, von denen das eine '*urim*', das andere '*tummim*' hiess. Ihre Gestalt und Bedeutung scheint allgemein bekannt gewesen zu sein. Gewöhnlich bedeuten die Lose Ja und Nein," etc.

Driver, *Leviticus* (Haupt's polychrome edition of the Old Testament), p. 71, says: "U. and T. literally: the lights and the perfections."

T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, 1898, p. 75:¹ "The 'Urim and Thummim' were simply two stones put into the pocket attached to the high priest's ephod; on them were written some such words as 'yes' and 'no.' Whichever stone was taken out, the alternative word upon it was looked upon as the divine decision. . . . Cf. Jonah 1:7 *sqq.*, where we read the

¹ Printed for the larger part in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

mariners cast lots to find out on account of whom the storm was. No condemnation is expressed in the biblical narrative."³²

Thenius-Löhr, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, 1898 ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament"), p. 60: "Mit dem Ephod war unzertrennlich verbunden das heilige Loos. . . . Das heilige Loos zu handhaben, war Sache eines Berufspriesters. Dieses priesterliche Orakel existiert neben dem prophetischen. In älteren Zeiten scheint man das priesterliche dem prophetischen vorgezogen zu haben. Wenigstens hört David auf, Gad um Rat zu fragen, sobald Ebjathar mit dem Ephod zu ihm gekommen ist (1 Sam. 22:10; 23:9; 28:6; cf. 22:5)."

Kautzsch, in the *Textbibel des Alten und Neuen Testamentes* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 288 of the "Appendix to the New Testament," merely says: "Urīm und Tummīm, d. h. wahrscheinlich 'Licht und Unschuld.' Die heiligen Lose, durch welche die Priester den Willen Gottes erkundeten. Wie es nach 1 Sam. 14:41 scheint brachte das Los Urīm die Schuld dessen ans Licht, wegen dessen Gott befragt wurde, dagegen das Los Tummīm die Unschuld."³³

Many other citations could be added to these, but all agree more or less closely with the views given above.³⁴

In general we may summarize, "that the Urīm and Tummīm have been identified with (a) stones in the high priest's breastplate, (b) sacred dice, (c) little images of 'truth' and 'justice,' such as are found hung round the neck of an Egyptian priest's mummy" (Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 33).

³² That this passage should have anything to do with the Urīm and Tummīm is only one of the many strange idiosyncrasies found in this dissertation. For a general estimate of the book see Morris Jastrow, Jr., in this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, pp. 172, 173.

³³ See also Kautzsch in *Protestant. Realencyclopädie*, 2^o Aufl., Vol. XVI, pp. 227, 228.

³⁴ See Siegfried und Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente* (1893), p. 18; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 3^o Aufl., Bd. II (1848), pp. 643-8; Wittichen in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. 2 (1869), p. 403; and Steiner, *ibid.*, Vol. 5 (1875), pp. 851-3; G. Klaiber, *Das priesterliche Orakel der Israeliten*, Stuttgart, 1865; Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, 2^o Aufl., Vol. I, pp. 914-18; Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 471-3, 505 sq., 517 sq.; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 175, 253. Additional literature is also found in Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, Vol. I, p. 5, rm. 2; Kalisch, *Erodotus*, pp. 542-5; Ad. Kinzler, *Die biblischen Altertümer*, 6^o Aufl. (Calw und Stuttgart), 1884, pp. 127-9; and Robert Tuck, *A Handbook of Biblical Difficulties*, New York (no date), Vol. I, pp. 431-3.—S. F. Hancock, "The Urīm and the Thummim," *Old Testament Student* (Vol. III, March, 1884, pp. 252-6), is quite unsatisfactory; as is also H. E. Dosker, "The Urīm and Thummim," *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October, 1892, pp. 717-30. Urīm, according to Dosker, is the means of divine revelation, while Thummim that of divine decision and judgment, both constituting the legitimate priestly revelation of God in contrast to the presumably illegitimate one by means of the teraphim. A very convenient summary is also given in Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel*, pp. 217, 218, with which compare the article "Urīm and Thummim" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (London), Vol. III (1893), pp. 1600-1606.

III.

The first tablet of the Babylonian account of the creation, of which thus far only mutilated copies have been found, relates the creation of the gods Luchmu and Lachamu, An-šar, and Ki-šar; Anu, Bēl, and Ea; and probably also of the other gods. Chaos was giving place to order. But the gods were not allowed to live in peace, for Tiāmat, their mother, turned in hatred against them, and with their father Apsū, the primeval ocean, plotted their destruction. The first tablet ends with a description of the eleven monsters which Tiāmat spawned to aid her in the fight against the gods; and

i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-par
(?ut) iš-ku-nu[-ši pu-ux-ru?]
u-ša-aš-qi ⁽¹¹⁾ Kin-gu ina bi-
ri-šu-nu ša-a-šu [uš-rab-bi]
a-li-kut max-ri pa-an um-
ma-ni mu-'ir-u-ut pu-ux-ri
na-aš ⁽¹²⁾ kakkē ti-iq-bu-tu ti-
bu-u a-na[-an-ti]
šu-par(?ut) tam-xa-ri ra-
ab(-)šik-ka-tu-tu(-ti)
ip-qid-ma [qa]-tuš-šu u-še-ši-
ba-aš-šu ina [karri (kussi?)]
a(d)-di ta-a-ka ina puxur
ilāni u-šar-bi-ka

ma-li-kut (-ku-ut) ilāni gim-
ra[-at]-su-nu qa-tuk[?ka
uš-mal-li]
lu-u-šur-ba-ta-(m)a xa-'i-ri
e-du-u at-ta
li-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli
kāl[? kibrāti?]

To prove this and to show to the other gods that Kingu was, indeed, supreme,

id-din(-šum)-ma tup-šimāti
i-ra-at-su u-šat-me-ix

ka-ta qib[it-]ka la in-nin-
na[-a li-kun ʕi-it pi-i-ka]

in-na-nu ⁽¹¹⁾ Ki-(i)n-gu šu-uš-
qu-u le(?) qu-u [⁽¹¹⁾ a-nu-ti]
ana ilāni [ma-r]i-e-šu (= ša)
ši-ma[-tu iš-ti-mu]

She exalted among the gods her sons, whom she had borne, Kingu, and made him greatest among them (saying):

"To march before the host, let that be thy mission, Command the battle-signal, the advance to the attack."

To be foremost in war, supreme in the fight,

She intrusted to him, and placed him upon a throne (saying):

"With my charm and spell I have raised thee to power among the gods.

The dominion over all the gods I have intrusted to thee.

Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen(?) spouse;

Great be thy name in all [the world?]."

She gave him the *Tablets of Destiny*, and laid them upon his breast (saying):³⁵

"Thy command be never annulled, the word of thy mouth be authority."

Thus exalted and having received the power of Anu,³⁶

Kingu ruled over the gods, her children.³⁷

³⁵ I. e., hung them around his neck.

³⁶ Equaling Anu in power.

³⁷ For text and translation see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), 160 pp.—Peter Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890), pp. 261-364, and *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (= KB., Vol. VI), 1. Teil (Berlin, 1900), pp. 2-48; Heinrich Zimmern's excellent translation published as an appendix (pp. 401-20) to

The second tablet begins with a *verbatim* report of the situation described just now. The gods are greatly distressed, and not one dares to stand up against Tiāmat and fight her host. An-šar, Anu, and even Ea, the god of the unfathomable wisdom, shrink from meeting the terrible enemy. Thereupon Marduk,³⁸ the son of Ea,³⁹ volunteers to fight the monster, but on the condition that :

šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir	"When, forsooth, I have become
gi-mil-li-ku-un	your avenger,
a-kam-me Ti-āmat-ma u-bal-	Conquering Tiāmat and thus
laṭ ka-šu-un	saving your life,
šuk-na-a-ma pu-ux-ru šu-ti-	Then assemble the gods, them all,
ra i-ba-a šim-ti	and proclaim my control as supreme.
ina Ub(p)-šu-(uk)ken-na-ki	In Ubšukenna ⁴⁰ then enter ye
mit-xa-riš xa-diš tiš-ba-ma	all joyfully, and
ep-šu pi-ja ki-ma ka-tu-nu-	my word, instead of thine, shall
ma ši-ma-tu lu-šim-ma	assume control."

Ubšukenna (= Chamber of Fates) was the assembly room of the gods, where, according to later Babylonian belief, the gods determined on New Year's day (zagmuk(k)u)⁴¹ the lot for king and nation. Many Assyriologists have connected with this Babylonian festival the Hebrew *Pūrīm*, especially Jensen, in Wildeboer's commentary on Esther (p. 173):⁴² "פּוּרִים soll Los heißen. Im Assyrischen ist pūru (oder būru) jetzt wenigstens in der Bedeutung 'Stein' gesichert. Die Etymologie von

Hermann Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895); H. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 88-98. There are also French translations by MM. Jules Oppert and Joseph Halévy. In addition to these compare L. W. King, *First Steps in Assyrian* (London, 1898), pp. 122-60, and *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (*ibid.*, 1899), pp. 53-120; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments* (London, 1899), pp. 1-21; Geo. A. Barton, "Tiāmat" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-27; and A. H. Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I (1888), pp. 122-46. (See the present writer's article in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IX, pp. 9-16.) We also refer to Morris Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* ("Handbooks on the History of Religions"), Boston, 1898, chap. xxi: "The Cosmogony of the Babylonians" (pp. 407-53, 724-7); to Ira Maurice Price, *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (1900), chap. vii (pp. 80 *sqq.*); and to the excellent articles of Alfred Jeremias on "Marduk" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. II, cols. 2340-72 (1895), and of Zimmern-Cheyne on "Creation" in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I (1899), cols. 638-54.

³⁸ On Marduk see Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Part X, pp. 586, 587, where most of the recent literature is mentioned.

³⁹ See the excellent article "Oannes" by Alfred Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Vol. III (1899), cols. 577-93; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 2; Halévy, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, Vol. XVII, p. 189; Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 94, rm. 2; Georg Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 272 *sqq.* (§§ 17-20).

⁴⁰ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 11; Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 135, and *Handwörterbuch*, p. 119; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 219 *sqq.*; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 5, rm. *.

⁴¹ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 275.

⁴² *Die Fünf Megilloth* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Abteilung 17, 1896).

פֶּרֶק und griechisch ψήφος lassen vermuten, dass darum פֶּרֶק ein babylonisches Lehnwort ist. Auch das führt uns nach Babylonien." The Babylonian zagmuku (Berossus Σακαυα) is the festival of Marduk, the god of the spring-tide sun. The account of the creation was probably written for the celebration of this day.⁴³

The gods acceded to the demand of Marduk and placed him on the royal throne. Surpassing his fathers in power, he took his place as decider and ruler. He went forth to meet Tiāmat and her host. A great battle followed, in which Marduk vanquished and slew his adversaries. Their opposition he trampled under his feet:

u (11) Kin-gu ša ir-ta(b)-bu-u	Moreover, Kingu, who had been
[] ina [e-li]-šu-un	great above all of them,
ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti ¹¹ e-la-a	He defeated and did unto him as
[i]m-ni-šu	he had done to the other gods(?).
i-kim-šu-ma tup-šimāti la si-	Then tore he from him the <i>Tablets</i>
[m]a-ti-šu	of <i>Destiny</i> , that did not belong
	to him.
i-na k(q)i-šib-bi ik-nu-ka(n)m-	With his own seal he sealed them
ma ir-[t]u-[u]š it-mu-ux	and laid them on his own breast. ⁴⁴

Then follows the account of the creation of heaven and the deep; of the constellations, determining the seasons of the year; and of the moon, the determiner of weeks and months. The last tablet seems to be a hymn in praise of Marduk, who thus had become the supreme god in the Babylonian pantheon.

The possession of the *Tablets of Destiny* (t(d)upšimāti)⁴⁵ carried with it, according to Babylonian belief, the supremacy among the gods and absolute dominion over mankind. They must have been originally the property of Anu; for Kingu, when he received the *Tablets of Destiny*, obtained thereby the

⁴³ On *Pārim* see Lagarde, *Pārim* (Göttingen, 1887), 53 pp. (> furdigān, farwardigān; the Persian New Year); also *Mittheilungen*, Vol. II, pp. 378-81, and, again, Vol. IV, p. 147, rm. 1. Lagarde's derivation was partly supported by Oppert in *Rev. des études juives* (1894), and combated by Halévy (*ibid.*, 1887).—H. Zimmern, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Purimfestes," *ZATW.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-69, derives *pārim* from Assyrian puzru, through the Aramaic, in the meaning of "meal." He suggested also the identity of Mordecai with god Marduk. See also Jensen, *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VI, pp. 47 sqq., 209 sqq.; *ZA.*, Vol. X, pp. 339 sq.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 309 sqq.; Meissner, *ZDMG.*, Vol. L, pp. 296-301; H. Vuilleumier, *Rev. de théologie et de philosophie*, Vol. XXV, pp. 383-8, and C. H. W. Johns, *Expositor*, August, 1896, pp. 151-4; Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* (1900), pp. 188 sqq., especially against Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), pp. 42 sqq.; Peiser, *KB.*, Vol. IV, p. 106, rm. **; Winckler, *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, Zweite Reihe, Band II, Heft 3 (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 334, 335, 350.

⁴⁴ Thus making them his own property.

⁴⁵ *Concise Dictionary*, p. 263; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 225, 226, 227; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 340, 341; *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, p. 412; also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 130, 131, ad Tel-Amarna, London, No. 82, ll. 35, 36.

power of Anu. We do not know how Tiāmat obtained them from Anu; but it may perhaps be inferred from the similar account in the legend of Zū, the god of storm and worker of evil. Zū was anxious to obtain the supremacy among the gods.⁴⁶ He waited for an opportunity, and when, in an unguarded moment, Bēl-Marduk⁴⁷ was washing himself in clear, bright water, Zū snatched away the *Tablets of Destiny*, assumed the power of Bēl-Marduk,⁴⁸ and gave decisions and uttered decrees. The gods were dismayed at the theft, and Bēl-Marduk strode in rage through the hall where the gods assemble.

I give here, in translation, the part of the Zū-legend with which we are concerned :

Also the commands of all the gods he shaped.

He , he turned, he sent Zū.

As he (Zū ?) had completed [this ?], he approached Bēl, who was living at the shore of bright, pure waters.

His eyes beheld the insignia(?) of Bēl's supremacy, the royal cap of his sovereignty, and the robe of his godhead.

Zū gazed also at the *tablets of destiny*, belonging to the god.

And as he saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI, eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart.

As Zū saw the father of the gods, the god of DUR-AN-KI, eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart :

"I will take the *tablets of destiny* of the gods, even I ;

and I will direct all the decrees (oracles) of the gods.

I will [establish] a throne, and dispense commands ;

I will rule over all the spirits of heaven !"

And after his heart had planned the attack,

he awaited the dawn of morning at the entrance to the palace (of the gods) which he had seen.

Now, when Bēl had washed himself in the bright, pure waters, had ascended his throne, and placed upon his head the royal cap,

Zū seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny* ;

he took Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.

After Zū had fled away and [had turned ?] mountainward, grief was poured out, and cries resounded.

Their father, their decider, their , Bēl,

poured out his rage through the palace ;

and the goddesses turned [to him ?] at his command(?).

Then Anu opened his mouth and said,

spoke unto the gods, his children :

"Who will vanquish Zū and thus

⁴⁶ So admirably edited by Professor E. T. Harper in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 408-18, 465-75. See, now, Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, pp. 47 sqq.

⁴⁷ It is well known that Marduk was often identified in later time with the older god Bēl. Being at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, he was called the bēlu *par excellence*, and then ¹¹ Bēl. It is possible, however, that we have to do here with the older god Bēl. If so, the legend is probably older than that of the Creation-account, in which Anu seems to be the rightful possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny*, by whom they are transferred to (Bēl)-Marduk.

⁴⁸ The text reads: (¹¹) Bēl-u-ti il-te-qi (na-du-u par-gi), corresponding to the le-qu-u ¹¹ A-nu-ti of the creation account.

make great his name among the nations of all the lands?"
 They called their leader, the son of Anu.
 And Anu spoke to him, and gave him the command.
 Adad, the leader they called, the son of Anu;
 and Anu spoke unto him, gave him this command:
 "Thou mighty, terrible Adad; let not thy attack be repulsed!
 Kill Zū with thy weapon!
 Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods.
 Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods thy brothers.
 Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];
 and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy mansion.
 Yea, even in Ēkur shall enter thy mansion!
 Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods and mighty shall be thy name!"
 But Adad answered to this command,
 and spoke thus to his father Anu:
 "My father, who can go to the mountain that is inaccessible?
 Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zū?
 He has seized with his hand the *tablets of destiny*,
 has taken Bēl's supremacy, the power of giving commands.
 Zū has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.
 The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of
 the gods of DUR-AN-KI.
 He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.
 But [to] his (Zū's) command bow even [the gods]."
 Thereupon Anu told Adad not to go.

The same refusal Anu receives at the hands of Ištār and her son Bara.

We may infer from the reference to Zū's final end that some god (Šamaš?) undertook the task of regaining the *Tablets of Destiny*, with which Zū had fled to his mountain home, by catching him in his net.⁴⁹

The power which Marduk had as the possessor of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have descended from him to his son, the god Nebo (Nabū). The two gods are continually associated in Babylonian literature. It was the statue of Nabū, of Borsippa, and that of Marduk, of Babylon, the two gods residing in Ezida and Esagila, respectively, that were carried about in solemn procession at the New Year's festival (akītu), that is, on the day when the fate was decreed for king and the nation.⁵⁰ Nabū was the great and lofty messenger of the gods to mankind.⁵¹ He it is that holds together the world.⁵² He is the patron

⁴⁹ Told in the "Legend of Etana," *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 391-406, 439-63.

⁵⁰ Neb., i, 4; KB., III (1), pp. 184-5, col. ii, 1-2; (2) 2-3, 14; 4-5, 16; V R. 46 a-b 20; deluge, 95; III R. 57 a 57.

⁵¹ I R. 51, No. 1 b 16, Na-bi-um mār ki-i-nim su-uk-ka-al-lam qi-i-ri šī-it-lu-tu na-ra-am ⁵¹ Marduk. Also see IV R. 14, No. 3 O 1-2 (⁵¹ Na-bi-um = AN-AG), KB., III (1), p. 46, ll. 11-12; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 145; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 500.

⁵² The rikis kālāma. II R. 60, No. 2, 28; pāqid kiššat nagbi, etc. V R. 43 c-d 27; Neb., i, 43; I R. 35, No. 2, 3; 51, No. 1 a 13.

of the scribes and the priests, and as such is called Nabū dup-šar gim-ri; also dup-šar E-sag-gil.⁵³ He is wisdom personified (AN-AG); the god who gives oracles (ba-nu-u pi-riš-ti) and who reveals the decision of the gods. These and many more titles of Nabū are mentioned on plates 43 and 46 in V Rawlinson. According to J. Halévy he is the prophet-god, the mediator between God and man.

In early inscriptions we find him called also ilu taš-me-tum = god of revelation,⁵⁴ a title later applied to a goddess (Nabū's consort Nanā?), mentioned always together with Nabū.⁵⁵

In an inscription published by Father Scheil in the *Recueil des Travaux*, Vol. XVI, p. 177, 3 (end), Nabū is called na-ši duppu ši-mat ilāni, and on tablet K. 140, 3, we read: ⁽¹⁾ Nabū nāš dup-ši-mat ilāni. Dupšimāti = *Tablets of Destiny* is usually written DUB-NAM-MEŠ, K. 3454 and K. 3935, ii, 7, 20; Creation-account, III, 47 and 105, etc. In addition to *Tablets of Destiny*, we find mentioned also tablets on which are inscribed the sins of mankind, e. g., K. 2333 R 9 sqq., duppi arnēšu xiṭātišu qillātišu māmātišu tumāmātišu ana mē linnadā: "may the tablet recording his misdeeds, sins, perversities, spells, and oaths be cast into the water (and thus blotted out forever)".⁵⁶ Lines 22-24 of the Stelen-inschrift S' read:

(1) Na-bi-um dup-šar E-sag-gil
ū-me balāṭi-šu arkūti ina dup-pi liš-ṭur
ši-mat la-ba-ri li-šim ši-mat-su

"May Nabū, the scribe of Ešagil, put down on his tablet his days for a long life and give him old age as his portion."⁵⁷ On

⁵³ Lehmann, *Šamašumuktn*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, l. 22; 57. His ideogram AN-PA described him as the god of the writing stylus.

⁵⁴ Literally: god of hearing, II R. 59 a-b 58.

⁵⁵ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 130 sqq., and, on the other hand, Tiele, *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, p. 187: "Nabū ist eine spätere Conception des alten Gottes von Borsippa, und dieser war ursprünglich kein anderer als Marduk, als ilu tašmēti: Gott der Offenbarung." Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 8827; Haupt, *ASKT.*, 32, 747, KUR-NU-UN | LAL | ⁽¹⁾ taš-me-tum; II R. 43 a-b 39 (Brünnow, 10125, 10128); III R. 66 O c 27; 43, 39. *ZA.*, I, 199, 2, Taš-me-tum dam-qat (a proper name); also ^(1a) Taš-me-tum-mu-li-qat, Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 8828. The reading Taš-me-tum (as against -šip-) is assured by the variant in *Berlin Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, 1, 362, ad B 67, 25, šanat Taš-mi-tum. Nabū and Tašmētum are mentioned mostly in colophons, e. g., *Sa.*, col. vi, 29, ša ⁽¹⁾ AK (u) ^(1a) Taš-me-tum, etc.; II R. 21, 32; 23, 41; 27, 24; 38, 64; IV², 14, No. 3, R 4; 48 colophon, 2. Ideogram also K. 3464, 40; Rm. 122, 53; Rm. 274, 10; K. 3412, 25, ^(1a) taš-me-tum kal-lat Ešagila. According to J. Halévy, *Rev. de l'histoire des religions* (1888), p. 20, tašmētu = "chose entendue, tradition, oracle."

⁵⁶ Cf. Zimmern, *Šurpu*, ii, 188 sqq.

⁵⁷ Lehmann, *Šamašumuktn*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11, 57.

the other hand, in Strassmaier, *Leyden*, No. 160, l. 9, we read: Nabū^(amēl) dup-šar E-sag-gil ū-mu-šu ar-ku-tu li-kar-ri, "may Nabū shorten (literally: blot out) his future days."

It has been shown by Tallqvist in his edition of the series *Maqlū*⁵⁸ (I, pp. 24 sqq.) and by Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 87, that the functions of the Babylonian priests as interpreters, prophets, and enchanter are derived ultimately from Ea and his son Marduk, and we may assume here, on the basis of many passages, also from Nabū, the son of Marduk and prophet of the great gods. The functions of the Babylonian priest were: (1) the same as those of the Roman *haruspex*, the examiner of omens, hence bārū from barū "see, examine;" (2) to deliver oracles (tērēti; *sgl.* tērtu); hence he is called also mudū tērti,⁵⁹ "one knowing oracles" (K. 7331); and (3) to prophesy, foretell.

The seer (bārū) consulted the god, whose answer was either Yes or No. Quite often the god sends to his people an ūrtu,⁶⁰ a command to do, or not to do, something. Ūrtu belongs to the same stem from which is derived tērtu, the *terminus technicus* for oracle.⁶¹ The gods speak (tamū, utammū) to the priest (bārū) the oracle, which they reveal to him; and the oracle is called the tamīt pirišti "the mysterious word, revelation."

IV.

I cannot help believing that God "at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past," not only unto the fathers by the prophets, but to all mankind, in ways which it is now almost impossible to trace precisely. With this conviction as a starting-point I long ago came to the conclusion⁶² that the mythological account of the *Tablets of Destiny*, as found in the Babylonian account of the creation and the legend of Zū, and the Old Testament Ūrīm and Tumīm, both shaping the destiny of king and nation, revert to the same fountain-head and origin.

⁵⁸ *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlū*. Nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum herausgegeben von Knut L. Tallqvist. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, Tom. XX, No. 6.)

⁵⁹ M E-A-ZU = mu-di-e ter-te, Bowler 252, R 11; Brānnow 10380.

⁶⁰ umā'ir ūrtu kabittu, etc.

⁶¹ On the relation of tērtu to תִּרְתִּי see below, p. 222.

⁶² This paper was first announced for the December, 1891, meeting of the Society of Biblical Exegesis in Philadelphia, Pa.; but was not read at that time.

I may be wrong; if so, let us begin over again; and may some other student be more successful. Let me, at once, ask the question:

Is it really beyond doubt that the earliest religious conceptions of a nation belonging to the same family as the Hebrews, and living at no time far from that people—perhaps at one time even together with it, if Gen. 11:29 and 31 tell the true story—must necessarily have originated from below, if I may be allowed to say so, must be mere human invention, while the other nation⁶³ received its fundamental religious instruction from above, by means of special divine revelation? Is it not more probable that, from a common basis, there developed, in the course of time, among the Assyrio-Babylonians the belief in the *Tablets of Destiny*, and among the early Hebrews the belief in that powerful oracle “the Ūrim and the Tummīm”? Notwithstanding the fragmentary account of Babylonian literature and the scanty report of Old Testament writers, we can yet gather some points common to both:

1. According to Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8, etc., the Ūrim and Tummīm were resting within the breastplate, *i. e.*, on the breast of the high priest; in the Babylonian account we find the *Tablets of Destiny* resting on the breast of their possessor.⁶⁴ Only as long as they were resting on the breast of the god in the one nation, and on that of the high priest in the other nation, were they efficacious.

2. In the Babylonian account only gods were the lawful possessors of the *Tablets of Destiny*; but here only those gods who, in some way, were considered the messengers and mediators between the other gods and mankind (Marduk and Nabū). Originally they were undoubtedly the property of the god Anu and came into the hands of Tiāmat and Kingu, in a way we know not. When Nabū became the chief mediator between the gods and mankind, he possessed the *dupšimāti*. In Israel the Ūrim and Tummīm were intrusted by Yahweh to Moses and through him to the high priest as the representative of Yahweh and the mediator between God and nation, to whose decision, by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm, even kings bowed in obedience.

3. There is, to be sure, in the Assyrio-Babylonian records, as far as we possess them now, no statement as to the exact number

⁶³ Tribe or clan, whatever it may have been in the beginning.

⁶⁴ See also the book of Jubilees, chap. 8; Gesenius¹³, p. 21.

of *Tablets of Destiny*. We know that there was more than one;⁶⁵ it may not be too hazardous to assume that there were only two, one lying on each breast, the one revealing (or prognosticating?) good fortune, the other misfortune. To the possessor of such tablets the Assyrio-Babylonian belief could not but ascribe supreme authority and dominion over all mankind. The Old Testament account of the Ūrim and Tummim indicates that there were only two objects (lots?).⁶⁶ Have the other two "Tablets of Destiny," the two tables of testimony, the tables of stone, written with the finger of God, which Moses brought from Sinai, after all, some connection, direct or indirect, with the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny*, or with the Ūrim and the Tummim?

4. We are told that Marduk, after he had torn the *Tablets of Destiny* from the breast of his dead foe, Kingu, sealed them with his own seal. There may be a reminiscence of this in Exod. 28:21, where it is said of the twelve stones upon the breastplate: "And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, engraved in the manner of a seal for each of the twelve tribes." The use of twelve stones, one for each of the twelve tribes, in addition to the two lots (of stone) is perhaps of some significance in this connection.

5. Marduk, bearing on his breast the *Tablets of Destiny*, presided at the annual assembly of the gods where the fate was determined and the lot was cast for king and nation. It is the general opinion that the Ūrim and Tummim were consulted only in cases where the safety of king or nation was concerned.

These features, common to both—to which some other points, of minor importance, might be added—have led us to assume that the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and the Ūrim and Tummim were originally one and the same, a means by which, according to the belief of the early ancestors of both nations, the divine powers (or power) communicated their will and their decisions to king and nation.

⁶⁵ We infer this from DUB-NA M-MEŠ (= dupšimāti), written thus in the creation account.

⁶⁶ Ezra 2:63 (= Neh. 7:65) forbids us to assume post-exilic, or even exilic, origin of the belief in the Ūrim and the Tummim on the part of the Israelites. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, p. 141, speaks to the point when he says: "Da die Urim und Tummim als vorhanden auch weiterhin nicht erwähnt werden, und Josephus über dieselben offenbar nicht mehr genau unterrichtet ist, so fehlten sie vermuthlich dem nach-exilischen Hohenpriester auf die Dauer. Dann ist es aber doch wohl unwahrscheinlich, dass erst ein exilisches oder nachexilisches Gesetz den Hohenpriester mit den Urim und Tummim ausstattete, ohne doch einen Repräsentanten dafür zu haben oder ohne über die Urim und Tummim zu verfügen."

Of great interest, in this connection, are Cheyne's remarks on the "Contents of the Ark" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 307): "As to its contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahweh. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimize the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one) [cf. Vatke, *Die Religion des A. T.*, p. 321; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 457 sq.; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 370. There were, and still are, two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca; see William Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 297 sq.]. This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahweh; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those bœtyls, animated stones, which, according to Sanchoniathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites."

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 368 sq., says: "Die Frage, was die Lade [*i. e.*, the ark] ursprünglich bedeutete, wird von der Tradition im Anschluss an die übereinstimmenden Berichte des Pentateuch dahin beantwortet, dass in der Lade die Gesetzestafeln liegen, die Mose am Sinai von Jahwe bekommen habe. . . . Die Theorie von den Gesetzestafeln ist leicht als eine spätere Umdeutung erkenntlich. . . . Nicht die Lade verdankt den Gesetzestafeln ihre Existenz, sondern umgekehrt; mit andern Worten: Die Lade genoss schon lange vorher eine Verehrung, ehe man darauf kam, in ihr Gesetzestafeln zu suchen. Nirgends in den angeführten Erzählungen der BB. Sam. ist darauf angespielt, dass die Lade Tafeln enthalte. . . . Diese Auffassung der Lade muss also noch jünger sein als die betreffenden Berichte in den BB. Sam. Die Tradition von den Gesetzestafeln kann sich

allerdings nicht aus nichts gebildet haben; wir werden vielmehr daraus schliessen müssen, dass die Lade schon in der ältesten Zeit Steine oder *einen* Stein enthielt," etc.

Granting, in the main, the correctness of these views, it seems to me that here also a connection can be shown to have existed between the Urim and Tummim, the *Tablets of Destiny*, the (two) tables of stone (Exod. 24:12), and the two tables on which, according to the belief of the Old Testament, the Decalogue was engraven. The Old Testament records, later than the books of Samuel, place these two tables in the ark of the covenant, calling them "the tables of the Law;" in other words, this belief gained ground at about the time when the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Urim and the Tummim appears to have ceased.

We read Exod. 24:12: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and remain there, and I will give thee *together with the tables of stone both the Law and the Commandment* (אֶת־לְחֹת הָאֶבֶן הַחֻזָּה וְהַמְצֻיָּה), which I have written for their [the people's] instruction." Without arguing about the early or late character of the Hebrew forms and expressions used here, it seems to me that the idea expressed represents the earliest stage of the accounts of the giving of the Law; an older tradition than the other references in the Old Testament (*i. e.*, Exod. 31:18, "And he gave unto Moses, when he made an end of speaking with him on Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God;" also see 32:15, 16; 34:1, 4, 28, 29; Deut. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10, 11, all of which represent a later development of the Hebrew belief concerning *the tables of stone*). In Exod. 24:12 "the tables of stone" appear distinct from "the Law" and "the Commandment." Thus also the LXX: Καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ὧς ἔγραψα. [Professor Moore writes: "Is the text of 24:12 sound? The contrary is the prevailing opinion." But my interpretation differs from the prevailing view concerning this verse.]

It seems to me that "the tables of stone," given at the same time with "the Law" and "the Commandment," have no connection at all with the giving of the Decalogue,⁶⁷ but are a reminiscence of a primitive Semitic belief in divine *Tablets of Destiny*.

⁶⁷ On the other hand see Friedrich Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes untersucht* (Königsberg, 1900), although the author admits (p. 4) that the account in Exod., chap. 34, compared with that in Exod., chap. (s. 21-) 24, is "einfacher, menschlicher, weniger miraculhaft." See also *ibid.*, pp. 59-61, where Giesebrecht argues for the early date of these chapters.

Now, the Ūrim and Tummīm are mentioned as something known to Moses and the people, and are believed to have been of stone. Is it too bold to assume that "the tables of stone" in Exod. 24:12 are the same as the Ūrim and Tummīm, at least according to the belief of the early Hebrews? It is noteworthy that, after David, there is, in the Old Testament, no further mention of the consultation of Yahweh by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm, and that, after Solomon had placed the ark in the Holy of Holies, we hear no more concerning the Ūrim and Tummīm. We agree with Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar," Abt. IX, 1899), p. 58: "Dass die Lade noch zu Davids und Salomos Zeit eine andere Bedeutung hatte, ersieht man klar aus I Sam. 5, 6, II Sam. 6: sie war das numen praesens, nicht Behälter von Gesetzestafeln; ebenso auch bei JE, Num. 10:35, 36." ["It is noteworthy that they are not mentioned in Deuteronomy"—George F. Moore.] With the rise of Hebrew prophecy, the consultation of God by means of the Ūrim and Tummīm fell into desuetude. But their importance and sacredness must have remained the same for many ages. They were, according to our conception of the belief of the writers of the Old Testament records, placed in the "ark of Yahweh;" and this became the *numen praesens*. In course of time the belief in the two tables of the Law, containing the ten commandments, gained more and more in importance, and they, in turn, became to later generations what the Ūrim and Tummīm had been to earlier generations. But what had become of these two tables of the Law, written with the finger of God? Had anyone seen them? No! Yet where else could they be if not in the "ark of Yahweh" (2 Sam. 5:6 *sqq.*), which a later generation now called the "ark of the covenant"? There they were deposited—as Deut. 10:5 tells us—with a view to their safe-keeping and in token of their paramount importance. And so it came to pass that "the two tables of the Law" took the place of the Ūrim and Tummīm in the ark of Yahweh, where they probably had been placed by Solomon. And thus 1 Kings 8:9 now consistently says: "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt."

If this view of the relation between the Ūrim and Tummīm and the two tables of the Law, the ten commandments, is correct,

we have, in the Old Testament, a blending of an earlier and a later belief; the one, as Cheyne correctly says, a survival of fetishism, the other an advance toward that ethical monotheism of Amos and his successors (see also article "Decalogue" in Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 1049-1051). Both traditions assume Moses as the mediator between Yahweh and the nation. The Urim and Thummim, and the consultation of Yahweh by means of them, was more in consonance with the early beliefs and religious customs of the neighboring Semitic nations. As Israel advanced toward a more ethical monotheism, Yahweh grew more distant and communicated with his people by the more ethical medium of the decalogue, which again becomes subordinate, in importance, when Old Testament prophecy and prophets rule and sway the religious belief of the nation. Whether the ark, even in its oldest conception and form, antedates the Urim and Thummim, as we have interpreted them, cannot be determined. It seems to us that they are cotemporaneous, and that they must have had some connection, in the religious worship of the early nation, from their first existence.

Other fundamental religious conceptions, common to both nations, also developed in different directions in conformity with the general trend of each nation's religious convictions. I recall to the reader's mind the account of the creation, of the flood and its consequences, and of the institution of sabbath.⁶⁸ Neither nation borrowed these accounts from the other; both had them from time immemorial; but they developed them differently under different conditions.⁶⁹ When Babylonian mythology developed, the original conception of the *Tablets of Destiny* must have undergone changes, as we can infer from the account of the creation, which expresses the conceptions held by the Babylonians either at the time of the original composition of the account or at that of its last redactor. The fact that we have several accounts of the creation, going back, undoubtedly, to one and the same original conception, is evidence that Babylonian religious literature had its redactors and editors, as well as Old Testament literature.

⁶⁸ Where I find myself greatly in accord with Professor Jastrow's results, printed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 350-52. See also Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII (1899), pp. 190-95.

⁶⁹ Only a few weeks ago Alfred Jeremias published a small pamphlet on *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (= "Der Alte Orient," I, Heft 3), in which he points out some striking resemblances among the Babylonians to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament writers.

It is probably only the latest development of Babylonian religious belief that we find expressed in the account of the creation, just as we assume the same in the case of the *Ūrim* and *Tummim* of the Old Testament. In Israel, the development of a strict monotheism necessarily modified the conception of the *Ūrim* and *Tummim* also. To be sure, we find no description of the *Ūrim* and *Tummim* in the Old Testament; they are mentioned as something familiar and known to Moses and the people, an inheritance received from the time of their ancestors. The very fact that the Old Testament assumes that Moses and the people were familiar with and cognizant of the nature of the *Ūrim* and *Tummim* confirms, to some degree, my views concerning their early existence and original nature and significance. They were naturally connected with the functions of the high priest as the mediator between Yahweh and his people.

The etymology of the *אֲרִיִּים* and *תֻּמִּים*, suggested by Zimmern and others, is another proof of the correctness of the explanation given here.

It is a well-known fact that the so-called plural ending (*ים*) of the two words expresses the *pluralis intensivus*; they are plurals only in form, but not in meaning.

I connect *אֲרִיִּים*, not with *אָרַר* "curse, put under the ban," as Schwally and others have done, but with the Assyrian *u'uru*, the infinitive *Piël* of *a'aru*, from which are derived also the nouns *ūrtu* "command, order, decision" (usually of the gods) and *tērtu* (originally of the same meaning).⁷⁰ Both occur frequently in Assyrio-Babylonian literature in sentences analogous in form to those in which we find *Ūrim* and *Tummim* used in the Old Testament. The plural *אֲרִיִּים* "fires" (*cf.* Isa. 24:15) has no doubt had some influence in shaping the analogous form *אֲרִיִּים* = *ūrtu*. *תֻּמִּים* I connect with the Assyrian *tamū*, *Piël* *tum mū*, verbal forms also belonging to the oracular language.

⁷⁰ So especially Zimmern, *Ritualtafelu*, p. 91, rm. 2, and others. Ball, *Light from the East*, in the "List of Proper Names," translates *U.* and *T.* by "biddings and forbiddings(?)."

Professor Moore writes: "As the original nature and meaning of 'tablets'—if your hypothesis is right—do not exclude the use of these objects (as lots, apparently) to decide an alternative, so the foreign etymology of the names need not shut out a Hebrew popular etymology in which *אֲרִיִּים*—the unfavorable alternative—was connected with *אָרַר* and the other with *תֻּמִּים*. My opinion has been that they may first have been employed in cases of obscure crime, as a kind of ordeal by lot."

Professor H. P. Smith says: "With regard to your main thesis I should make a distinction between the documents. I think it altogether likely that the Priestcode with its elaborate breastplate was influenced by Babylonian conceptions and among others by the *Tablets of Destiny*. So far you have a strong case.—In the older documents I am not so certain of Babylonian influence—at least of direct Babylonian influence. The sacred lot so readily suggests itself as a means of determining the divine will that it might be a Canaanitish, Phœnician or Aramaic institution, or a direct product of the Hebrew religion."

If these derivations are correct, אִרְיִם and תַּמִּיִּם would correspond to the Babylonian ūrtu ("command, decision," mostly of the gods) and tamītu, a synonym of pirištu = oracle, oracular decision (of the gods).

That the original meaning of the two words and their significance were known even at the time when the Old Testament records, in which they are mentioned, were written, I almost doubt; that they were not known either to the Greek translators or to the early Massoretes I am firmly convinced.

V.

To strengthen the argument concerning the relation between the Babylonian *Tablets of Destiny* and Babylonian oracular divination, on the one hand, and the Old Testament Ūrim and Tummim, on the other hand, I call attention to a number of technical terms used in the ritual of Hebrew and Babylonian religion and cult, which are either common to both or borrowed, on the part of the Hebrew, from the Babylonian. This has been pointed out by many Assyriologists and students of the Old Testament.

Thus the word כִּפָּר in its technical meaning to "atone" is identical with the Assyrian kuppuru. The Syriac כִּפַּר, with the same meaning, is borrowed either from the Babylonian or the Hebrew; and the Arabic كَفَّرَ again, in the same restricted meaning, from the Aramaic. See, especially, Lagarde, *Übersicht*, pp. 230 sqq.⁷¹

In Exod. 12:7 (where the institution of the passover is related) we read: "And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts and on the lintel of the houses wherein they shall eat it." Compare with this the following sentence from a ritual-tablet for the āšipu (enchanter, sorcerer), col. iii, 19-21:

The enchanter shall go out of the kamū-gate, shall offer a lamb in the gate of the palace, and then cover with the blood of this lamb, the lintel(?)
 and the posts to the right and to the left of the gate of the palace.⁷²

⁷¹ Gesenius¹³, and literature given there; also Brown-Gesenius, p. 497; Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 383-9; Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 92.

⁷² Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*; erste Hälfte (= Zweite Lieferung of *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, "Assyriologische Bibliothek," XII, 2), Leipzig, 1899, p. 126. The text reads as follows:

(amī) mašmašu ina bābi kamē uḡḡā-ma šu'[á]
 ina bāb ekalli inakki(-ki) ina dāmi urizi(-zi) šu-a-tum
 I-[LU-M. = askuppāti; so completed by Zimmern]
 LU-MAŠ u sib-bi-e imni u šumēli ša bāb ekal[11

On LU-MAŠ M. Zimmern has the note: "Vielleicht zu lesen māši 'Zwillinge'; vergl. dazu IV R. 21 b 30 sqq., wo es sich um kriegerische Zwillingsgestalten handelt, die inmitten,

The word פסח "passover" also belongs here. The latest concerning this word, on this side of the ocean, has been written by Professor Toy in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 178, 179. We read on p. 179: "If it is thus made probable that the verb (פסח) expresses a ritual motion, the noun will naturally mean 'dance.'⁷³ This sense is mentioned as conceivable in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, but is not approved. There seems, however, nothing improbable in the supposition that the old nomadic Hebrew Spring Festival should be called 'the dance,' this dance being the principal ritual ceremony of the year; the lamb offered would then be 'the lamb or sacrifice of the pesah,' and finally the term פסח would come to designate the feast or the lamb. Such a festival would naturally be connected with the offering of first-born animals (cf. Exod. 34:19); but the lamb sacrificed at a joyous nomadic feast would probably not be looked on as a substitute for men, and would not be called 'a lamb of exemption.' " Valuable as these remarks are, I cannot help siding with Zimmern,⁷⁴ who explains the word as probably borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian pašaxu, puššuxu, which is the *terminus technicus* for the "conciliation of the incensed deity." This etymology, again, appears to me far preferable to that of Fr. Hommel, who derives from the Egyptian "the much-debated *Pesakh* (Passah)."⁷⁵

We have in Hebrew the verb שַׁפַּח (also found in Aramean, etc.) in the meaning of to "whisper, charm." According to W. Robertson Smith, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV (1885), p. 122, it meant originally something like serpent-charming.

beziehungsweise, links und rechts vom Thore als Schutzgeister aufgestellt werden. Beachte auch die Zwillingsterne LU ma-si, über welche Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 47, 144 sqq., handelt."

Zimmern's *Ritualtafeln* are of the greatest importance for the study of comparative Semitic religion, and deserve careful attention and the closest study on the part of all students of Semitic languages and literatures. Especially noteworthy is his "Introduction" (pp. 81-95), to which we shall refer time and again.

⁷³ This observation, if I mistake not, was made several years before by Schwally: פסח from *pasdx*, II = "dance," not from *pasdx*, I = "pass by." See also Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus*, p. 191: "Das Passahopfer ist unverkennbar ein Frühlingsfest der Hirten, bei dem die Erstlinge dargebracht wurden, aber kein Totenfest."

⁷⁴ Gesenius¹³, p. 671; *Ritualtafeln*, p. 92, rm. 9.

⁷⁵ *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 291, 292: "In the case of no other religious festival do we find so much stress laid upon its memorial character as in this (cf. Exod. 12:14), and there must be something more than mere coincidence in the fact that the Egyptian word *sacha*' (radically related to the Babylonian *sakhāru* = 'to seek, to reflect upon,' and the common Semitic element *sakāru* [see, however, Zimmern, *Theologische Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323]) means 'to call to mind.' This shews that the initial *pe* must be a form of the article which was in general use in the time of the later empire, and that, therefore, the word was originally *pe-sakh*."

The same word occurs in Assyrian, where *luxxušu* is used of the whispering of charms and spells, mostly into the ear of the sacrificial animal. Zimmern suggests that the Hebrew in this restricted meaning was borrowed from the Assyrio-Babylonian.⁷⁶ I would suggest that לַחַשׁ and *laxašu* are of common descent from an early time, when the members of the North Semitic family of languages were more closely united than they were at a later period.

Common to Hebrew and Assyrio-Babylonian is the word כַּמֵּר, "an (idol-) priest" = *amēlka-mi-rum* of the Tel-Amarna letters⁷⁷; "wise man, sage," etc.; it occurs also in cognate languages, for which see Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 223, 239, 241, 270; Brown-Gesenius, p. 485; *Concise Dictionary*, p. 398, col. 2, where passages and further literature are given.—There is also the Hebrew לַחֲשִׁי and Arabic كَاهِن "a seer;" "both must have been originally identical (both alike being guardians of an oracle at a sanctuary); only in later times their function diverged. The كَاهِن gradually lost his connection with the sanctuary, and sank to be a mere diviner; the כֹּהֵן rose and acquired fuller sacrificial functions."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ In his excellent review of Bruno Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 819: "לַחַשׁ II 1, *luhhušu* technischer Ausdruck vom Murmeln der Zaubersformeln, wie hebr. לַחַשׁ (in dieser speziellen Bedeutung vielleicht erst aus dem Assyrischen entlehnt?)." A slight knowledge of Assyrian would have helped T. Witton Davies, *Magic*, etc., considerably in the treatment of the verb לַחַשׁ. I quote here a sentence or two from pp. 50, 51: "The verb לַחַשׁ [*sic!*] (*lakhaash*), found in Aramaic and in Rabbinical Hebrew with the sense of 'to hiss, as a serpent,' is in my opinion a denominative from לַחַשׁ (*lakhaash*), which is merely a dialectical variety of נַחַשׁ [*sic!*] (*nakhash*), a serpent. ל and נ are both liquids, and both tend to fall out, as the nun in פִּי verbs, and the ל in קָלַח. . . . The form with ל is kept in the O. T. mainly for the department of magic; נַחַשׁ is used almost wholly in connection with divination. Not at all unlikely, the change came about through a desire, more instinctive than conscious, to use different words for different things." A beginner in Hebrew knows that serpent is נַחַשׁ; not לַחַשׁ, which is a) charm, spell, b) omen. The great discovery printed on pp. 50-52 of Davies' book was made long ago by Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 188, rm.: "לַחַשׁ wohl aus נַחַשׁ entstanden. Sonst vergleiche des Grafen W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 288." See also Gesenius¹³. The Assyrio-Babylonian, of course, shows that for once Lagarde was wrong. Davies throughout his book spells Baudissin, Sigfried (instead of Siegfried), etc. The whole "Literature," pp. xi-xvi, should have been revised by one of the Leipzig men under whom he took his degree of doctor of philosophy. Davies (in 1897-8) is utterly unaware of such books as Baudissin's *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889); Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionswissenschaft* (1888); P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (even the second edition appeared before this dissertation was printed); Preiss, *Religionsgeschichte* (1888); Reich, *Die Entwicklung der Religiosität und das Werk der Religion*, etc. (1896), and other important books, to say nothing of the many articles and valuable reviews in periodicals and serials, that should have been constantly referred to in a dissertation on such an important and extremely difficult subject.

⁷⁷ Brown-Gesenius, pp. 462 sq. (where some literature is given); also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 471; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed. (1895), p. 292, and *The Religion of the Semites* (1889), *passim*. On the use of the word כֹּהֵן in the

Hommel in his book, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 17, footnote 1, says: "There are, no doubt, a number of direct loan-words [from Babylonian] among these [words in the ritual language of the Old Testament], e. g., Hebr. *kohen*, 'priest,' Babyl. *mushktnu* (from *mushkahtnu*),⁷⁸ 'votive,' 'offering homage to the Deity;' or *teramah*, 'heave-offering,' Babyl. *tarımtu*, 'offering-cup;' or Hebr. *torah*, 'law, commandment,' Babyl. *urtu* and *tärtu*." Zimmern, *Theolog. Rundschau*, Vol. I, p. 323 (May, 1898), however, wrote: "Sprachlich sehr anfechtbar sind die Behauptungen [Hommel's], S. 17, dass hebr. *kohen*, *teramah*, *torah* alte babylonische Lehnwörter seien." In his *Ritualtafeln*, p. 91, however, Zimmern states that תָּרְתוּ is probably "eine alte Entlehnung aus babylonisch-assyrischem *tärtu*." Professor Haupt, to my knowledge, has been of this opinion for at least fifteen years. Tärtu in Assyrio-Babylonian is the technical term for the "divine omen," whence the oracle proceeds. Its original meaning was "mission, order, command," which, then, narrowed down to the more specific signification of "divine revelation, omen."⁷⁹

Who knows whether, in the future, it may not be possible, in the light of more extended research, to show a connection between the לֵוִי, the Levite, of the Old Testament and the Assyrio-Babylonian li'ū, le'ū, "wise, prudent" (used as noun and as adjective)?⁸⁰ Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (New York, 1897), p. 276, identifies the word with the *lavi'u* (fem. *lavi'at*) occurring in the Minæan inscriptions found in Mutşrân (also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 282 sqq., and *Neue kirchl. Zeitschr.*, Vol. I (1890), p. 68, rm.).

Old Testament see Lewis B. Paton in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1893, pp. 1-14; and compare Baudissin, *Geschichte*, pp. 191 sq., 269 sq.; "Der Amtsname כֹּהֵן, auch in den phöniciſchen Inschriften vorkommend (daneben das Femininum כֹּהֲנָת), scheint den Westsemiten von Haus aus gemeinsam zu sein, wenn nicht etwa die Hebräer ihn von den Kanaanitern herübernahmen" (p. 270).

⁷⁸ Also Hommel in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 217. On *muškēnu* (מִשְׁכְּנָן) see Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 271; Zimmern, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 353 (מִשְׁכְּנָן); Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 186, rm. 3. It appears as a synonym of *xubbulu*, "pauper, wretch;" K. 3312, col. iii, 21; Tel-Amarna (London) 1, 37 we read *mārat ištēn mu-uš-ki-nu* = "daughter of a miserable (poor) fellow." The abstract noun also occurs. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1566, quotes *muš-ki-nu-tu illak*, he will become a beggar. (Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 44, col. i.)

⁷⁹ On the etymology of *tärtu* see Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 88, rm. 7.

⁸⁰ I wish to state here that I am quite aware of the literature on this most perplexing subject. Everything of importance prior to 1888 is carefully registered by Baudissin in his monumental work, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889), according to whom, p. 265, לֵוִי means: "Anschluss, Anhang, Gefolgschaft." Gesenius¹⁸ and Brown-Gesenius, *sub verbo*, together with the excellent *Theologische Jahresbericht*, give all the literature since 1888.

The חֲרֻטִּים of the Old Testament, Hommel, *The Expository Times*, February, 1900, p. 234, believes to be a loan-word borrowed from the Babylonian (^{amēl}) qardamu, a class of priests.⁸¹

Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 90, 91, states that בְּרִית, which in Hebrew has no satisfactory etymology,⁸² is, in all probability, a very old loan-word from the Babylonian in its original meaning of "oracle" (*Orakelspruch*). From this original meaning there were developed, on Hebrew soil, all the other significations of בְּרִית, registered in the modern dictionaries. If Zimmern is correct, the derivation of בְּרִית from בִּיד "bind" (Gesenius-Brown, etc.), or בִּיד "cut, hew," is to be given up, and the Hebrew must be connected with the Assyrio-Babylonian bārūtu, the abstract noun of bārū.⁸³ "Mit dem Namen wird dann aber auch wohl die Sache des althebräischen Orakelwesens in ihren letzten Wurzeln auf Babylonien zurückgehen" (Zimmern).⁸⁴ Giesebrecht's excellent remarks on בְּרִית in his treatise, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, have not convinced me that Zimmern's view is wrong. Siegfried-Stade, *Wörterbuch*, be it said here, years ago (1893) gave "Orakelertheilung" as the meaning of בְּרִית.

Old Testament exegetes should notice especially Zimmern's remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 85, rm. 8): "Sollte am Ende in חֲרֻטִּים Jes. 47, 13, dessen Emendierung in חֲרִי doch nicht recht befriedigt, irgendwie der babylonische Berufsname bārū stecken?" The whole chapter is a "Song of Derision upon Babylon." Vss. 12, 13 read: "Pray, persist in thy spells⁸⁵ and in thy many enchantments [about which thou didst trouble thyself from thy youth], perchance thou canst help somewhat, perchance thou wilt strike terror. Self-wearied art thou with counsels, pray, let them stand forth; yea, let them deliver thee [I mean], the

⁸¹ Hommel refers to IV R. (2d ed.), pl. 12, R. 6, where he reads u-šab-ba-ru qar [instead of am]-da-mi. The ideogram GIL-GIL (Brünnow, 1397, *sic!*) is found in K. 2061, i, 16, as equivalent of qar-da-mu (see Strassmaier, *AV.*, No. 7349). Other etymologies are mentioned in Gesenius¹³ and Brown-Gesenius, s. v. חֲרֻטִּים. The lucubrations of T. W. Davies, pp. 41-3 of his dissertation, can hardly be taken seriously.

⁸² בְּרִית, 1 Sam. 17:8, probably a mistake for בְּחִירָה (Zimmern; after Weir and Driver); also cf. 1 Kings 18:25.

⁸³ From the verb bārū, "see, look, examine, inspect;" thus (^{amēl}) bārū, properly "the examiner of omens," and bīru, "the examining of omens" (*Omen-Beschau*).

⁸⁴ It will suffice, in this connection, to call to mind the views adopted by almost all students of the Old Testament concerning the ark (Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, cols. 396-99), the Cherubim and Seraphim, and other words of the ritual language, adopted by the Hebrews from other nations.

⁸⁵ בְּחִירָה; cf. Assy. u bburu, "to charm, cast a spell over someone (or something)."

seers of heaven, the gazers on stars, who define every new moon; whence (troubles) are coming upon thee." It is evident that the *Qêrê* הַבְּרִי שָׁמַיִם is a Massoretic makeshift to explain the *Kêthîb*, which originally must have been an expression parallel to הַחֲזִיזִים בְּכוֹכְבֵּימ (LXX: οἱ ὀρῶντες τοὺς ἀστέρας). On the basis of the Greek, οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, we would reconstruct as the original reading of the Hebrew: הַבְּרִיִּים בְּשָׁמַיִם.⁸⁶ Some scribe,⁸⁷ reading הַבְּרִיבְשָׁמַיִם, wrote by mistake ו instead of ב. Later copyists who knew not what to do with the ו added it to the preceding הַבְּרִי, and when the Massorettes began their work, they faithfully preserved the ו; but as they could not explain it, they substituted the *Qêrê*, and hence our present reading. The last part of vs. 13, "who define every new moon; whence (troubles?) are coming upon thee," is also full of difficulties, in view of the LXX reading ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σὲ ἔρχεσθαι. It is evident that the translator had before him a text differing from our Massoretic text, for he could scarcely have mistranslated the easy מְדַבְּרִים לְחַדָּשִׁים, as he has done apparently. If the LXX text is correct—and so it seems to me—we must omit לְחַדָּשִׁים as a gloss. This done, all difficulties in the way of understanding this obscure sentence are removed, and we read: "the star-gazers (astronomers) who show [thee] whence something will happen unto thee."⁸⁸

P. S.—After this whole article was in type and almost ready for the press, I received the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 145, in which Professor Haupt discusses "The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial," and T. C. Foote, "The Biblical Ephod."—Professor Moore writes to me (June 18): "I forgot to note that in 2 Sam. 20:18 Haupt regards הַחֲזִיזִים as denominative from חֲזִיזִים. (See Jastrow, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900.)"

⁸⁶ The *Kêthîb* shows us the way to this reconstruction, if we remember (a) that, as Lagarde and others have shown, the original manuscripts had neither vowel points, nor *matres lectionis*, nor the final *m* of the plural; (b) that no space was left between the several words of a sentence; and (c) that some letters of the alphabet are very easily confounded, as we can gather from their similarity on ancient Hebrew gems, money, and the few inscriptions preserved; or, again, (d) that letters sounded so much alike as to be easily interchanged.

⁸⁷ At a period later than the translation of the Septuagint. That this has been done constantly, even before the book was translated into Greek, has been shown succinctly and conclusively by the Roman Catholic Professor Anton Scholz in his "Rectoratsrede" on *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaia* (Würzburg, 1888).

⁸⁸ I have examined every commentary within reach, but found none suggesting the way out of the difficulties besetting this verse. Delitzsch, Dillmann, Cheyne, etc., persist in rendering "the dividers of heaven." So also Marti (on p. 320 of *Das Buch Jesaia erklärt* ["Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," Lieferung 10], Tübingen, 1900), who takes not the slightest notice of Zimmern's suggestion made months before his commentary appeared.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE TO TIMOTHY.

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The writing that purports to be a letter addressed by Dionysius the Areopagite to the Timothy of the New Testament on the occasion of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, is not included among the epistles usually associated with *Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἐπαρχίας* and the other works that bear the name of the same person as author, and its history must be investigated independently of theirs. Composed originally in Greek, it no longer exists in that language, unless it lies hidden in some unpublished manuscript,¹ but it is known through ancient versions, an extant copy of one being as old as the seventh century. A Latin translation has been printed several times, appearing appended to the 1478 edition of Nicolaus de Gorran's *Postilla super Epistolas Pauli* as the earliest dated, if not absolutely the first, Dionysian production of the press. Armenian and Syriac texts were published by Martin in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra* (Tom. IV, Paris, 1883), and an English rendering of an Ethiopic one was given by Malan in connection with his version of Abdias' *The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* (London, 1871).

To the material for the critical study of this epistle I now add a hitherto unprinted Arabic translation that appears not only to have been made directly from the lost original, although already interpolated, Greek text, but also to show that an Arabic form lies back of three, if not of all, of the other versions.² It is from a manuscript obtained by me in Syria that, though without a date, is probably of the seventeenth century.³ The document

¹ The reported existence of Greek manuscripts of this epistle in Vienna and Florence is probably incorrect.

² I will not now go into details, but expect at some future time to prepare a paper on this subject. I will say, however, that I think that in its original form this epistle was very different from what it is at present, containing, for example, no mention of Peter or of an apparition of Paul.

³ The manuscript consists of twelve leaves of paper $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches in size. Pp. 2-22 are occupied by the present text, the other three pages being blank except that p. 23 bears the

is reproduced with literal exactness; it seemed unnecessary to call special attention to all the scribal inaccuracies, but some emendations are suggested in the footnotes.

ARABIC TEXT.

هذه رساله ارسلها ديونيسوس الكبير الي ثيموثاوس الرسول تلميذ
بولص السليح من اجل شهادة الرسولين القديسين
بطرس وبولس بمدينة رومية العظما*^١

للتلميذ الالهى والابن الروحاني وتلميذ^٢ الاله وورثته ومكمل
مشيائه والمصطبر علي شدايده^٣ والعالى علي كل المذايح^٤ والمثاني
المعلم الحق والاب الروحاني ثيموثاوس من [د]يونيسوس الان
افرح لان ذلك الابس الاله والمصلوب للمسيح والمالوم معه وابو
الاسن ومنير الكنايس ومظلم الملة الخنيفية^٥ الفاش^٦ الذي به
شققت^٧ [III]^٨ ابوب الخطية الجمر الالاس المبعد والحاطم الخطايا

الخط يبقا زمانًا مديدًا وصاحب الخط تحت الارض مدفون words
The writing remains a long time and the writer is
يا قاري [اذ] كرنى بدعاك

buried under the earth; O reader, remember me in thy prayer." (The letters inclosed in brackets and the three similarly treated in the main text have been lost through injury to the manuscript.) All the writing, including the few corrections, is from one hand.

^٤ The title is in red ink. Many red dots are scattered through the text, as though to punctuate it, but I have omitted them because of the arbitrary way in which they were placed.

^٥ or some other word referring to Paul should be found between رسول^٩ and تلميذ^{١٠} الاله.

^٦ Read المذايح or, following the analogy of the MS. elsewhere, المذائح.

^٧ The sense requires that this word and those from the same root found elsewhere in the text be read as from جنف "to incline [from right to wrong]" and not from حنف "to incline [from wrong to right]."

^٨ Read الفاس.

^٩ A | after this word; the scribe began to write the following ابوب, but concluded the space was too limited.

^{١٠} Roman numerals indicate the pages of the MS.

حجر المغناطيس الهادم العالميات والمشتت الجن المبيد اعيادهم
 الملاك الارضي والانسان السماوي المقتدر القوي الشجاع الشهم
 الايقونة الالهية والصورة المسيحية الواد للشعوب وعدو اليهودية
 المقلد الجموع والمعظم الكنيسة المهتم الروحاني وترس العدل
 خادم المسيح وكارز الانجيل الذي شق الحنيفة وفرح الكنيسة
 الفم الالهي واللسان الروحاني جامع ومنتاش الغايصن اب
 اليتاما وقيم الازامل المنهض الواقعين والمثبت الواقفين الشافي
 [IV] الامراض والمعصب المهشمين الجسم الذي ضم البلدان
 المسكن المدن النوتي الحكيم المركب الخخلص المشتاق الي الاشيا
 التي فوق والقاهر التي اسفل هذا الان قد خلفنا في الاتعاب
 الصعبة وانصرف الي المسيح يا اخي تيموثاوس اين ابوك الروحاني
 اين معلمك يا تلميذاً واذا المعلم من اين تجيني الان بسلامة
 من البر او من البحر من غلاطية او من اسبانيا من اسيا او
 من قرنتيوس الان قد صرت يتيماً فريداً يا اخي ثيموثاوس قد
 انقطع سعيك المسرع ما يكتب اليك الان اين تلك اليدان
 المقدستان يا ولدي ما ارسل اليك [V] ايضا ان تجي الي معلمك
 في بعض المدن يا اخي ثيموثاوس اين سمعت ان حصل¹¹ ابوك
 الروحي بولص الان اليوم كملت كلمت السيد القايله حقاً اقول
 لكم انكم تشناقون ان تبصروا ساعة واحدة من معلمكم¹² فما

¹¹ Read وصل .

¹² The attached pronoun changed from ك to كم .

ترونها¹³ يا اخي ثيموثاوس قد وافانا يوم الحزن والنوح يوم
الظلمة والادلهام فمن لا يهتف مع النبي قايلًا من يعطي راسي
مياهاً وعيني ينبوع دموع فاجلس باكياً ليلاً ونهاراً علي يتم
الكنيسة يا ثيموثاوس اجمع الان مصاحفك كلها لان من ذا يوجد
يترجم لك كلام الانبيا المكتوم [VI] قل الان¹⁴ انا مثل عاموص
النبي انا راعي معزي وما تحتاج تخدمه ايضا في رباطته ولا تدرس
ايضا رسايله¹⁵ المغبوظة ولا يرسل اليك انه عارٍ ومجلود ولا تقلق¹⁶
بانه في شدايد كبار ولا يكتب اليك من بولص اسير يسوع
المسيح ولن يحتاج الان اليك ولا يكرز بك منه في المدن قبلوا
ابني وحببي يا اخي ثيموثاوس هات معك¹⁷ ارميا النبي القايل
قلبي منقطع من الحزن وما يفتر من لا يتردا الحزن والنوح¹⁸
ومن لا يشتمله دوار [الموت] ايها الكهنة البسوا المسوح [VII] ويا
خدام المدايح ابكوا ونوحوا في الرامة قد سمع صوت لا نوح فقط
لكن وموت لان ضربتين مرتين صارتا في يوم واحد وحزينين في
ساعة واحدة وخبرين كاسرين في وقت واحد وحزن وغم ونوح

¹³ There are considerable differences between the quotations in this document and the passages as they appear in the Bible.

¹⁴ Between **الان** and **انا** occurs a dittograph of the six words **مصاحفك كلها** **الان**, the last three of which were canceled by the scribe himself.

¹⁵ **رسايله** superimposed upon **رباطته**; cf. the fourth word preceding.

¹⁶ Final **ق** changed from **ل**.

¹⁷ **ع** changed from **ع**.

¹⁸ The article at first followed by **ح**; cf. the preceding word.

اعظم من كل نوح الان تمت كلمت يعقوب ان يوسف فقدته
 وبنيامين ما رايته والان بولص ضر الكنيسة ونحر المسيحية ليس
 حاضرًا وبطرس اساس الكنيسة ورجاء المومنين¹⁹ ليس موجودًا قد
 كلمت كلمت النبي القايله ان حجارة مقدسة مطروحة مدحرجة
 في هذا اليوم تم ما قال داود [VIII] النبي انهم بدلوا²⁰ جثث
 عبيدك لطيور السما ولحوم ابرارك لوحوش الارض اين جري بولص
 الان قد استراحت²¹ تلك الرجلتان المقدستان من تعب الطريق
 وما تقع ايضا رجلاه في الفلق والحبوس ولا يتكتف ولا يتقيد ولا
 يمشي ايضا الي بلدان الاعجام ولا يدخل [A] لمدن والجزاير ولا
 تمتد ايديه في حبال الصواري ولا يركب في الزواريق اي بلد لم
 يدخلها واي مدينة لم يسلكها اكم تعب تكبده اين تلك
 اليدتان²² المقدستان كم من رسايل الالهيه كتبها²³ بكم سلاسل
 غللتا كم قبلت من شعب [IX] اليهود ربطات اين هو ذاك
 الجسم المقدس القابل للضرب والمصطبر علي الشدايد اين ذاك
 الفم الناطق واللسان الدرب اين حكمة الحكماء اين نطق
 الفلاسفة والنفس الالبسة الاله يا اخي ثيموتائوس فلنعملن لمعيد

¹⁹ superimposed upon و ; cf. the preceding syllable of the word.

²⁰ Read بدلوا.

²¹ قد استراحت in the right margin.

²² A ي between the ن and the ج canceled.

²³ Part of this word has been lost through injury to the MS., but it was certainly as here given and not a dual form.

الاعياد عيدًا ولنصنعَ لذلك القرباب المقبول قربانًا كن ذاكرًا
 ذلك الذاكر للقديسين منذاً* لا ينوح علي المستحقين
 الاكرام لانهما اسلما الي الموت كصانعي الشرور يا اخي
 ثيموتاوس لو كنت شاهدة ذلك الجهاد العجيب وسمعتُ لعله من
 افراط حزنك [X] كنت اضحكيت لان حزنك لم يكثر ان لم تكن
 حاضرًا وقت خروجهما* ليقبلًا القضية من لم ينوح في تلك
 الساعة المولمة والحزنة حين كانت ايديهما مغلولة بسلاسلٍ مثل
 قتله والمحافل مجتمعة لمنظر تلك الاعجوبة والشيخوخة المكرمة
 مشتومة من الحنفا واليهود من ذا لم يبكي في تلك الساعة ان
 كانوا يبصقون في وجوههما ويقبلان الضرب من كل جانبٍ
 صامتين كخاروفين ودعين يسلم احدهما علي الاخر ببكاء وحزنٍ
 ويفارق احدهما الاخر بحصراتٍ وغم ويبصير* احدهما الاخر ويفرق
 بينهما ويسلمان [XI] الي الموت ايها الاخوان واعضائي وبني وحبتي
 واحدة احدهما اسلم الي الصلب والاخر الي القتل اي قلب* لم
 ينوح ان يسمع ابوي الحق بطرس وبولص قايلين امضي مسلماً
 يا معظم الكنيسة ذهلت السموات لمفارقت القديسين فرغت
 الارض لما قبلت دم نفسي البارين الزكي الهوا تالم من اجل

²⁴ Read as two words.

²⁵ The خ at first ج .

²⁶ At first ويصير ; when the scribe inserted the ا , he neglected to remove the second ا .

²⁷ | (1) erased from before قلب .

موت هذين القديسين الملائكة ذهلت من جهاد تلك
الشيخوخة المكرمة من هو العادم العلم ان يبصر بطرس معلقاً
علي الصليب منكساً ينفع حزنا انا يا اخي ثيموثاوس لم اكن
قريباً منه لما قبل القضية لاني مضيت [XII] مع بولص لان هما
ليسا في موضع واحد استشهدا جميعاً ويحي يا اخي ثيموثاوس ما
كان امر تلك الساعة التي فيها امر السيف لبولص ان يطاطي
رأسه تحت السيف وعيناه يهملان الدموع ويلى يا اخي في تلك
الساعة التي رايتك ناظراً الى السما ورأساً علي جبهته المقدسه
صليباً وبسكون بغير شده امال رأسه تحت السيف ويلى يا اخي
من تلك الساعة التي رايتك فيها مخضباً بدمه ويلى يا اخي
الروحاني انك صرت مستوجباً لمثل هذا الموت ويحي لي يا ابي
الروحاني كيف انك صرت لي تاركاً وحدي [XIII] الي اين مضيت
اين اطلبك يا فخر المسيحيه ومعلم الامم من سكت نغمتك
التي عظمت الكنيسه من ذا اخرس قيثارتك التي لحت الالهيات
كيف امضي الي تلاميذك يا معلم العدل وماذا اقول لهم عنك
انك محبوس او مقيد منهم من ارسله اليك الي من تحتاج منهم
او من تريد منهم لانك من الان ما تحتاج الي احد منهم من
اورشليم قبلت الاغلال وفي روميه بعد سنتين اخلت منك لان
داود في توجه²⁰ هكذا كان قايلًا الويل لي يا ابني ويحي يا²¹ ولدي

يا before canceled. ²¹ A. ²⁰ Read نوحه. ²² interlineated. ²³ كيف interlineated.

وانا هكذا عتيد ان اقول الويل لي [XIV] يا ابي الريح لي يا
 معلمي لان هذه الضربة ما يوجد لها عصاب وهذا النوح ليس
 لى عزاء وهذا الوجد ليس لى شفا لانكما في حياتكما صرتما²²
 متوافقين وفي وفاتكما القيت اجسادكما مثل جئت الحيوان كم
 من كنايس تتوقع مناجاتكما وكم من كهنة ينتظرون يقبلون
 منكم رسايلا اليوم تبطل طرفات تلاميذك من رومية اليوم صارت
 تلاميذك يتاما من يصلح مند الان بين الغضربين من يخص
 لنا الكتب ما نسارع مند الان الي رومية ولا نقول ايضا تعالوا
 نجتمع ونمضي بولص ونسمع منه الكتب والتفسير [XV] ما
 نحتاج ايضا الي كتب الانبيا لاننا ما نجد من يفسرها لنا الي
 من سلمت تلاميذك يا معلم الحق مغبوظة رومية اذ استحققت
 هذه الكرامة السيدي بالحققة اب قد تواخت اورشليم ورومية
 لان تلك قتلت المسيح وهذه قتلت رسولي اورشليم تسجد لمن
 صلبت ورومية تعيد للذين قتلتهما يا اخي ثيموثاوس لقد
 رايت عجوبة عظيمة في اليوم الذي فيه توجا الرسولين بطرس
 وبولص لانه لما فارق احدهما الاخر عاينتهما داخلين قدامي

²² عزاء after لى, but canceled by the scribe; cf. the preceding context.

²³ The at first of the final form.

²⁴ Read جئت.

²⁵ Omit the first , the scribe having written that letter prematurely and neglected to erase it.

²⁶ There is a blank space sufficient for the word الى to the right of بولص.

²⁷ Changed from اين.

في باب واحد معًا احدهما ماسك يد الآخر [XVI] لابسين لبس الملك وعلى راسيهما تاجان موضعان ولست انا وحدي استحققت هذا المنظر بل وشابة واحدة كانت من جنس نيرن المنافق كان بولص القديس قد عمدها لانه لما خرج ليستشهد اخذ منها عمامة راسها وقال لها اذا عدت جيتك بها فلما احني راسه تحت السيف لف وجهه بتلك العمامة ولما عاد الجند قالت لهم تلك الشابة اين* هو بولص فاجابوها قايلين هو في ارمانون* قتيلاً طريقاً وعمامتك ملفوف بها وجهه ملتوتة بدمه فاجابتهم تلك الشابة ان بطرس وبولص الان عبرا [XVII] بي هاهنا لابسين زي الملك وموضع علي روسهما تاجين وتلك العمامة التي دفعتها الي بولص قد جاني بها فلما ارتهم اياها دهلوا⁴⁰ وسجوا الله وكثيرين منهم امنوا بالله وصاروا من اجل هذه العجيبه مسيحين فلان يا اخي ثيموثاوس هما قريبان منا بالروح يا اخي قد مضى من كنت تحبه الي عند المسيح وكما كان شاول ويوناثان

³⁹ تلك after اين, but canceled by the scribe; cf. the preceding context.

⁴⁰ Both the Syriac and the Armenian versions have here a similar word, but the editor of those texts says, "Quid significet vox illa armenum plane nescimus." Old Latin readings are "in valle pugili" and "in valle pugilum." An account of this kerchief incident is also given in *Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*, and there Paul is said to have been executed in a place called Ἀκουαὶ Σαλβίας—the words are variously spelled in the MSS.—i. e., Aquae Salviae or Abbadia della Tre Fontane. The mention of waters in this parallel passage and elsewhere in connection with Paul's death suggests that the ارمانون of the present MS.—and of the Arabic text that lies back of the Syriac and Armenian versions—is a corruption of أرض عيون "land of springs," a term similar to مرج عيون "meadow of springs," the designation of a district in Syria. (Cf. note 49 for an instance of the use of ا in the place of a ع. The Arabic name of Armenia is different from the word in the text).

⁴⁰ Read ذهلوا.

في حياتهما وموتهما لم يفترقا كذلك ونحن لم ننتيز منهما حتي
فرقهم الناس منا وهذه الفرقة ليس فيها قطع رجا لان الفرقة
القاطعة الرجا انما هي اذا فرقت الملائكة قوماً من قوم
[XVIII] والنسب من ذوي جنسهم وليس كان قد انفصلنا من
اتباع الرسولين هاهنا فليس من ذلك قطع رجا وانما الفرقة التي
تقطع الرجا هي الصائرة "من الله هناك التي لا يكون فيها عزاً
الي دهر الدهور وما يدنوا احد من" احبايه فاما نفوس
الابرار فان بعضها يشاهد بعض ولها ذكر ومنظر وتعرف جميع
الاشيا سواء الكلام فاما الرسولان بطرس وبولص فانهما في تلك
الحياه المعبوطه ونفوسهما متنعمه بالحياه الباقيه التي لا تموت
ولن تستطيع كل نفس ان تدنوا من انفسهما اولايك بولص
الشاتم لله في الناموس والمكرم اياه بلا ناموس [XIX] وذلك
الذي كان يحارب المسيح عن ختانة اليهود يقاتل اليهود والحنفا
بالحب والود الذي كان له مع كنائس الشعوب بولص المشوق
وجمال الامم والمرحوم "والماسور من اجل الشعوب يا لعبق غنا
معرفة حكمه الله ان احداً لا تستقصا" احكامه فاما انت يا اخي
فتفهم هذه الاشيا والله ابو كل رحمة يمنهم نفسك الفهم اين
بولص اين بطرس اين الناطقين الالهيات بالحقيقه يا اخي

⁴¹ Read ω for ν .

⁴² before من canceled.

⁴³ The α at first λ .

⁴⁴ Read والمرجوم.

⁴⁵ Read the initial letter as ρ .

ثيموثاوس ان الويل للولاد اذا اضاعوا ابايهم والتلاميذ اذا فقدوا
 معلمهم والغنم اذا فقدت رعاتها وويح المريض الذي يكون
 الطبيب بعيداً منه واهّا لذلك اللسان [XX] الدرب والبحر الذي
 لا يلمس واهّا للعمق الذي لا يدرك واهّا يا بولص الحصن
 الذي يجمع الغنا ويخزنه في الكتب فلو كنت قلت لنا انك
 تنصرف الي المسيح سريعاً لعلنا كنا غنيا بترجمة رسايك ماذا
 نعمل انك افقدتنا قرات الكتب ويحي من هذا الحزن وانكسار
 القلب يا اخي ثيموثاوس لا تقري في العتيقة بل اذكر القرابين
 التي امرنا بها بولص عالماً ان كل كلمة معولة من الله هي
 حد جزم لان هكذا امر بولص الالهي الناطق في الالهيات ان لم
 يكن في الكنيسة مترجمون فلا تقري الكتب فلان قد اخذ
 [XXI] صاحب الحكم كل التفاسير يا اخي ثيموثاوس صوم وصلي
 واسهر وابتهل ان يوهلنا⁴⁷ المسيح للملك مع بولص معلمنا لان
 تلميذ ايليا من معلم طلب ما يفرق الحد لكن انظر انه ما
 منع الموهوبة⁴⁸ لانه ارض معلم ولا سام ولا متكسلاً عن معلم
 ومع هذا ان العناصر كانت ترتعد منه والناس قاطبة يبغضونه
 وهو لم يفارق معلمه وقد كان له تلاميذ كثيرون ولاكن لم
 يصابر منهم سوا اليسع وحده وبنوا اسراييل كانوا يشتمونه قايلين

⁴⁶ Read الحسن.

⁴⁷ Read يوهلنا.

⁴⁸ A من before this word canceled by writing the initial | over it.

⁴⁹ Read عرض.

هذا تلميذ النبي هذا تلميذ ناقص الناموس ولم يكن يجاوبهم
 فلهذا اهل للموهبة التي طلبها من معلمه وانت ايضا تعلم
 ان⁵⁰ كثيرين [XXII] كانوا لبولص ولم يصابر احد معه الشدايد
 الا انت وحدك فبالحقيقة يا اخي انك مستوجب لموهبة النعمة
 اكن ذلك الجازي للاتعاب يجازيك عوض جميع الصعوبات
 والاتعاب التي صابرتها مع بولص القديس بصلوات جميع الذين
 خدمتهم في ربطاتهم امين ولله اب الكل التسبيح مع ابنه
 الوحيد والروح القدس الحي الان ودايمًا امين

TRANSLATION.

This is an Epistle that Dionysius the Great sent unto Timothy the Apostle, the Disciple of Paul the Apostle, on Account of the Martyrdom of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the City of Rome the Grandest.

To the godly disciple and spiritual son, even the disciple [of the apostle⁵¹] of God and his heir and the fulfiller of his will and the endurer of his adversities, even the one rising above all praises and the imitator of the true master⁵² and spiritual father, Timothy, from Dionysius.

Now I rejoice that that one clothed with God, he who was crucified for Christ and suffered with him, the many-tongued,⁵³ the enlightener of the churches and darkener of heathendom, the axe by which were shattered [III] the gates of sin, the diamond removing far off and crushing sins, the magnet demolishing worldly things and dispersing demons, the destroyer of their feasts, the terrestrial angel and celestial man, the powerful, the strong, the courageous, the sagacious, the divine image and Christly picture, the friend of the Gentiles⁵⁴ and enemy of Judaism, the diminisher of the synagogues⁵⁵ and magnifier of the church, the spiritually concerned and shield of justice, the servant of Christ and preacher of the gospel, he who pierced through heathendom and rejoiced the church, the godly mouth and spiritual tongue, the gatherer and taker

⁵⁰ ان interlineated.

⁵¹ Cf. note 4. The emendations suggested in the notes to the Arabic text have been followed in the translation.

⁵² Or *teacher*, and so throughout this translation.

⁵³ Lit., *the father of tongues*. ⁵⁴ Or *peoples*, and so elsewhere. ⁵⁵ Lit., *the assemblies*.

out of those plunging [into sin], the father of orphans and support of widows, the raiser up of the falling and confirmer of the standing, the healer [IV] of the sick and binder up of the wounded, he who united countries, the pacifier of cities, the wise sailor, the putter together, the saver, the one desirous of the things which are above and overcoming those which are lower—this one now hath left us behind in hard toils and departed unto Christ.

O my brother Timothy, where is thy spiritual father? where thy master, O disciple loving his master? Whence wilt thou now bring me greetings—from the land or from the sea, from Galatia or from Spain, from Asia or from Corinth? Now thou hast become an orphan alone. O my brother Timothy, thy swift course is ended. He will not write to thee now—where are those holy hands?—"O my child;" he doth not send to thee [V] also to come to thy master in some city. O my brother Timothy, where hast thou heard that thy spiritual father Paul hath now arrived? Today is fulfilled the word of the Lord, saying, "Verily, I say to you that ye will desire to behold one hour of your master and will not see it." O my brother Timothy, there hath overtaken us the day of grief and mourning, the day of darkness and blackness, and who will not cry out with the prophet, saying, "O that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, then would I sit weeping night and day for the orphanhood of the church!"

O Timothy, gather together now all thy volumes, for who is it that will be found interpreting to thee the hidden speech of the prophets? [VI] Say now, "I am like Amos the prophet, I am a feeder of goats." And thou wilt also need neither to serve him in his bonds nor to study his blessed epistles; he will not send to thee that he is naked and scourged, nor wilt thou be disturbed through his being in great adversities, nor will he write to thee, "From Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ." Not at all will he need thee, nor will it be preached by thee from him in the cities, "Kiss ye my son and my beloved."

O my brother Timothy, take with thee Jeremiah the prophet which saith, "My heart is broken from grief, and what will allay it?" Who will not put on grief and mourning and whom will not the circuit of death encompass? "O ye priests, clothe you with sackcloth, [VII] and ye ministers of the altars, weep and mourn." "In Ramah is heard a voice, not of mourning only, but even of death." For two bitter strokes have come in one day and two griefs in one hour and two rending reports in one time, even grief and sorrow and mourning greater than all mourning. Now is fulfilled the word of Jacob, "Joseph have I lost and Benjamin do I not see;" and now Paul, the light of the church and glory of Christianity, is not present, and Peter, the foundation of the church and hope of believers, is not found. Fulfilled is the word of the prophet, saying, "Holy stones are cast away, rolled down in this day." Accomplished is what David [VIII] the prophet said, "They gave bountifully the dead bodies of thy servants to the birds of the heaven and the flesh of thy righteous ones to the beasts of the earth."

Where is Paul's course now? Those holy feet have rested from the toil of the way. His feet fall not in stocks and prisons—he is not pinioned or fettered—nor doth he travel unto strange countries⁵⁶ or enter cities and islands; his hands are not stretched out in the ropes of masts, nor doth he ride in ships. What country did he not enter and what city did he not pass through! How much did toil distress him! Where are those holy hands? How many godly epistles did he write! With how many chains were they manacled! How many bands did he receive from the people [IX] of the Jews! Where is that holy body that received the stroke and endured the adversities? Where is that eloquent mouth and practiced tongue—where the wisdom of the wise, the speech of philosophers, and the soul clothed with God? O my brother Timothy, let us make a feast for the observer of the feasts and let us bestow on that one the offering presented as an offering; remember thou that rememberer of the saints.

Who is it that will not mourn over those deserving of honor, for they were delivered unto death as evil-doers? O my brother Timothy, if thou hadst been a witness of that wonderful combat and hadst heard it, perhaps from the excesses of thy grief [X] thou wouldst have passed away; for thy grief was not great, as thou wert not present at the time of their going forth to receive the judgment. Who did not mourn in that painful and sorrowful hour, when their hands were manacled with chains like murderers and the crowds [were] assembled to see that wonder and the venerable old age reviled by the heathen and the Jews? Who is it that did not weep in that hour, when they were spitting in the faces of the two and both received beating from every side silent as gentle lambs? They greet each other with weeping and grief and separate in anguish and sorrow; they behold each other and are separated; and they are delivered [XI] unto death, O brethren and my members and my sons and one love—the one of them was delivered unto crucifying and the other unto slaying. What heart did not mourn, as it heard the truthful⁵⁷ Peter and Paul saying, "Depart submitting [to the will of God], O magnifier of the church!" The heavens were astonished at the separating of the saints; the earth was terrified when it received the innocent blood of the souls of the righteous ones; the air was pained on account of the death of these saints; the angels were astonished at the combat of that venerable old age; even the ignorant, when they beheld Peter hanging on the cross with his head downward, were distressed with grief!⁵⁸ (I, O my brother Timothy, was not near him when he received the judgment, for I went [XII] with Paul, for they were not martyred together in one place.)

Alas for me, O my brother Timothy, there was not a bitterer than that hour in which the swordsman commanded Paul to bow his head

⁵⁶ Lit., the countries of the strangers.

⁵⁷ Lit., the fathers of truth.

⁵⁸ Lit., who is the one lacking knowledge?—when he beheld . . . , he was distressed with grief!

under the sword, while his eyes overflowed with tears! Woe was me, O my brother, in that hour in which I saw him looking unto heaven and marking a cross on his holy forehead—and calmly without violence he bent his head under the sword. Woe was me, O my brother, from that hour in which I saw him dyed in his blood! Woe is me, O my spiritual brother, that thou art become worthy of such a death as this! Alas for me, O my spiritual father, how is it that thou art become to me one leaving me alone?

[XIII] Whither hast thou departed? Where shall I seek thee, O glory of Christianity and master of the nations? Who hath silenced thy melody that magnified the church? Who is it that hath made dumb thy harp that sounded the things of God? How shall I go unto thy disciples, O master of justice, and what shall I say to them about thee—that thou art imprisoned or bound? Which of them shall I send unto thee? Which of them dost thou need or which of them dost thou want?—for from now thou wilt not need one of them! From Jerusalem thou didst receive the manacles, and in Rome, after two years, they were loosed from thee. For David in his mourning thus was saying: “Woe to me, O my son; alas for me, O my child,” and I thus am ready to say, Woe to me, [XIV] O my father; alas for me, O my master; for for this wound⁸⁰ there is not found a bandage, and for this mourning there is no consolation, and for this sickness there is no cure. For in your life you became of one mind, and in your death your bodies were cast out like the dead bodies of animals.

How many churches are expecting your address, and how many priests are waiting to receive epistles from you today? Vain are the looks of thy disciples; from Rome today thy disciples have become orphans. Who henceforth will reconcile the angry? Who will elucidate the Scriptures⁸⁰ to us? We will not henceforth hasten unto Rome, nor will we say, Come, let us gather together and go unto Paul and hear from him the Scriptures and [their] explanation. [XV] We will not need the Scriptures of the prophets, for we will not find anyone who will explain them to us. Unto whom hast thou committed thy disciples, O master of truth? Blessed is Rome that she is deemed worthy in truth of this lordly honor. Jerusalem and Rome are sisters, for that one slew Christ and this one slew his apostles; Jerusalem will worship him whom she crucified and Rome will commemorate those whom she slew!

O my brother Timothy, I indeed saw a great wonder in the day in which the apostles Peter and Paul were crowned, for when they separated from each other, I perceived them entering together before me a certain door, the one holding the hand of the other, [XVI] clothed in royal apparel with crowns placed on their heads. And not I alone was deemed worthy of this sight, but also a certain young woman who was of the family of the impious Nero [and] whom Saint Paul had baptized. For when he went forth to martyrdom, he took from her the kerchief of her head and said to her, “When I return, I will bring thee it;” and when he bent his

⁸⁰ Lit., stroke.

⁸⁰ Or books, and so elsewhere.

head under the sword, he wrapped his face in that kerchief. And when the soldiers returned, that young woman said to them, "Where is Paul?" And they answered her, saying, "He is in Armanun⁶¹ slain [and] cast away, and as for thy kerchief, his face was wrapped in it [and it was] wet with his blood." And that young woman answered them, "Peter and Paul now passed by [XVII] me here clothed in royal attire with crowns placed on their heads, and that kerchief which I gave unto Paul he hath brought me." And when she showed them it they were astonished and worshiped God; and many of them believed in God and became Christians on account of this wonder.

And now, O my brother Timothy, they are near us in the spirit. O my brother, he whom thou wert loving hath departed unto Christ. And as were Saul and Jonathan [who] in their life and in their death were not separated, so also we were not parted from them until men separated them from us. And in this [kind of] separation there is not a cutting off of hope, for the separation cutting off hope is only when the angels separate some from others [XVIII] and kinsmen from those of their family. And it is not as though we had been divided from the followers of the apostles here; and there is not from that a cutting off of hope. The only separation that cutteth off hope is the going away from God there, in which necessarily it⁶² will not be for ever and ever. And they⁶³ will not approach one of those that love him. As for the souls of the righteous, they see each other and have memory and sight and know all things except speech, and as for Peter and Paul, they are in that blessed life and their souls are reposing in the abiding life which dieth not, and no soul is able to approach these their souls. Paul the reviler of God in the law and the honorer of him without the law, [XIX] even that one who was wafring against Christ for the circumcision of the Jews [and afterward] was fighting the Jews and the heathen in the love and affection which he had for the churches of the Gentiles, Paul the desired and the beauty of the nations and the one stoned and imprisoned on account of the Gentiles—"O the depth of the riches of the knowledge of the wisdom of God, certainly no one can fathom his judgments!" But thou, O my brother, understandest these things, and God, the Father of every mercy, giveth thy soul understanding.

Where is Paul? Where is Peter? Where are those that spoke of divine things in truth? O my brother Timothy, woe are the children when their parents perish and the disciples when they lose their masters and the sheep when they lose their shepherds, and alas for the sick person from whom the physician is far off! Alas for that [XX] skilful and eloquent tongue that doth not make any inquiry; alas for the depth which doth not comprehend! Alas, O good Paul who gathereth the riches and storeth them in the Scriptures, if thou hadst said to us that thou wert departing in haste unto Christ, perhaps we had been enriched by the interpretation of thy epistles! What shall we do? Certainly thou hast deprived us of the reading of the Scriptures. Woe is me from

⁶¹ Vide note 39.

⁶² I. e., hope.

⁶³ I. e., the separating angels.

this grief and breaking of heart! O my brother Timothy, do not read the Old [Testament], but remember the offerings which Paul commanded us, knowing that every word performed by God is the end of a decree; for thus the godly Paul that spoke of divine things commanded, "If there be no interpreter in the church, do not read the Scriptures." And now [XXI] the possessor of wisdom hath taken all the explanations.

O my brother Timothy, fast and pray and watch and humble thyself that Christ may bring us unto the king with Paul our teacher. For the disciple of Elijah sought an extraordinary thing from his master, but he expected that he would not refuse the gift, for he followed his master and neither grew weary nor was negligent of his master, although the elements were agitated on his account and men, frowning on him, hated him; and he was not separated from his master. And he had many disciples, but none of them endured besides Elisha alone. And the children of Israel were reviling him, saying, "This is the disciple of the prophet, this is the disciple of the breaker of the law;" and he answered them not. And therefore he was fitted for the gift which he sought from his master. And thou also knowest that [XXII] Paul had many, but not one endured with him the adversities except thee alone; and in truth, O my brother, thou art deserving of the gift of grace. But that rewarder of toils will reward thee—may he recompense all the hardships and toils which thou didst endure with Saint Paul by the prayer of all whom thou didst serve in their bonds. Amen. And to God the Father of all be the praise with his only Son and the quickening Spirit now and evermore. Amen.

THE STORY OF AḤIḲAR AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

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Within the last few years a story long known in the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights* has turned out to be of unexpected interest to the biblical student. In 1880 Georg Hoffmann pointed out the identity of Achiacharus of Tobit 1:21 *sqq.*; 11:18, and 14:10, with a legendary sage, Aḥiḱar, who figured in a romance extant in certain Syriac MSS. as a vizier of Sennacherib.¹

Since that time, through the labors of Jagić, Conybeare, Salhani, Mrs. Lewis, and J. Rendel Harris, versions of the tale as preserved in Slavonic, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac have been placed within our reach, while the acute criticisms of Meissner,² Lidzbarski,³ Dillon,⁴ and Harris⁵ have proved the tale to be older than the book of Tobit, and have demonstrated that the latter is dependent upon it. It is to Dillon and Harris that we are especially indebted for this demonstration. To the latter we are also indebted for having, with the aid of the other editors mentioned above, placed within our reach, in his volume on Aḥiḱar, the various versions of the story. The same scholar has also pointed out that if the book is older than Tobit it is also older than Daniel, and has collected, as noted below, a number of expressions common to the two works.

The substance of the tale is as follows:

Aḥiḱar, a vizier of Sennacherib, was possessed of wealth, wisdom, popularity, and power, but had no son. After vainly praying for one he was directed to adopt his nephew Nadan and to find in him the fulfillment of his prayers. This he did, rearing the child tenderly and

¹ Cf. Achiacharus in *Encyc. Bib.* and J. Rendel Harris' *Story of Aḥiḱar*, p. xiii.

² *ZDMG.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 171-97.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 671-5.

⁴ *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 362-86.

⁵ *The Story of Aḥiḱar*, Cambridge University Press, 1898.

instructing him in wisdom, the precepts of which are recounted to us at length. Nadan proved to be wilful and ungrateful. At length, when Aḥiḱar contemplated supplanting him by his younger brother, he forged treasonable letters in Aḥiḱar's handwriting, pretended to the king that he found them, and procured Aḥiḱar's condemnation to death. On a previous occasion Aḥiḱar had saved from the wrath of Sennacherib the very person who was now directed to cut off his head. An appeal to this man's gratitude persuaded him to slay a slave in Aḥiḱar's stead, while the latter was incarcerated in a dungeon under his own house, where he was tormented by the audible evidences of abuse of his property, his slaves, and his wife in which Nadan indulged. Meantime the king of Egypt, hearing of Aḥiḱar's death, sent to Sennacherib a series of absurd and impossible demands, such as eastern story-tellers attribute to powerful sovereigns, accompanied by veiled threats of detriment to Assyria in case his demands were not fulfilled. No one was able to tell Sennacherib what to do, and in his extremity the king was glad to reward Aḥiḱar's executioner for not putting him to death. Aḥiḱar was then brought forth from his dungeon, with "the color of his face changed, his hair matted like a wild beast, and his nails like the claws of an eagle." When he had recuperated Aḥiḱar went to Egypt, by his wisdom successfully met or baffled the king of Egypt in his demands, and thus delivered Assyria. When he returned to Assyria with enhanced reputation, Nadan was delivered to him for punishment; he flogged him, imprisoned him in the very dungeon where Aḥiḱar had himself been entombed, gave him some more instruction, and when the final punishment was ready for him Nadan swelled up and burst asunder, thus taking himself out of the way.

The story has been distorted in one way or another in each of the versions of it, so that a comparison of them all is necessary in order to bind together its different strands again. The publication of the different versions side by side in a convenient volume by Dr. Harris happily makes this possible.

If now the story is older than Tobit (a point demonstrated by Dillon and Harris), it is also older than Daniel, and the inquiry as to whether the latter book may not be in some respects dependent upon Aḥiḱar becomes a legitimate one. Dr. Harris has already pointed out* a number of verbal parallels between the two. Thus in the Armenian version (p. 25), "I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck," is very similar to "clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck" of Dan. 5:7, 16. So the statement in the Arabic (p. 87), "he assembled the astrologers, the learned men, and the wizards," resembles Dan. 5:7, "The king cried aloud to

* *Story of Aḥiḱar*, p. lviii.

bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers" (cf. Dan. 2:2, 27). Again the Armenian, "This is a matter that even the gods cannot settle or give answer to" (p. 44), which in the Arabic runs, "The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men," is exactly parallel to "There is none who can show it before the king except the gods" (Dan. 2:11). Lastly the description of Aḥiḳar with his nails grown like eagles' talons and his hair matted like a wild beast, which, in one form or another, runs through all the versions of the story (cf. pp. 17, 45, 73, 103), not only reminds one strongly of the description of the hair and nails of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4:30), but appears, as Harris has shown (p. lix), in a more original form than in the book of Daniel. He further points out that the fact that in Aḥiḳar's description of the wise men "Chaldeans" had not yet become a technical term for a sage, as it has in Daniel, is a further argument for the priority of Aḥiḳar.

All these points the acute critic of Aḥiḳar has admirably taken; but one wonders why he did not go on a step farther; for when we come to the more fundamental parallels between plots and methods of treatment, the story of Aḥiḳar becomes even more vitally interesting to the student of Daniel than before.

The first of these points to be noted is that Daniel was a wise man, like Aḥiḳar, excelling all others in wisdom, and, like him, vizier to his sovereign, whoever that sovereign might be. Granting the priority of Aḥiḳar, is there not a sign of dependence here?

The story of Aḥiḳar's fall from the pinnacle of power, his unjust incarceration in a pit under his house, his deliverance, and the imprisonment of his accuser in the same pit, is exactly parallel to Daniel's fall from like power, his imprisonment in the lions' den, his deliverance, and the casting of his accusers to the lions—a story which has been worked up in one way in Dan., chap. 6, where Darius, the Mede, is the king, and in another way in the apochryphal *Bel and the Dragon*, where Cyrus is the king. The story of Aḥiḳar makes it probable that we now have the pattern on which this narrative of Daniel was constructed.

In my opinion we should add to these the story of the three Hebrews and the fiery furnace in Dan., chap. 3, a narrative in which we find three men at the height of power caught by a trick and unjustly thrown into a furnace, from whence they are miraculously

delivered. The parallelism is not quite complete in this case, since the accusers do not finally receive the fate which they have brought upon Daniel, but it is practically completed by the decree that whoever "spake anything amiss against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego shall be cut in pieces and his house shall be made a dunghill" (Dan. 3:29).⁷ I expressed, more than two years ago, the opinion that Dan., chaps. 3 and 6, were independent parallel traditions, rather than connected stories, remarking "the same germ is found in both—the story of mortal danger induced by the interdiction of Israel's religion, from which deliverance is effected by miracle. This germ developed differently in the different traditions until, when it assumed literary form under the impetus of the persecution of Antiochus, in one center it was connected with Nebuchadnezzar and a fiery furnace, with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego for heroes; and in another center in the hands of a different writer it was connected with Darius the Mede and a lions' den, with Daniel as the hero."⁸ The story of Aḥiḱar confirms that opinion in so far as it supplies the common element of the two stories, giving us the model on which they were no doubt formed. It reveals, however, a fact which I did not then suspect—that this common element had nothing to do with Daniel or with religion, but was employed because it was a popular model, and because its plot readily lent itself to the expression of the lessons of fidelity to duty and faith in the triumph of right, which the writers desired to teach. Whence their material came we shall consider below.

Another point in which Aḥiḱar possibly became a model for the writers of Daniel is his ability to solve riddles. If not the model for Daniel in this respect, he exhibits what was demanded of the traditional wise man of the time; Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams in Genesis, on which the narratives of Daniel have often been thought to be modeled, prove that the tendency to require such power from wise men was a Hebrew trait much older than either Aḥiḱar or Daniel. What the newly found story really does for us in this respect is to make it clear that the atmosphere in the time when Daniel was written was surcharged with this conception of wisdom and its power.

⁷ Dr. Harris privately reminds me that in folklore tales the villain is frequently cut in pieces, and also frequently, like Nadan, in the Aḥiḱar story, and Judas, in Acts 1:18, he swells up and bursts.

⁸ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, p. 71.

Viewing the subject broadly, the story of Aḥikar comes as the last element needed to enable us to conjecture how the stories in Daniel took shape :

1. There was the general situation of the persecution of Antiochus to be met ; Israelites had great need to be encouraged to fidelity, and obviously the best method of doing this would be to bring before their minds the examples of those who had been faithful under similar suffering at the hands of a foreign oppressor. This would naturally turn the mind of a writer to the exile. If the encouragement were to be effective, it was necessary to give a philosophy of history which would assure the righteous of ultimate triumph ; this led to the apocalyptic method.

2. Gunkel has shown us that much of the material employed in apocalyptic writings, called out by this and similar occasions, is drawn from Babylonian sources ;⁹ while Terry,¹⁰ Charles,¹¹ and others rightly hold that unfulfilled prophecy was also an important source of apocalyptic. Both kinds of material found its way into Daniel. The Babylonian was employed especially by the writer whom I have elsewhere¹² called A, while the prophetic is found throughout the book.¹³

3. When Daniel was written apocalyptic writing had already begun. As Charles has shown,¹⁴ Ethiopic Enoch, chaps. 1-36, was already in existence. The fashion was thus set of attaching such works to the names of worthies who had lived long ago. Enoch, however, would not answer the purpose of the present emergency, for his place was too firmly fixed by the Pentateuch among the antediluvians to permit even an apocalypst to transfer him to the exile or to any other period when Israel was in subjection to a foreign monarch. Tradition had, though, passed on the name of an old patriarch, Daniel (Ezek. 14:14), of whom, if anything was known beyond the fact that he had a reputation for wisdom and righteousness, it has not been transmitted to us. He was taken, transferred to the exile, and, after apocalyptic fashion, made the mouthpiece of the writer's faith and hopes. That this

⁹ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 235-398.

¹⁰ *Biblical Apocalypics*, p. 6 and *passim*.

¹¹ *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, pp. 170 sq.

¹² *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, pp. 79 sqq.

¹³ Cf. chaps. 3, 6, and 9; also Bevan's *Daniel*, pp. 78 sqq.; Peters, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, pp. 109 sqq.; also the commentaries on chap. 9.

¹⁴ *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, pp. 26 and 56.

is really what happened is confirmed by the apocryphal History of Susanna,¹⁵ in which Daniel appears simply as a judge of unusual wisdom—a rôle readily suggested by his name. No reference is made to the contents of our canonical book. The existence of this story shows that apart from apocalyptic material nothing was known of Daniel except what could be inferred from the meaning of his name.

4. Just here the story of Aḥiḱar comes to our aid to show whence the outline of the life of the patriarch, who to Ezekiel was an ancient figure like Noah and Job (Ezek. 14:14), came, when Daniel had been transferred to the exile. Here ready to the writer's hand was the life of Aḥiḱar. The scene had to be changed from the court of Sennacherib to that of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, since the Israel which had returned from exile had suffered in Babylon; but when once transferred the outline of the Aḥiḱar story became the skeleton which gave form to all the material within the reach of the writers who devoted themselves to this task. It was thus, probably, that the Aḥiḱar skeleton, rechristened as Daniel, and given flesh, partly from the material of the Babylonian cosmogonic epic and partly from the unfulfilled prophecies of the past, lived again to minister comfort and to inspire with hope those who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for the right to worship the God of their fathers according to their consciences.

I may add in conclusion that this view does not modify the views I have previously expressed of the composite character of the book of Daniel,¹⁶ since the use of the story of Aḥiḱar by the author of Tobit shows that it was well known; it no doubt formed a part of the intellectual equipment of the intelligent Jew of the time.

¹⁵ Cf. Peters in the *New World*, March, 1900, p. 186.

¹⁶ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII, pp. 62-86.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

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1. בִּדְיוֹנָא.

The word occurs only in b Ber. 56a. The *Variae Lectiones* of Rabbinowicz give as variants בִּי דְיוֹנָא, בִּדְיוֹנָא, and מְדוֹנָא. Rashi, explaining the word as "a house where ornaments are kept," had evidently before him the reading בִּי דְיוֹנָא. The same meaning could be got out of מְדוֹנָא, which is evidently a denominative of דְיוֹנָא "arms, ornament;" while the forms בִּדְיוֹנָא, בִּי דְיוֹנָא might contain in their initial consonant an abbreviation of בִּי. I am rather inclined to translate all the forms as "arsenal, armory," connecting the last two variants with דְיוֹנָא "arms," and the first two with Arabic بَزَز, بَزَز, "arms." For ד = ز cf. my *Grammar*, § 31. As to the formation, we may have בָּזָא = בָּזָא, or the ע"ע stems pass before affirmatives into ל"ע stems, just as the verbs ע"ע do before suffixes. (Cf. my *Grammar*, § 646.) I may add that some old editions have the marginal gloss בִּי דְיוֹנָא.

2. בִּרְקָא.

בִּרְקָא, in the expression סוּסֵיָא בִּרְקָא, for which Kohut (s. v. 1 בִּרְקָא) compares البراق and برقاء, is the same as Syriac جَحْمًا (JAOS., Vol. XX, Part I, p. 194) "white" (?). Cf. also أَبْلَقَ "piebald," بَلَقَ "be colored partly black, partly white," "piebaldness," Maltese blâqa "blackishness," Ethiopic balaq "marble." بَلَق = بَلَق = بَلَق, probably connected with בָּלַל "to mix."

3. כִּכְנָא.

In the Targûm this word means (1) *molar, cheek-tooth*, and (2) *tooth* in general. In the Talmud it also occurs in both senses; but R. Ḥanan'el in A. Z. 28a, as well as Rashi, *ad loc*

translate the word by *gums*. In M. Q. 25a and 28a Rashi translates it לְחִיִּים, which may mean *cheeks*, as well as *jaws*. Tosaphot, Hull. 59b, A. Z. 28a, and Gitt. 69a object to Rashi's translation, "gums." The word goes back to Amh. kakkā "to rough-grind," and is, therefore, equivalent in meaning to Arab. طاحن, Hebr. טוֹחֶנֶת. Hence Chamir qakū "cheek," qakūā "molar." The stem כָּכַא is connected with נָכַךְ, נָגַג, נָכַשׁ = נָשַׁךְ, חָכַךְ, and חָנַךְ. Cf. Tigrè nakak "jaw," Hausa nikka "to grind," Saho-Afar mingāgā "cheek, jaw," Galla mangagā "molar," Amh. mangāgā "jaw, molar," Eth. mankas "jaw," Arab. حَاكَا "tooth," Kafa haqō "cheek," hájetō "tooth," 'Afar-Saho ikō "tooth," Chamir-Bilin erāk, Quara yerkū, Agaumedder erkū, Galla ilkā, Somali ilig "tooth," Bilin quanā "jaws, cheeks," Quara enjō, Amh. guñč "cheek," Hebr. חֶקֶךְ "palate," הַלְחִיכִים "gums." It is evident from the above that כָּכַא might have had the meanings *cheek*, *jaw*, and *gums*, given by the commentators mentioned.

4. כִּרְאָר.

כִּרְאָר, Hebr. כְּנֹר, Arab. كِرَان and كَنَارَة, are dissimilated forms of Amh. kirār "six-stringed lyre," from a כִּרְרִי "to sing." Cf. Amh. akrārā "to sing" = agārārā "to sing a song in war or on the chase."

5. מִין.

Littmann (ZA., Vol. XIV, p. 89, note 1) suggests that Hebrew-Aramaic מִין, מִנְ, is connected with Tigrè mānā "create, invent." This is a very good suggestion, as all the significations of the word can easily be developed from the primitive meaning. For the sense of *kind* we may compare the use of בְּרִיאָה or בְּרִיאוֹת in later Hebrew, where it means *the natural, normal state* of a thing and is synonymously used with הוֹרֵה, קְדָמוֹת, קְדָמָה, יֶשֶׁן, and עֵין. In the sense of *people* it would be equivalent to בְּרִיָּה, plural בְּרִיּוֹת, "creatures, people"; while the sense of *heretic* might have developed from the idea of inventing. I am, however, inclined to separate מִין in the last-mentioned sense from the word meaning *kind* and *people*, and to

change silver for salt-money," minzārē "change," Hebr מִזְרָר "sum of exchange for the bride" (with change of sibilant to guttural; cf. my *Aramaic Grammar*, § 26, and "Additions and Corrections" to it); מִזְרָר = בָּדַר "to hasten." The Arab. بَدَرَ, بَدَر have also amplified stems بَدَرَ, بَدَر (cf. Dozy, s. vv.), and *بَزَطَ (cf. below).

The Hebr. מִזְרָר has two significations: (1) *mongrel, cross-breed, offspring of a mixed marriage*, and (2) *bastard, unlawful child, child born in adultery*. Both meanings have been preserved in the Arabic. The first is Egyptian Arab. تَزْمِيط "one whose parents are not of the same nationality, cross-breed" (Spiro), which is transposed from مَبْزِيط; the other is مَبْدَر "spendthrift," which Clermont-Ganneau has discovered to mean also *bastard* (*OLZ.*, Vol. III, p. 31).²

9. מִזְרָר.

This word has already been connected by Wellhausen with מִזְרָר; but as the etymology of the latter word has been hitherto unclear, the etymological explanation of this connection could also not be evident. The Tña furnishes now a clue to it. It has minzārāt "great-great-great-grandfather." The idea of *change* and *passing away* are closely connected, as in חֶלֶף, خلف. The remote ancestor would then mean *one who has passed away*; then, through the meaning *ancestor, head of the family*, would develop into מִזְרָר = אֵב "leader, counselor," etc. If the equation מִזְרָר = מִזְרָר = מִזְרָר be correct, then מִזְרָר will correspond to the Assy. mahṛû.

10. narābu.

Assyr. narābu seems to be the cognate of Arab. نَفَر and the stem from which we get אֶרְנַבְתָּ hare; cf. my *Grammar*, p. 211, note 2.

² Interesting is the use of מִזְרָר as a verb: רִמְסִיזָר אֵת עַצְמוֹ לְאֹמֶר כִּי מִזְרָרִי "and he (i. e., Saadya Gaon) proved himself to be a מִזְרָר (= בֶּן גֵּרִים) by claiming to be of pure Jewish descent." Cf. Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke Saadia's Gaon*, Vol. I, p. 229.

Book Notices.

PRINCE'S DANIEL COMMENTARY.¹

This commentary is "designed especially for students of the English Bible"—the title informs us—but it will prove of interest and value to students of the original. It discusses first, in the "General Introduction," pp. 1-56, the ancient translations of the book (rather briefly), its contents, unity, authorship, date, and the historical material contained therein. The "Critical Commentary," pp. 57-193, presents full notes on selected phrases and sentences of the English Bible, with occasional longer discussions on the contents and analysis of the chapters and some of the more important subjects, *e. g.*, Shinar, the Chaldeans, overthrow of the new Babylonian empire, etc. The technical points are reserved for the "Philological Commentary," pp. 195-259. There are five additional notes, pp. 260-65, and four indices: of subjects, of Aramaic, Assyrian, and Hebrew words and stems.

Professor Prince divides the book of Daniel into two parts: chaps. 1-6 (the stories), 7-12 (the visions). The unity of the book is defended, though the use of older materials is freely conceded. Only one explanation of the bilingual character of Daniel is admitted to be possible: parts of the Hebrew text being lost, an Aramaic translation was put in their place. Reasons against the exilic date are fully stated, and the composition put into the Maccabean age. The discussion of the historical material is full and careful, on the whole, of course, unfavorable to the historicity of the stories. The possibility of a connection of the hero of the book with the Daniel of Ezekiel is dismissed rather summarily. Yet may not the Daniel of Ezekiel be the starting-point of the Daniel stories, or at least the reason why the tradition places Daniel in the exile? Belshazzar is the son of the last king of Babylon, but never king himself.

The interpolation of Darius the Mede must be regarded as the most glaring inaccuracy of the book of Daniel."

Many useful remarks are contained in the critical commentary. Of special value, even for the professional student, are the notes on such subjects as the Chaldeans, pp. 59 *sqq.*; the Greeks in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, pp. 78 *sq.*; fall of Babylon, pp. 92 *sqq.*; Medes and Persians, pp. 116 *sqq.*, etc. Professor Prince has collected a large amount of material and presented it in a very convenient form. In the interpretation of מְנַחֵם חֶקֶל וּפְרִסְיָא—the subject of his own doctorate thesis—he

¹ A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL. Designed especially for Students of the English Bible. By J. Dyneley Prince, Professor of Semitic Languages in New York University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. viii + 270 pp. \$2.

follows Clermont-Ganneau and translates: "There have been counted a mina [Nebuchadrezzar], a shekel [Belshazzar], and (two) half minas [Medes and Persians]." It may be an Aramaic translation of a Babylonian proverb, with some historical tradition as its basis. The "son of man" is not the Messiah. The term is correctly explained "a human being," a symbol of the saints. The end of the seventy weeks of Daniel falls into 164 B. C. (the restoration of the temple worship).

Perhaps the most important service which this commentary does for us is the use which Professor Prince makes of the cuneiform inscriptions in the interpretation of the book of Daniel. The results of his special studies appear on every page, especially in the philological commentary, and are of great value. One wishes that the discussion were sometimes fuller. Some points brought out are doubtful: the identity of בָּר and בֵּן , p. 195 (cf. Lindberg, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 93); the connection between אֲשַׁפֵּן and Istar-apal-uḡur, p. 195; בָּרִיא and the Assyrian bart "to be hungry," p. 199; $\text{בָּר} = \text{בֵּן}$, p. 207. (Better Marti, § 94c; Dalman, § 55, בָּר בֵּן). The process by which the stem פָּלַח "to split" acquired the meaning "to worship" or "serve" is rather fanciful (cf. Delitzsch, *Proz.*, pp. 176 sq.). But thanks are due to the author for the rich collection of material and its clear presentation.

The treatment of the text is careful and conservative; many emendations proposed by others are rejected.

The arrangement of the book might be criticised. Undoubtedly it will prove convenient to the class of students for whom it is primarily intended. Some of the longer notes would perhaps be more convenient in the introduction. A section might have been added on the place of Daniel in the Jewish religious history. There is no bibliography in the book, though the references to books are very full. The list of abbreviations is not complete; abbreviations like J., p. 68; P. D., p. 76; R., p. 76; M., p. 77 (in the English commentary!) can hardly be understood by the general reader. To write a critical commentary on the book of Daniel is no easy task in view of the many problems involved. It is even more difficult to present the latest results of critical research in a popular way. Professor Prince undertook this difficult task, and did his work, on the whole, in an admirable manner.

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STRACK'S THE BLOOD IN THE BELIEF AND IN THE SUPERSTITION OF MANKIND.¹

Although it is but a simple duty to tell the truth, still this duty is shirked by many even truthful men, not to speak of those moral degenerates who are bent on spreading falsehoods. The author of this book,

¹ *DAS BLUT IM GLAUBEN UND ABERGLAUBEN DER MENSCHHEIT. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Volksmedizin" und des "jüdischen Blutritus."* Von Hermann L. Strack. Fünfte bis siebente Auflage, 12-17. Tausend. (Neubearbeitung der Schrift *Der Blutaberglaube*.) München: C. G. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oskar Beck), 1900. xii + 206 pp.; 8vo. M. 2. (= Schriften des *Institutum Judaicum* in Berlin, No. 14.)

who has the manly courage to come out openly and to proclaim the truth, well knowing that he would have to suffer for it, as he did, certainly deserves the thanks of every right-minded man, whatever his, religious affiliation be. The work contains a wealth of data, culled from mediæval and modern literature, which is interesting alike to the folklorist as well as to the lawyer, to the physician as well as to the theologian, to the historian as well as to every educated man. Let us hope that the work will achieve its purpose to shed light on the sad blood-superstition and to terminate the blood-accusations which disgrace modern Christianity.

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SCHLESSINGER'S OLD FRENCH WORDS IN THE MACHSOR VITRY.¹

In spite of the abundant extant material of early French texts with Hebrew characters, it may be said that almost nothing has heretofore been done that will stand the scrutiny of the philologist of today. Böhmer touched the subject only superficially, while Arsène Darmesteter, who alone possessed the proper critical acumen and philological training in both the Hebrew and Romance fields, died just as he had undertaken to investigate the French glosses in Rashi's commentaries. The present investigation, which is carried on in the spirit which Darmesteter would have sanctioned, is therefore a gratifying beginning. Let us hope that before long will follow other glosses, but especially complete texts, such as is the valuable work on mediæval medicine which Steinschneider has described at some length in the catalogue of the Berlin Imperial Library. In the present collection from the Machsor Vitry, French scholars will find an abundant harvest of new words, while those who are interested in any aspect of mediæval life will be glad to discover a few new illustrations of the culinary art, the botany, and the domestic life of French Jews in the thirteenth century.

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SALOMON BUBER'S LATEST WORKS.²

Solomon Buber, the editor of these two works, has been for many years one of the best-known scholars in rabbinical literature. A well-to-do merchant in Lemberg, at present in his seventy-fourth year, he devotes his time to Hebrew literature, and with special predilection to Midrash. He has edited several important books of the Midrash

¹ DIE ALTFRANZÖSISCHEN WÖRTER IM MACHSOR VITRY nach der Ausgabe des Vereins 'Mekize Nirdamim.' Von Dr. Gustav Schlessinger. Mainz: Joh. Wirth'sche Hofbuchdruckerei a.-G., 1899. 104 pp.; 8vo.

² MIDRASCH ECHA RABBATHI. Sammlung agadischer Auslegungen der Klagelieder. Herausgegeben nach einer Handschrift aus der Bibliothek zu Rom, cod. J. 1. 4, und einer

literature. Thirty-six years ago he published, for the first time, the *Pesiqtha*, the famous work whose existence and nature Zunz had proven from quotations, and which, when found, showed how correct his inferences had been. This time Buber presented us with the *Midrash on Lamentations*. It consists of two parts of almost equal size, the one called "*Pethiḥatha*," introduction, the other the real *Midrash*. Like all works of this literature, these two are homilies for the subject of which these books were chosen, from which scriptural lessons were selected for the services at the synagogue. Buber's editions are always testimonies of sound scholarship and of an admirably exact method. He gives, in a note, text-critical remarks based on careful weighing of the various texts, explanatory remarks, and finally very valuable parallels from rabbinical literature. It is sufficient to say that this *Midrash on Lamentations* comes up fully to the standard of Buber's older editions of the *Pesiqtha*, of the *Thanḥuma*, and other publications by the learned editor.

Less fortunate Buber is in his views on the origin of these works. He places the *Midrash on Lamentations* in the fourth century. Zunz, and, following him, Isaac H. Weiss, in his Hebrew work on rabbinical literature, maintained that this book originated not earlier than the seventh century. To give a positive decision on these matters is absolutely impossible. Our rabbinical literature is in a hopeless condition as regards the chronology of its origin. Copyists, and even printers, have acted very freely in this respect, by arbitrary changes, interpolations, and additions from other similar works. Their interest was exclusively limited to the contents of the literature; the history of the texts and the author were of no consequence. It is certainly typical for this state of affairs that author and age of the most popular hymn of the synagogue, "*Adon Olam*," are unknown, and that of the greatest Hebrew poet of the Middle Ages, Jehuda Halevi, a great many poems are preserved, including those which he wrote in the declining years of his life, while we do not know where and when he died, although younger contemporaries speak of him after his death. This lack of interest in the external side of literature is a fact which cannot be remedied any more. But, on the other hand, it seems to have stimulated some lovers of literature to antedate these works as much as they can.

The second work is of minor interest. It is a mere compilation of rabbinical homilies selected from various sources, and arranged in the order of the psalms. The author gives his name as Makir ben Abba Mari, and the whole pedigree of his family up to seven generations. He is otherwise unknown, but the family name seems to prove that he was

Handschrift des British Museum, cod. 27089. Kritisch bearbeitet, commentiert und mit einer Einleitung versehen. Von Salomon Buber in Lemberg. Wilna: *Wittwe & Gebrüder Romm*, 1899. 77+161 pp. fr. 2.50.

JALKUT MACHIRI. Sammlung halachischer und hagadischer Stellen aus Talmud und Midraschim zu den 150 Psalmen von Machir ben Abba Mari. Zum ersten Male nach einer Handschrift herausgegeben mit Bemerkungen, genauer Indiciierung der Quellenangaben, Varianten und einer Einleitung versehen. Von Salomon Buber. Berdyczew: *J. Scheftel*, 1899. Part I, 18+354 pp.; Part II, 294 pp. fr. 7.

a native of southern France, and lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. He made similar selections on Proverbs, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, but only some are extant. A similar work was undertaken by a man called Simeon Kara, who is supposed to have lived in Frankfurt, a. M., during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It extends over the whole Bible, and is called *Yalkut Simeoni*, *i. e.*, the compilation of Simeon, as ours is called the compilation of Makir. While in this book the editor has less opportunity of displaying his stupendous knowledge of rabbinical literature, he is entitled to grateful acknowledgment for his accuracy in editing the text. Unfortunately, Hebrew books can nowadays hardly be printed anywhere outside of Russia, where typesetters and proofreaders can be obtained at a price low enough for the limits of the Jewish book market; consequently the paper is not what it ought to be, but the types are very clear, and the proofreading is very exact.

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GENERAL INDEX.

VOLUME XVI.

Aḫīkar, The Story of, and the Book of Daniel	242
Amarna Time, Niebuhr on the	189
Aphraates' gospel text, collated with that of the Sinaitic, Curetonian, and Peshitta text	110
Arabic Grammar, Wright's	60
Text of a Syriac-Arabic Narrative of Miracles of Jesus	37, 187
كاهن	221
<i>Arabic Version of the Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy</i> , W. Scott Watson	225
Aramaic Idiom, Grammar of the, contained in the Babylonian Talmud	83
etymologies	248
פָּכָא, בִּרְקָא, בִּדְיָנָא	248
פִּיךָ, פִּיךָ	249
שִׁבְרִיחָא, מִיִּקְרָא	250
Ark, contents of the	214
Assyrian words explained:	
Ubšukenna	206
bārû(tu)	211, 223
d(t)upšimāti	207
zagmuku	206
amēl ka-mi-rum	221
kasapu, kusāpu	33
kispu	35
kuppuru	219
luxxušu	221
mašāru or magarru	50
muškinu	222
narābu	251
nūbattu	32
pašaxu, puššuxu	220

Assyrian words explained :

(amēl) qardamu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	223
šabrû	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	196
sinništu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	250
tarîmtu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	222
ilu taš-me-tum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	210
tērtu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	211, 222

Babylonian Talmud, A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained

in the	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
Bähr on Urim and Thummim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
BARTA, ALOIS, Review of Prince's Commentary on Daniel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	252
BARTON, GEORGE A., Some Contracts of the Persian Period from the Kh ² Collection of the University of Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
The Story of Ahiķar and the Book of Daniel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	242
Baudissin, Bellarmin, Benzinger, on Urim and Thummim	200,	202,	203	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Benzinger on the early history of the Ark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	214
BERRY, GEORGE RICKER, The Interpretation of Gen. 6:3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
The Assyrian Word mašāru or magarru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
BEWER, JULIUS A., A Collation of the Gospel Text of Aphraates with that of the Sinaitic, Curetonian, and Peshitta Text	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	110

BOOK NOTICES :

Buber, Midrasch Echa Rabbathi, and Jalkut Machiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	255
Buchholtz, Geschichte der Juden in Riga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	127
Krauss, Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, Teil II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	190
Krengel, Das Hausgerät in der Mišnah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59
Niebuhr, Die Amarna Zeit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	189
Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	125
Prince, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	252
Schlessinger, Die altfranzösischen Wörter im Machsor Vitry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	255
Strack, Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	253
Thureau-Dangin, Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéiforme. Supplément	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	189
Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
BRIGGS, EMILIE GRACE, סלח	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
BRUCE, PRESTON P., Three Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, King of Babylonia (B. C. 625-604)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	178
Buber's Midrasch Echa Rabbathi, and Jalkut Machiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	255
BUTTENWIESER, M., Review of Krengel, Das Hausgerät in der Mišnah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59

CASANOWICZ, I. M., Review of Buchholtz, Geschichte der Juden in Riga bis zur Begründung der Rigischen Hebräergemeinde im J. 1842	- - - - -	127
Cheyne on the contents of the Ark	- - - - -	214
<i>Collation of the Gospel Text of Aphraates with that of the Sinaitic, Curetonian, and Peshitta Text</i> , Julius A. Bewer	- - - - -	110
Contracts of the Persian period	- - - - -	65
CONTRIBUTED NOTES:		
Assyrian Word mašāru or magarru	- - - - -	50
Isaiah 8:6	- - - - -	51
Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung	- - - - -	52, 124
The Syriac-Arabic Narrative of the Miracles of Jesus	- - - - -	187
COOK, STANLEY A., Notes on the Composition of 2 Samuel	- - - - -	145
Cuneiform Writing, Origin of the	- - - - -	189
Curetonian text of the gospels	- - - - -	110
Daniel, Book of, and the story of Aḥikar	- - - - -	242
A New Commentary on the Book of	- - - - -	252
DAVIES, T. W., on Urim and Thummim	- - - - -	203
DEINARD, S. N., A Note on Isaiah 8:6	- - - - -	51
DEUTSCH, G., Review of Salomon Buber's edition of Midrasch Echa Rabbathi and of the Jalkut Machiri	- - - - -	255
Dionysius the Areopagite's Epistle to Timothy	- - - - -	225
<i>Doctrine of Freedom in the Ḳorān</i> , Walter M. Patton	- - - - -	129
Driver on Urim and Thummim	- - - - -	203
Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy, Arabic Version of the	- - - - -	225
Etymology of pūrīm	- - - - -	206
“ Urim and Thummim	- - - - -	218
“ פִּזְמִים	- - - - -	220
<i>Etymological Notes</i> , C. Levias	- - - - -	248
Freedom in the Ḳorān, Doctrine of	- - - - -	129
Gen. 6:3, Interpretation of	- - - - -	47
Gospel text of Aphraates, collated with that of the Sinaitic, Curetonian, and Peshitta text	- - - - -	110
<i>Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud</i> , C. Levias	- - - - -	83
Greek and Latin Loan-Words in Talmud, Midrash, and Targum	- - - - -	190

Hebrew :

אֲוִירִים - - - - -	218
בְּרוֹ 1 Sam. 17:8 - - - - -	223
בְּרִית - - - - -	223
דֶּנֶן Gen. 6:3 - - - - -	48
חֲרָטִים - - - - -	223
כֶּפֶר and פֶּחֶן - - - - -	221
כֶּפֶר - - - - -	219
לֶחֶשׁ - - - - -	220
לִיר - - - - -	222
מִין - - - - -	249
מִזְחָר - - - - -	250
מִנְזֹר - - - - -	251
סֵלָה - - - - -	1
פֶּסֶחָ - - - - -	220
רִצִּין - - - - -	51
שָׁאֵל בְּ - - - - -	198
תּוֹרָה - - - - -	222
תָּמִים - - - - -	218
Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Three - - - - -	178
<i>Interpretation of Gen. 6:3</i> , George Ricker Berry, - - - - -	47
Isaiah 8:6 - - - - -	51
Jewish liturgy, Selah in the - - - - -	5
Jews in Riga - - - - -	127
JOHNSTON, CHRISTOPHER, On a Passage in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic - - - - -	30
Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , III, 8, 9 - - - - -	197, 199
Kalisch, Kautzsch, Knobel, and Köhler on Urim and Thum- mim - - - - -	200, 201, 204
Lamentations, Agadic Interpretations of the Book of - - - - -	255
LEVIAS, C., A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud (concluded) - - - - -	83
Etymological Notes - - - - -	248
Review of: Krauss, Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, Teil II - - - - -	190
Strack, Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit	253

MACDONALD, DUNCAN B., Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung	124
Review of Wright's Arabic Grammar - - - - -	60
Makir ben Abba Mari's Yalkut Machiri - - - - -	255
Midrash, Greek and Latin loan-words in the - - - - -	190
Echa Rabbathi - - - - -	255
Miracles of Jesus, A Syriac-Arabic Narrative of - - - - -	37, 187
Muhammed on "revelation" - - - - -	52, 124
<i>Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung</i> , Otto Pautz - - - - -	52
<i>Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung</i> , Duncan B. Macdonald	124
MUSS-ARNOLT, W., The Urim and Thummim: a Suggestion as to their Original Nature and Significance - - - - -	193
Mutakallims and Mu'tazilites - - - - -	131
Nabopolassar, Three Inscriptions of - - - - -	178
Niebuhr on the Amarna Time - - - - -	189
Nimrod Epic, On a Passage in the Babylonian - - - - -	30
<i>Note on Isaiah 8:6</i> , S. N. Deinard - - - - -	51
<i>Notes on the Composition of 2 Samuel</i> , Stanley A. Cook - - - - -	145
Nowack on Urim and Thummim - - - - -	202
Old French Words in the Machsor Vitry - - - - -	255
Old Testament, Selah in the - - - - -	1
Old Testament passages:	
Gen. 6:3 - - - - -	47
Exod. 12:7 - - - - -	219
Exod. 24:12; 31:18 - - - - -	215
Exod. 28:13-30 - - - - -	193
Lev. 8:7, 8 - - - - -	194
Numb. 27:21 - - - - -	197
Deut. 33:8 - - - - -	194
1 Sam. 14:41; 28:3-6 - - - - -	195, 196
1 Sam. 17:8 - - - - -	223
2 Sam. 20:18 - - - - -	224
Isa. 8:6 - - - - -	51
Isa. 47:13 - - - - -	223
Ezra 2:63 = Neh. 7:65 - - - - -	197, 213
Ecclus. 33:3 - - - - -	197
<i>On a Passage in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic</i> , Christopher Johnston - - - - -	30
Origin of the Cuneiform Writing - - - - -	189
Original nature and significance of the Urim and Thummim - - - - -	193

PATTON, WALTER M., The Doctrine of Freedom in the <i>Ḳorān</i>	-	129
PAUTZ, OTTO, Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung	- -	52
Payne Smith's Compendious Syriac Dictionary	- - - -	125
Persian Period, Some Contracts of the	- - - - -	65
Peshitta text of the gospels	- - - - -	110
Philo on Urim and Thummim	- - - - -	200
PRICE, IRA M., Review of: Die Amarna Zeit	- - - - -	189
Thureau-Dangin, Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéiforme	- - - - -	189
Prince's Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel	- - -	252
Psalms of Solomon, Selah in the	- - - - -	4
Pūrim, etymology of	- - - - -	206
<i>Ḳorān</i> , The Doctrine of Freedom in the	- - - - -	129
Samuel, Second Book of, Notes on the Composition of	- -	145
Schlessinger's Old French Words in the Machsor Vitry	- -	255
Schwally and W. Robertson Smith on Urim and Thummim	201, 202	
Selah, Emilie Grace Briggs	- - - - -	1
Sinaitic text of the gospels	- - - - -	110
<i>Some Contracts of the Persian Period from the Kh¹ Collection of the University of Pennsylvania</i> , George A. Barton	- -	65
<i>Story of Aḥikar and the Book of Daniel</i> , George A. Barton	-	242
Strack on Urim and Thummim	- - - - -	202
Strack's Treatise on the Blood in the Belief and the Superstition of Mankind	- - - - -	253
<i>Syriac-Arabic Narrative of Miracles of Jesus</i> , W. Scott Watson		37
Syriac Dictionary, Payne Smith's Compendious	- - - -	125
Tablets of Destiny, The	- - - - -	207
Tablets of Destiny and the Urim and Thummim	- - - -	211
Talmud, A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian	- - - - -	83
Greek and Latin loan-words in the	- - - - -	190
Targum, Greek and Latin loan-words in the	- - - -	190
Thenius-Löhr on Urim and Thummim	- - - -	204
Theories concerning Selah	- - - - -	12
<i>Three Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, King of Babylonia</i> , Preston P. Bruce	- - - - -	178
Thummim, The Urim and	- - - - -	193

GENERAL INDEX

263

Thureau-Dangin on the Origin of the Cuneiform Writing - -	189
Timothy, An Arabic Version of the Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy - - - - -	225
Tobit, Book of, and Aḥīkar - - - - -	242
TORREY, CHARLES C., The Syriac-Arabic Narrative of the Miracles of Jesus - - - - -	187
Traditions concerning Selah - - - - -	9
<i>Urim and Thummim</i> , a Suggestion as to their Original Nature and Significance, W. Muss-Arnolt - - - - -	
	193
WATSON, W. SCOTT, A Syriac-Arabic Narrative of Miracles of Jesus	37
An Arabic Version of the Epistle of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy - - - - -	225
Wellhausen on Urim and Thummim - - - - -	201
WIENER, LEO, Review of Schlessinger's Old French Words in the Machsor Vitry - - - - -	254
WILSON, R. D., Review of Payne Smith's Compendious Syriac Dictionary - - - - -	125
Yalkut Machiri, edition of - - - - -	255
Zū-legend, Babylonian - - - - -	208

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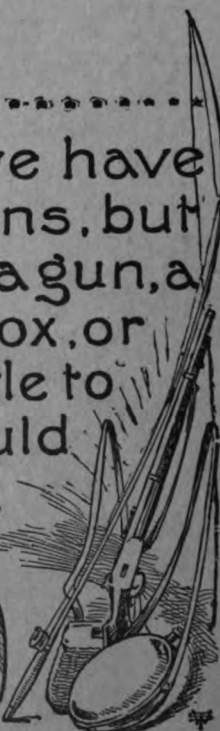
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AMERICAN JOURNAL
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SEMITIC LANGUAGES
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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XVII
OCTOBER, 1900—JULY, 1901

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago Press

LONDON: LUZAC & Co., 46 Great Russell St. LEIPZIG: K. F. KÖHLER'S
ANTIQUARIUM, Kurprinzstrasse, 6.

\$3.00 A YEAR (Four Numbers). 75 CENTS A SINGLE NUMBER.

FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:—*Great Britain, 14 shillings. Germany, 14 Marks.*
France and other countries, 18 francs.

The Journal will be discontinued at the expiration of the subscription.

Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., as second-class mail matter.

Sem 948

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

OCTOBER, 1900.

I. THE STRUCTURE OF HOSEA 1:2-3:5. <i>By William Ratney Harper.</i>	1-15
II. NOTES ON ISAIAH 1:18b AND 7:14b-16. <i>By Owen H. Gates.</i>	16-21
III. SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCES IN ISAIAH 40-66. <i>By Alois Bárta.</i>	22-46
IV. NOTES ON THE PANTHEON OF THE GUDEAN CYLINDERS. <i>By Ira Maurice Price.</i>	47-53
V. NOTES ON THE PSALMS. <i>By Augustus S. Carrier.</i>	54-59
VI. BOOK NOTICES. Heinrich Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion, <i>Ira M. Price</i> , 60.—R. Campbell Thompson, The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon, <i>W. Muss-Arnolt</i> , 61.	60-64

JANUARY, 1901.

I. THE BOOK OF THEKLA. <i>By Edgar J. Goodspeed.</i>	65-95
II. THE BLESSING OF MOSES: ITS GENESIS AND STRUCTURE. <i>By Henry Hayman.</i>	96-106
III. CRAIG'S ASTROLOGICAL-ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS. <i>By R. Campbell Thompson.</i>	107-115
IV. BOOK NOTICES. A. Socin, Porta linguarum orientalium; Pars IV, Arabische Grammatik, <i>C. H. Toy</i> , 116.—Friedrich Kern, Innisâ'u-l-'alimât von Muhammad Bey 'Osmân Galâl, <i>Duncan B. Macdonald</i> , 117.—Michael Adler, Student's Hebrew Grammar, <i>W. R. Harper</i> , 118.—Friedrich Schulthess, Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen, <i>R. D. Wilson</i> , 119.—P. Jensen, Assyrisch-babyloni- sche Mythen und Epen, <i>W. Muss-Arnolt</i> , 121.—J. Rosenberg, Assyrische Sprachlehre und Keilschriftkunde für das Selbststudium, <i>W. Muss- Arnolt</i> , 123.—Gustav Diettrich, Die Massorah der östlichen und west- lichen Syrer, <i>Max L. Margolis</i> , 125.—Salomon Stein, Geschichte der Juden in Schweinfurt, <i>G. Deutsch</i> , 127.	116-128
V. A NOTE ON GEN. 6:3. <i>By George Ricker Berry.</i>	128

APRIL, 1901.

I. A HYMN TO ŠAMĀŠ. <i>By Clifton Daggett Gray.</i>	129-145
II. A LETTER OF ŠAMĀŠ-ŠUM-URĪN TO SARDANAPALUS. <i>By Christopher Johnston.</i>	146-150
III. STYLISTIC PARALLELS BETWEEN THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN AND THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS. <i>By Louis H. Gray.</i>	151-159
IV. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER'S ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS. <i>By R. Campbell Thompson.</i>	160-167
V. CONTRIBUTED NOTES. Lexical Notes. <i>By Julius A. Bewer.</i> —Notes on Some Passages in Amos. <i>By Max L. Margolis.</i>	168-171

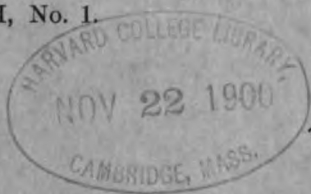
VI. BOOK NOTICES.	172-192
Friedrich Delitzsch, <i>Assyrische Lesestücke</i> , Robert Francis Harper, 172.— L. W. King, <i>The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi</i> , G. S. Goodspeed, 174.—A. H. Sayce, <i>Babylonians and Assyrians</i> , C. H. W. Johns, 177.—Hugo Radau, <i>Early Babylonian History</i> , Ira M. Price, 180.—Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i> , Duncan B. Macdonald, 185.—Martin Hartmann, <i>Der islamische Orient</i> , Duncan B. Macdonald, 189.—Josef Horowitz, <i>De Waqidii libro qui Kitāb al Magāzī inscribitur</i> , Duncan B. Macdonald, 190.—Agnes Smith Lewis, <i>The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels</i> , Edgar J. Goodspeed, 191.	
VII. SUPPLEMENT: Theological and Semitic Literature for the Year 1900. By W. Muss-Arnolt.	1-108

JULY, 1901.

I. BEITRÄGE ZUR SUFFIXLEHRE DES NORDSEMITISCHEN. Von J. Barth, Ph.D.	193-208
II. THE EMPHATIC STATE IN ARAMAIC. By Professor Ed. König, M.A., D.D.	209-221
III. SOME UNPUBLISHED TEXTS OF ŠAMAŠ. By Clifton Daggett Gray.	222-243
IV. ON A NOT UNCOMMON RENDERING OF THE WORD ÍKALLU. By C. Boufflower.	244-249
V. CHALDEANS AND CHALDIANS IN ARMENIA. By A. T. Olmstead.	250-253
VI. BOOK NOTICES.	254-256
M. Philippe Berger, <i>Mémoire sur la grande Inscription Dédicatoire et sur plusieurs autres inscriptions néo-puniques du temple d'Hathor-Miskar à Maktar</i> , Morris Jastrow, Jr., 254.—Wilhelm Bacher, <i>Die älteste Terminolo- gie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung</i> , Morris Jastrow, Jr., 255.—Paul Brönnle, <i>The Kitāb al-Maksūr Wa'l-Mamdūd by Ibn Wallād</i> , Morris Jastrow, Jr., 255.—D. S. Margoliouth, <i>The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus</i> , Edgar J. Goodspeed, 256.	
VII. GENERAL INDEX.	257-268

VOL. XVII, No. 1.

OCTOBER, 1900



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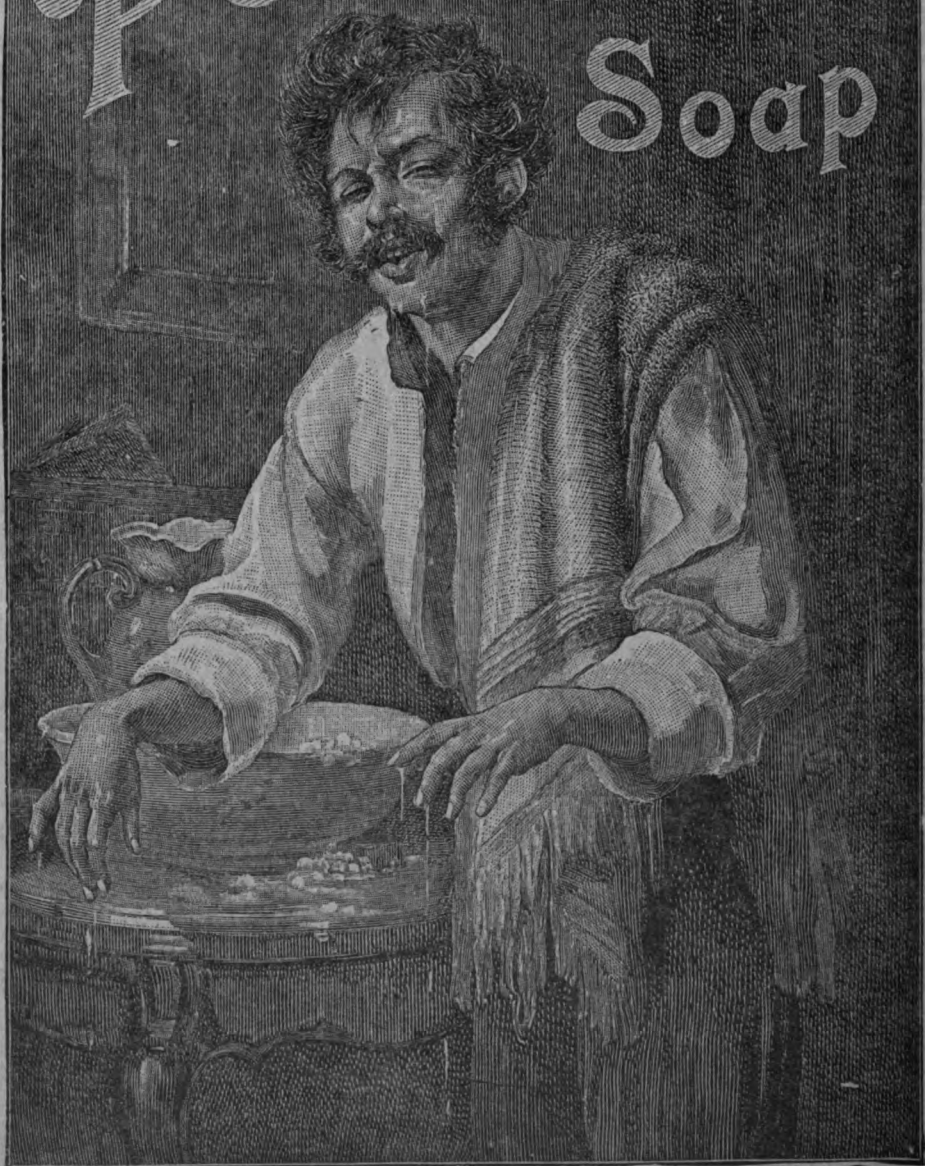
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FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:—*Great Britain, 14 shillings. Germany, 14 Marks.
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VOLUME XVII

OCTOBER, 1900

NUMBER 1

THE STRUCTURE OF HOSEA 1:2—3:5.

BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

This passage contains the account of Hosea's call to the prophetic work. The call comes in connection with the unfaithfulness of his wife. This situation furnishes the suggestion for a picture of Israel's relationship to Yahweh.

The section as a whole abounds in difficulties, some of which, however, are involved in the present arrangement of the text, and disappear with the improved arrangement here presented. This arrangement, adopted, in the majority of its features, by recent investigators,¹ receives strong corroboration from the facts noted in connection with the poetical structure of the material.

The arrangement, as here given, is intended (1) to show the original parts of the material; (2) to show the poetical form and structure; (3) to show at least the principal textual changes which may safely be adopted.

The practical results of the presentation will be found to be (1) some new light on the much-disputed questions of interpretation involved in the passage; (2) a grouping of the material which will be strictly logical, and, hence, entirely satisfactory; (3) a vindication of Hosea, in so far as this passage is concerned, against such statements as that of Cheyne,² viz.: "Symmetrical

¹ See Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*; Oort, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 345 sqq.; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, pp. 24-32; Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*.

² *Hosea*, p. 33; cf. also Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, p. 6; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 2d ed., p. 157; Geo. Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, pp. 211, 218.

divisions, then, such as we can easily make in the oratorical prophet Amos, are out of the question. There is rarely a distinct connexion, except in the tone of feeling, even between one verse and another.”³

The text, as rearranged, includes

1) *The harlotry of Gomer, the prophet's wife*, 1:2-9 (vs. 7 being a later addition);

2) *The purchase of Gomer as a slave, and her retention* “many days,”⁴ 3:1-5 (vs. 5 being a later addition);

3) *The harlotry of Israel and her punishment therefor*, 2:4-7, 10-14, 19 (vss. 4b, 6, 12, 18 being glosses or later additions);

4) *Later voices describing Israel's return to Yahweh*, 2:8, 9; 2:16-17; 2:20-25; 2:1-3.

1. *Hosea 1:2-9: The Harlotry of Gomer, the Prophet's Wife.*

The literary form of 1:2-9 exhibits certain well-organized strophes connected by brief statements in prose. The movement is at first the elegiac, but changes into simple trimeters:

(2a) תחלת דבריי בהושע ° ויאמר י' אל-הושע

I (2bc) לך קח-לך אשת זנונים

וילדי זנונים

כי זנה תזנה הארץ

מאחרי יהוה:

(3) וילך ויקח אחיגמר בתידבלים ותהר רחלד לו בן : (4) ויאמר י' אלי

II (4) קרא שמו יזרעאל

כי-עוד מעט

ופקדתי אחיגמי יזרעאל

על-בית יהוה

והשבתי ממלכות בתי-ישראל:

(5) והיה ביום ההוא

ושבצתי אחיגשתי-ישראל

בעמק יזרעאל:

³ The fact is, contrary to the commonly expressed opinion, that not only in this section, but also in chaps. 4-14, when the text of these chapters has been properly restored, the style of Hosea is straightforward, clear, and logical.

⁴ Hosea does not refer to the period following that of the retention. His horizon is thus limited.

(6a) ותהר עוד ותלד בת ויאמר לו

קרא שמה לאירחמה (6bc) III

כי לא אוסיף עוד
איהם אחיבית ישראל
כי נשא אשה להם :

(8) ותגמל את-לא רחמה ותהר ותלד בן : ויאמר

קרא שמו לא-עמי IV

כי אחם לא-עמי
ואנכי לא-אהיה : אלהיכם :

PROSE.

- (1) Introduction (vs. 2a).
- (2) Marriage with Gomer and birth of a son (vs. 3, first words of vs. 4).
- (3) Birth of a daughter (vs. 6a).
- (4) Weaning of the daughter and birth of another son (vs. 8).

POETRY.

- I. Strophe of 4 lines (trimeters and dimeters): The marriage commanded (vs. 2bc, beg. לך).
- II. Strophe of 8 lines (trimeters and dimeters): Naming of the son and its dire significance for Israel (vs. 4, beg. קרא, vs. 5).
- III. Strophe of 4 lines (trimeters and dimeters): Naming of the daughter, and statement of Yahweh's attitude (vs. 6bc).
- IV. Incomplete strophe of 3 lines (trimeters and dimeter): Naming of son, and denial of further relationship.

It is to be noted as follows :

1) The thought is clear and consecutive : A man of sensitive temperament⁶ marries⁷ a young woman, who later proves unfaithful to her marriage-vows.⁸ The children born in infidelity⁹ are

⁶ Reading thus for לָכֵם of MT. So also Grätz, *Emendationes*, etc. (1893) ; Wellhausen ; Loftman, *Kritisk Undersökning af den Masoretiska Texten till Profeten Hoseas Bok* (1894) ; Nowack, *et al.*

⁷ This appears not only from the fact narrated, but also from the play of feeling seen in all his discourses.

⁸ It is a real marriage (so Jerome, Augustine, Mercer, Bauer, Ewald, Hofmann, Pusey, Cheyne, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Valetton, *et al.*), and not a vision (so Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Keil, Wünsche, *et al.*), nor an allegory (so Jarchi, Calvin, Hitzig, Simson, Reuss, König, *et al.*).

⁹ She was זִנְיָה, i. e., not זִנְיָה a harlot at time of marriage, but one who at the time of marriage had a tendency to impurity which manifested itself later (so Gebhard, Maurer, Rosenmüller, Henderson, Cheyne, Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Kuenen, G. A. Smith, A. B. Davidson, *et al.*).

⁹ These were born, not before marriage (so Abarbanel, Grotius, Kurtz), nor in wedlock to Hosea (Böckel, Maurer), but (at least the second and third) in infidelity.

named *Jezreel, Unloved*, "No kin of mine" (literally, not-my-people). These names, like those of Isaiah,¹⁰ a few years later, are significant. The woman goes from bad to worse. The prophet (1) is led to see in this¹¹ a parallel of Israel's abandonment of Yahweh, and (2) through this domestic affliction is called to preach to his sinful countrymen.¹²

2) Each strophe deals with a separate item, and this use of poetry, in the naming of children, has parallels in Gen. 21:6, 7; 30:6, 8, 13, 20, 23; 38:29.

3) The poetical marks are abundant, *e. g.*, (1) the rhythm (in the recurrence of trimeter and dimeter); (2) the parallelism (but this in Strophes I and II is rough and ragged); (3) the evident purpose to have Strophes II, III, and IV begin with the same formula; (4) the phrases אֶשְׁתִּיזוֹנִים (vs. 2), ילְדֵי זִנּוּנִים (vs. 2), קֶשֶׁת (vs. 5), אֶרְסִיךָ אֶרְסִיךָ (vs. 6); (5) the symmetry of the strophes as to number of lines, 4, 8, 4, 3; Strophe II being 4+4, Strophe IV being one short.

4) Verse 7 is a later addition,¹³ because (1) it interrupts the narrative of Hosea's personal experience and its bearing upon the relations of Yahweh and Israel; (2) other references to Judah in Hosea are probably late; (3) the phrase "Yahweh your God" is a late expression; (4) it reflects the deliverance of Judah in Sennacherib's time (701 B. C.).

¹⁰ Cf. Shear-Jashub (Isa. 7:3), Immanuel (Isa. 7:14), Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Isa. 8:3).

¹¹ The basis of this parallel was a part of the superstitious belief of the times, *viz.*, that the gods were the husbands of their respective districts, and as such fertilized the land. Thus they were regarded as the givers of all material blessings, and their worship easily took on materialistic and sensual forms. For a discussion of this conception of deity see W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 93-108.

¹² (1) That this experience constituted the prophet's call appears from the fact that the true prophets as a rule received their divine commission through natural channels; Amos, *e. g.*, was aroused by the tramp of the Assyrian army and the corruption of his times; Isaiah's sermons gather around three great events, the Syro-Ephraimitish war, the invasion of Sargon in 711 B. C., and the invasion of Sennacherib; Zephaniah was aroused by the Scythian invasion, Jeremiah and Ezekiel by the events connected with the fall of Jerusalem. (2) Hosea himself recognizes his home experiences as the beginning of Yahweh's word to him (1:2). The most natural interpretation of this statement is to suppose that later in life he looked back upon this sad episode and realized that through it Yahweh had been speaking to his soul. That this was not an uncommon method of prophetic inspiration is evidenced by Isaiah, chap. 6, and Jer. 32:8. (3) The large place given to this conception of the marital relation between Israel and Yahweh in Hosea's preaching points in the same direction. (4) The tone of personal sympathy and anguish so prominent in Hosea's descriptions of Israel's sins against Yahweh seems to justify the belief that Hosea's own experience gave him his point of view in the prophetic work.

¹³ So also Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 577; Kuenen, Wellhausen, Oort, Cornill, Cheyne, Schwally, Guthe, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Loftman, Seesemann, *et al.* But on the contrary see König, *Einleitung*, p. 309.

2. *Hosea 3:1-5: The Purchase of Gomer as a Slave, and Her Retention "Many Days."*

The literary form of 3:1-5 is distinctly poetic. There are three strophes of 6 + 6 + 5 lines, in which the trimeter movement prevails:

- (1) I
- וַאֲמַר י' אֵלַי
עַד לֵךְ אֲהַב אִשָּׁה
אֲהַבְתָּ רַע וּמִנֶּאֱפֶת
כִּאֲהַבְתָּ י' אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְהֵם פְּנִים אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים
וְאֲהַבֵּי אִשִּׁשִּׁי עֲנָבִים:
- (2) II
- וְאֶמְרָה לִי בַת־מִשָּׁה עֶשֶׂר כֶּסֶף
וְחָמֵר שְׁעָרִים וּלְתֶךְ שְׁעָרִים:
(3) וַאֲמַר אֵלֶיהָ
יָמִים רַבִּים תִּשְׁבִּי לִי
לֹא תִזְנִי וְלֹא תִהְיִי לְאִישׁ
וְגַם אֵינֶנִּי אֵלֶיךָ:
- (4) III
- כִּי יָמִים רַבִּים
יֵשְׁבוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֵין מֶלֶךְ וְאֵין שָׂר
וְאֵין זִבָּה וְאֵין מִצְבָּה
וְאֵין אִשׁוּר וְתִרְפִּים:

Here again it will be observed that

1) the thought is a unit. The prophet, compelled by his love, purchases his wife¹⁵ out of the depths of infamy into which she has fallen, at the price of a slave.¹⁶ But he does not reestablish

¹⁴ *אֵינֶנִּי* is suggested here instead of the MT. *אֵנִי*; an exact parallel for this construction is found in Gen. 31:5 = *כִּי אֵינֶנִּי אֵלֶיךָ*.

¹⁵ That the *אִשָּׁה* of 3:1 is Gomer is clear: Note (1) the description of her as an adulteress; (2) she and Gomer play the same part in parallelism with Israel; (3) the suffix in *אֲהַבְתָּ* (vs. 2) refers to a particular woman, i. e., the one described in vs. 1; (4) if this were another woman we should expect some reference to that fact; (5) the introduction of two women would entirely spoil the essential thought.

¹⁶ It is uncertain whether Gomer had been divorced and had married another man (but cf. Jer. 3:1 sqq.; Deut. 24:1-4), or had become the slave-concubine of some man, or had been living with some man whom Hosea had to pay in order to avoid trouble when he took her back. But in any case reckoning the *לֶחֶךְ* at the traditional value of half a homer, and supposing a seah of barley to have been worth one-third of a shekel (cf. 2 Kings 7:18, where the seah sells for one-half a shekel at the close of a siege when prices were high) the homer and a half (i. e., forty-five seahs) of barley was worth fifteen shekels, thus making the total price paid for Gomer thirty shekels, which was the value of a slave (Exod. 21:32). To suppose that she was thus purchased as a slave is better than to regard the transaction as the giving of the marriage dowry (so, e. g., Manger, Rosenmüller, Maurer), or as provision made

the old relationship.¹⁷ She is to be disciplined, to lead a life shut off from men, and even from her husband. This period of seclusion will continue "many days." Nothing is said of the period following the "many days."¹⁸ The prophet sees in this whole transaction (1) a parallel of Yahweh's treatment of Israel; and (2) this together with the first act of the domestic tragedy constitutes his call to preach and furnishes him the message to be preached;

2) the strophic structure is definite, distinct, and logical. Strophe I describes the faithlessness of both Gomer and Israel. Strophe II is devoted to Gomer and pictures her degradation and seclusion. Strophe III is devoted to Israel and pictures her degradation and seclusion. Here is parallel thought and symmetrical representation;

3) the artistic element is so clear as scarcely to need pointing out. It is seen in (a) the strophic structure (see above); (b) the regularity of the rhythm (only one dimeter occurs, **וְיִאֲמַר אֵלֶיהָ**); (c) the parallelism, which is much more marked than in chap. 1; (d) the use of the first person throughout, the actor being now the narrator; (e) poetical phrases, like **אָהַבְתָּ רַע וְיִנְחָפְתָּ** (vs. 1); (f) rare and poetical words, like **אֲשִׁיטִי** (vs. 1), **לִתֶּךָ** (vs. 2); (g) the assonance prevailing in the closing lines of each strophe, i. e., the recurrence of **יָם** in lines 5 and 6 of Strophe I; of **יָ** in lines 4-6 of Strophe II; and of **אֵיךְ** in lines 3-5 of Strophe III;

4) verse 5 is to be regarded as a later addition¹⁹ because (1) the narrative of Hosea and his wife contains nothing to which the thought of this verse (Israel's return) might correspond.

for the support of Gomer until she should be reinstated (so, e. g., Osiander, Gebhard, Pusey), or to regard the money as the purchase price and the grain as provision for her support (so Calvin).

¹⁷ *Sitting still* (**וַתֵּשֶׁבֶר**; cf. Isa. 30:7; Jer. 8:14) describes a kind of life exactly the opposite of that which she has been living. Not only so, but she is debarred from the enjoyment of her former rights and privileges as Hosea's wife. This is the sense required for the last clause of vs. 3 and it is the interpretation adopted by Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Maurer, Wünsche, Reuss, Steiner, Grätz, Wellhausen, Bachmann, Valoton, Nowack, *et al.* The reading adopted here (see above) seems better than to insert **לֹא אָבְרָא** (so, e. g., Grätz, Wellhausen, Valoton, Nowack), or to insert **אֵל** after **אָמַר** (so Bachmann), or to leave the text as it stands and to carry the force of **לֹא** over from the preceding clause (so Maurer, Reuss, *et al.*). Nowack's objection to the somewhat similar reading of Steiner (**אָמַר אֵינֶנִּי**) that the idiom **אֵין אֵל** is improbable, loses its point in view of the occurrence of this very idiom in Gen. 31:5.

¹⁸ This fact is strongly in favor of the view adopted here that the passages in Hosea, chaps. 1-3, which treat of the restoration of Israel to Yahweh's favor, are of later origin. Such passages have no analogy in the story of Hosea's treatment of his wife which he is using to illustrate Yahweh's dealings with Israel.

¹⁹ So Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 577; Staerk, *ZA W.*, Vol. XI, p. 249; Oort, *op. cit.*, p. 364; Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sq.; Nowack, *et al.*

Hosea does *not* take back his wife. He only goes so far as to place her in seclusion; (2) the tone and contents of the verse accord entirely with those of 2:1-3, 9, 16, 17, which are unquestionably later;²⁰ (3) the language points to a later date,²¹ viz., the use of *פָּהַד* (*cf.* Micah 7:17), *אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים*, *רוּד* (both form and usage are late), *טֹב* as applied to Yahweh.

3. *Israel's Harlotry and Her Punishment Therefor: 2:4-7, 10-14, 15, 19.*

This is independent of chaps. 1 and 3, which go together, and likewise of the other portions of chap. 2, viz., vss. 1-3, 8, 9, 16, 17, which come from a later date. Vss. 4b, 6, 12, are to be treated as glosses. There is no very close connection between this and chaps. 1-3. The form consists of four strophes, 8+9+8+9, in the trimeter movement:

- (4) I
 רִיבוּ בְּאֵמֶכֶם רִיבוּ
 וְחָסַר זְנוּנִיהָ מִפְּנִיהָ
 וְנִאֲפֻשִׁיהָ מִבֶּן שָׂדֵיחָ:
 (5)
 פֶּן אֶפְשִׁיטֶנָּה עֲרִמָה
 וְהַצַּגְתִּיהָ כִּיּוֹם הוֹלְדָהּ
 וְשִׁמְתִּיהָ כְּמִדְבָּר
 וְשָׂתִיהָ כְּאֶרֶץ צִיחַ
 וְהִמְתִּיהָ בְּצִמָּא:
 (7) II
 כִּי זָנְתָה אֲנִי
 הִבִּישָׁה הוֹרֵתִם כִּי אָמַרָה
 אֵלֶיכָּה אַחֲרֵי מֵאֲהָבִי
 נָתַתִּי לַחֲמִי וּמִיָּמִי
 צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי שָׁמְנִי וּשְׁקוּיִי:
 (10)
 וְהִיא לֹא יָדְעָה
 כִּי אֲנִי נָתַתִּי לָהּ
 הָדָק וְהַתִּירוֹשׁ וְהַיִּצְהָר
 וְכִסֶּה הָרִבִּיתִי לָהּ וְזָהָב:
 (11) III
 לֵכֵן אָשׁוּב וּלְקַחְתִּי דַּגְנִי בַעֲדוֹ
 וְתִירוֹשִׁי בְּמוֹעֲדוֹ
 וְהִצַּלְתִּי צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי
 לְכִסּוֹת אֶת־עֵרֹתָהּ:

²⁰ See pp. 10 *sqq.*, 15.

²¹ See Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(14) והשבתי גפנה ותאנתה
 אשר אמרה אתנה הזיה לי
 ושבתים לי-י
 ואכלתם חית השדה ;
 IV (13) והשבתי כל משושה חנה
 חדשה ושבתה וכל מועדה ;
 (15) ופקדתי עליה את-ימי הבעלים
 אשר תקטיר להם
 ותעד מזבח והליתיה
 ותלך אחרי בִּאֵהֶבֶה
 ואתי שכחה נא־יִהְיֶה ;
 (19) והסירתי את-שמות הבעלים מפיה
 ולא-יזכרו עוד בשמים

Attention is invited to the following remarks :

1) The thought is clear and logical. No interruptions occur. The expression moves on smoothly and regularly. It is a literary unit: Israel must put away her harlotry, lest I destroy her. She has sinned shamefully in entering into union with those whom she supposed to be the authors of her prosperity; and she has forgotten that it was I who gave her all these things. But I will take them away again; I will lay her waste, and cause all her gladness to cease. I will punish her for indulging in Baalistic orgies. I will even expunge the unholy names from her memory. This may be summed up, *Israel has played the harlot; she shall be punished.*

2) The strophic progress is exceedingly fine :

Strophe I: Plead with your mother to put away her sin lest I destroy her (vss. 4, 5).

Strophe II: She has sinned in seeking the Baalim, from whom she imagined she received benefit, not knowing that it was I who bestowed upon her all her comforts (vss. 7, 10).

Strophe III: Therefore I will take back all I have given her, the evidences of her prosperity, her corn and wine, her vines and fig-trees (vss. 11, 14).

Strophe IV: I will cause all joy to cease and will visit judgment upon her for all her indulgences, so that their very names will perish from memory (vss. 13, 15, 19).

3) The evidences of artistic purpose are seen in (1) the symmetrical strophic structure (see above); (2) the progress of

thought (see above); (3) the prevailing trimeter movement; (4) the regularity of parallelism; (5) alliteration, *e. g.*, the repetition of the suffix יָהּ in Strophe I, lines 2 and 3, and of יָהּ at the beginning of lines 5–8, the recurrence of the endings יָהּ , יָהּ , יָהּ in Strophe II, lines 3–5; the interchange of the endings יָהּ and יָהּ in Strophe III, lines 1–3; the repetition of יָהּ in Strophe IV, lines 1 and 2; (6) rare and poetic words, *e. g.*, $\text{נִשְׁפָּחַ$ (vs. 4), שִׁקְרִי (vs. 7), אֲתִנָּה (vs. 14), חֲלִיתָהּ (vs. 15).

4) The following textual emendations are to be adopted: (1) Vs. 4b, $\text{אִשָּׁה} \dots \text{כִּי}$ is to be taken with Volz (*op. cit.*, p. 26) and Nowack as a gloss originating from אֲנִיכֶם , for it breaks the connection between רִיבוֹ and וְחִתָּהּ ; it does not accord with the meter of this passage; and it is a superfluous line in this strophe. (2) Vs. 6 is a gloss (so also Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and Nowack) which interrupts the close connection between vss. 5 and 7, and is little else than a repetition of 1:6b. It has no place in the structure of this strophe, nor in that of the following one. (3) Vs. 10, עָשׂוּ לְבַעַל is a later addition (so Wellhausen and Nowack), for (a) the plural עָשׂוּ is not in harmony with the preceding references to Israel as a woman, (b) Hosea regularly uses the plural form בַּעֲלִים , (c) it is a departure from the line of thought which is concerned here rather with Yahweh's actions than with those of Israel, (d) its syntactical connection is unusual. (4) Vs. 12 is a gloss (so Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and Nowack) based on עִירוֹתָהּ (vs. 11). The ideas and phraseology are characteristic of later prophecy (*cf.* with vs. 12a Jer. 13:26; Ezek. 16:37; Nah. 3:5, and with vs. 12b Isa. 43:13; Deut. 32:39). (5) Vs. 14, $\text{אֲשֶׁר לִי בִּמְאֹדִי}$ is a gloss explaining אֲתִנָּה , and based on vs. 7. It adds nothing to the thought and is not essential to the strophe. (6) Vs. 14 is placed after vs. 11, leaving vs. 13 to be connected with vs. 15. (7) Vs. 19 (to which vs. 18 is a gloss) connects closely with vs. 15. (8) The remaining portions of chap. 2, viz., 2:1–3; 2:8, 9; 2:16–17; 2:20–25 are taken as four distinct and independent utterances, and are treated separately (see next section).

4. Later Voices Describing Israel's Return to Yahweh: 2:8, 9; 2:16–17; 2:20–25; 2:1–3.

It is now generally acknowledged that nothing was more common in the later days of Israel's literary history than to work over earlier productions and to make additions to them. There

is no earlier prophet whose work has not been treated in this manner.²² Just so, Hosea's words were found in later days, *i. e.*, after the restoration, to stop short of that important period, and statements referring to this time are inserted. In chap. 2 we have four such additions, each of them poetical in form. We may take them up in turn.

A. *Israel's return*, 2:8, 9.—This piece is a strophe of six lines; the movement is a rough and irregular tetrameter:

(8) לֶכֶן הִנְיִישָׁךְ אֲחִידְרָהָ²³ בְּסִירִים
וְגִדְרֹתֶי אֲחִידְרָה וְנִחְבֹּתֶיהָ לֹא תִמְצָא :
(9) וְיִדְפֶּה אֲחִידְרָהָ וְלֹא תִשָּׂג אִתָּם
וּבִקְשָׁתָם וְלֹא תִמְצָא וְאִמְרָה
אֵלֶכָה וְאִשׁוּבָה אֶל אִשִּׁי הָרִאשׁוֹן
כִּי טוֹב לִי אֵז מִטָּחָה :

An examination of this strophe discloses some interesting points:

1) It has a single thought, *viz.*, Israel, *compelled by harsh measures* to separate herself from her lovers, returns to Yahweh. No choice is given her. No option is exercised on her part. Impassable barriers are established, and, consequently, she loses her way and is forced to come back.

2) The strophe is perfect: six tetrameters, in couplets; the parallelism of the first and second is synonymous, of the third and fourth synonymous, of the fifth and sixth synthetic. Marks of poetic skill are seen in (1) the *גִּדְרֹתֶי אֲחִידְרָהָ* (vs. 8), (2) the putting of "wall" over against the "hedge-thorn," *בִּקְשָׁתָם* over against *יִדְפֶּה*, *תִּמְצָא* over against *תִּשָּׂג*, (3) the very striking and rhythmic phrase *כִּי טוֹב לִי אֵז מִטָּחָה*.

3) The strophe is itself late;²⁴ this appears from (1) the fact that it is rendered superfluous by 3:3; (2) lack of agreement with 3:3 in that here a voluntary return of the woman is described, while there she is held in forcible restraint; (3) it breaks the connection between vss. 7 and 10, which is otherwise very close, and

²² Cf. Amos 9:8b-15; Isa. 2:2-4; chaps. 24-27; 36-39; 40-66; Micah 2:12 *sq.*; 4:1-4; chaps. 5-7; Jer., chap. 52, etc.

²³ *ה* instead of *ך*; so Sept. Syr., also Oort, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Grätz, *op. cit.*; Wellhausen, Loftman, Guthe, in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Bachmann, *Alttest. Untersuch.*, I, 11, reads *דְּרִכָּה*; so Nowack; this is favored by the Syriac, Targum, and the following *נִחְבֹּתֶיהָ*.

²⁴ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack. Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 345 *sqq.*, regards vss. 8-10 as misplaced and inserts them between 2:15 and 2:16.

introduces prematurely the element of chastisement which comes in naturally with vs. 11; (4) it has a different rhythm and strophic structure from that employed in the context.

B. *Israel is allured from her lovers, and, after a proper season, is restored to former favor, 2:16, 17 (18).*—This piece is distinctly different from 2:8, 9, in that (1) Israel is spoken of in the third person, while according to the MT. in 2:8, 9, the second person is used; (2) a different usage of הנה is employed, cf. הנה (2:8) with הנה אנכי (2:16); but especially (3) an entirely different point of view is adopted, one passage representing Israel as forced away from her lovers, the other as enticed or allured away; one representing discipline as coming in one way, the other presenting an entirely different representation.

It consists of one strophe of six tetrameters. Vs. 18 is a gloss to vs. 19 (see Nowack):

לכן הנה אנכי מפתיה (16)
והלכתיה המדבר ודברתי על-לבה;
ונחתי לה את-כרמיה בשם (17)
ואת-ענבן ענור לפתח תקוה
וענתה שמה כימי נעוריה
וכיום עלותה בארץ מצרים:

This strophe presents the following points:

1) A unity which is definite and distinct from the other similar passage, 2:8, 9. Here Israel is kindly and gently separated from her lovers, and, as in coming out of Egypt, is guided to the wilderness for discipline; from this point her prosperity will be restored, and she will become again strong and fresh as in the days of her youth.

2) A perfect artistic form, to be seen in the well-balanced parallelism, first and second being synonymous, third and fourth synonymous, fifth and sixth also synonymous.

3) Late origin,²⁵ as seen in (1) the different point of view taken here from that occupied in vss. 11 *sqq.*; there the thought is that of punishment pure and simple, here it is tender-hearted chastisement with a view to repentance and reformation; there punishment alone is thought of, here promises of blessing prevail; (2) the different representation here from that in vs. 5; there the land where Israel dwells is to become a barren waste;

²⁵ So Volz., *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

here Israel is to be driven from its land into the desert by Yahweh; (3) the order of thought in vs. 17 is characteristic of later days—Israel's return to Yahweh is represented as brought about by Yahweh's goodness in the bestowal of blessings, but if Hosea ever contemplated a return it was to be as a result of punitive discipline at Yahweh's hands, and the blessings would follow repentance; (4) the thought of Israel's obedience to Yahweh in her youth (vs. 17) does not agree with the representations of 11:1 *sq.* and 12:4; (5) late expressions; *e. g.*, "the valley of Achor" is mentioned in Isa. 65:10; the figure of allurements in the wilderness has parallels in Ezechiel; (6) it has a different rhythm and strophic structure from those employed in the genuine verses of the context.

4) Verse 18 is a gloss on vs. 19.*

C. *Yahweh's covenant and betrothal*, 2:20–22.—This piece is a strophe of six lines, pentameter movement:

(20) וּכְרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית בְּיוֹם הַהוּא
עַם הַחַיָּה הַשָּׂדֶה וְגַם עֵץ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיִמְשׁ הָאֲדָמָה
וְקִשְׁתָּ וְהָרֵב וְיִלְחַמָּה אֲשׁוּר מִן־הָאָרֶץ
(21) וְהַשְׁכַּבְתִּים לַבָּטָה: וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי לְעוֹלָם
וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי בַחֲדָר וּבִיחְמִים:
(22) וְאַרְשָׁתִּיךָ לִי בְאַמּוֹנָה וִידַעַת אֲחִידָהּ:

This section is uncommonly interesting:

1) Its thought is simple and striking. A new ordinance is established by which beasts and men shall do Israel no harm; and again Israel will be betrothed to Yahweh, this time in loving kindness, mercy, and faithfulness; and at last Israel shall really know Yahweh.

2) The movement is strong, but somewhat ragged. Perhaps there are two strophes, each of three pentameters, the first describing the "covenant" with the animals, the second describing the betrothal. In this case the first words of the second strophe (the last two words of vs. 20) sum up the security gained by the "covenant," and prepare the basis for the new thought, *Yea, I will betroth thee to me forever*, the sudden change from the third plural to the second feminine singular being demanded by the figure, and being, at the same time, not unusual in Hebrew.²⁷ If,

²⁶ So Wellhausen, Volz, Nowack.

²⁷ (a) Cf. for similar abrupt changes 2:3, 18; 4:6; Gen. 49:25a, 26a; Deut. 32:14d, 15b. See König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik u. s. w.* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 238 *sqq.* (b) בַּצֶּדֶק רַבְמִשְׁפָּט is to be omitted from vs. 21 as incongruous in view of the context.

then, we make two strophes, the first has three lines, dealing with the covenant, the beasts, and weapons of war; the second has three lines, in each of which the betrothal is mentioned.

3) The passage is late,²⁸ because (1) this idyllic picture of a state of universal peace represents later ideals (*cf.* Isa. 4:6 *sq.*; 65:25) (see above, p. 11); (2) the thought of vs. 21 *sq.* has no parallel in the story of Hosea's wife which is the basis of chaps. 1-3; (3) the language and phraseology of vs. 20 are characteristic of a later age; *cf.* Lev. 26:3 *sqq.*; Gen. 9:2; Ezek. 34:25 *sqq.*; Isa. 11:6 *sqq.*; 35:9; 2:4; Zech. 9:10;²⁹ (4) a new meter and strophic structure appear.

D. *Bounteous blessings for Israel, 2:23-25.*—This addition consists of three strophes of 4 + 4 + 3 lines, trimeter movement:

(23) וְהָיָה בְיוֹם הַהוּא
אֶנְהָ נָאֵם יְהוָה
אֶנְהָ אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם
וְהֵם יִנְּנוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ:

(24) וְהָאָרֶץ תַּעֲנֶה אֶת הַדֶּגֶן
וְאֶת־הַתִּירֹשׁ וְאֶת הַיֵּצֶהָר
וְהֵם יִנְּנוּ אֶת־יִזְרְעֶאל:

(25) וְרַעְתִּיהָ לִי בָאָרֶץ
וְרַחֲמֵי אֶת־לֹא רַחֲמֶהָ
וְאִמְרָתִי לִלְאֵ־עָמִי עֲמִי־אֲחָהָ
וְהוּא יֹאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי

This piece is essentially different from the others:

1) Its thought is clear and beautiful; "Jezreel (Israel) asks its plants to germinate; they call upon the earth for its juices; the earth beseeches heaven for rain; heaven supplicates for the divine word which opens its stores; and Yahweh responds in faithful love."³⁰

2) In the artistic form everything is satisfactory. The parallelism may be called progressive; the thought and form are both highly poetic.

3) It is to be regarded as late,³¹ because (1) it contemplates the full restoration of Israel to Yahweh's favor; (2) the eschatological phrase וְהָיָה בְיוֹם הַהוּא belongs to later times; עֲנָה

²⁸ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

³⁰ Cheyne, *Hosea*, p. 56.

²⁹ *Cf.* especially Volz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 *sq.*

³¹ So Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Nowack.

as used here is found only in late passages, *e. g.*, 14:9; Ps. 65:6; Eccl. 10:19; (3) the materialistic blessings spoken of here are not in keeping with the spirit of the teachings of Amos and Hosea; (4) the meter and strophic structure change again.

E. *Great numbers and new names*, 2:1-3.—This addition, the last, consists of two strophes of four lines each, pentameter movement:

- (1) וְהָיָה מִסְפֵּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּהוֹל הַיָּם
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמָּד וְלֹא יִסָּפֵר
וְהָיָה בְּמִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר לָהֶם לֹא־עָמִי אַחֶם
יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֵל חַי:
- (2) וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו
וְשִׁמּוּ לָהֶם רֹאשׁ אֶחָד וְעָלוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ
כִּי גָדוֹל יוֹם יִזְרְעָאֵל:
- (3) אֲמִירוֹ לְאַחֵיכֶם עָמִי וּלְאַחֵיכֶם רַחֲמָה:

Whatever doubt may exist as to the place in which this may be inserted to best advantage, its separateness is clear. It is in its last part virtually a repetition of 2:25.

1) One thought is expressed, prosperity, as seen in numbers and new names, the latter expressing Yahweh's attitude toward them. In the future Israel's numbers will be beyond calculation; instead of being estranged from Yahweh her people will be recognized as sons of the living God; and instead of schism between north and south there will be united action resulting in victory over all opponents.

2) Each of the two strophes presents an important idea: Strophe I, Israel's numbers will be great and she will again become Yahweh's people; Strophe II, she will be reunited and thus enabled to meet all enemies. The parallelism is not even.

3) This piece cannot be placed after 2:25,³² because³³ (1) it is superfluous in that position, being little more than a repetition of 2:23-25; (2) it forms a very poor ending for chap. 2; (3) it distinguishes between Israel and Judah, while the rest of the chapter speaks only of Israel; (4) according to vs. 20 Israel is already in the home land, but according to vs. 2 they have yet to

³² So Heilprin. *The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, Vol. II, pp. 125 sq.; Steiner, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, etc.; Kuenen, *Einleitung*, Vol. II, p. 319; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 sq.

³³ Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 sq.; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaja-kritik*, p. 215, Note; Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 172.

return thither; (5) וְאָמַם is used in an altogether different sense in vs. 3 from that in vss. 20 and 25.

4) It is to be taken as an independent and late addition³⁴ on the following grounds: (1) In its present position it breaks the connection between vss. 19 and 24, neither can it be satisfactorily placed elsewhere; (2) the reference to Judah is suspicious; (3) in its vision of Israel's future it passes beyond Hosea's horizon; (4) it implies that Israel has already been carried from its land; (5) the interpretation of "Jezreel" and "Lo-ammi" in 2:25 is different from that in 2:1 sq.; (6) the tremendous increase of Israel is a later eschatological conception (cf. Gen. 22:17; 32:13; Isa. 48:19); (7) it differs in poetic form from every other section of this chapter.

³⁴ So Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Isr.*, p. 442, Anm. 1; Stade, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 577, note 1; Cornill, *ZA W.*, 1887, p. 285; Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 sqq.; Oort, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 sqq.; Loftman, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Cheyne, in W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. xviii; Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Nowack; Seeseemann, *Israel und Juda bei Amos u. Hosea nebst einem Exkurs über Hos. 1-3* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 33.

NOTES ON ISAIAH 1:18b AND 7:14b-16.

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Isaiah 1:18b.—R. V., “though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.” Cheyne translates: “If your sins be scarlet, they may become white as snow; be they red as crimson, they may become as wool.” In both renderings the possibility of forgiveness is implied or expressed; in the second there is a suggestion of conditions attaching to the forgiveness, while in the first the certainty expressed ignores any conditions. The second is preferable, as it takes into account the context in vss. 19, 20. Cheyne’s note to vs. 18b is: “How this can be effected we learn from vss. 19, 20. A change of life would avert the threatened punishment.” This common explanation of vs. 18 involves as a minimum the removal, by Yahweh, of the guilt of the sinner on condition of his becoming “willing and obedient.” But vs. 19b states expressly what is the conclusion of that (changed) condition: “Ye shall eat the good of the land.” Have we interpreted the last part of the two lines of vs. 18b correctly?

At first sight the similarity in form of vss. 18b, 19, 20 would seem to argue for the common explanation. But the similarity is formal only. The conditional clauses in vss. 18b and 19 are not synonymous, and the conclusions need not be. There is no occasion to interpret those of vs. 18b as expressing Yahweh’s forgiveness of sin, because vs. 19b states what will be the fortune of the willing and obedient Israelite. This latter verse is in entire harmony with the prophet’s message given in this chapter: the former verse, as usually interpreted, assumes a strange interruption to Isaiah’s course of thought, however little spirituality may be conceded it.

The suggestion which we venture is to make the last half of the two lines of vs. 18b parallel with the condition of vs. 19. Willingness and obedience form the condition of eating the good of the land. Such a state of mind is not the condition or means

of "snow-whiteness;" it is snow-whiteness itself. For the securing of it the sinner, guilty Israel, is responsible. Of course, this thought calls for a jussive force for the verbs under consideration. "If your sins be scarlet, let them be white as snow. If they be red as crimson, let them be as wool. If ye are (thus) willing and obedient, ye shall eat the fruit of the land."

We have thus far considered the verse from the point of view of the succeeding context, led to this course by Cheyne's note. What is the foregoing context? Israel's forms of worship are obnoxious to Yahweh when employed by men whose lives were sinful. Disaster is overtaking their land; they pray to Yahweh, but the hands they lift to him are red with blood. "I cannot grant your prayer for prosperity and deliverance from affliction." What will secure them a hearing and an answer? The answer is short and sharp. Wash those blood-stained hands. Abandon your evil doings; practice uprightness, justice, kindness. This they must do as a condition of Yahweh's answering their prayers. The terminology down to vs. 17 is not that of heart-repentance, of divine forgiveness of past sins. The life and conduct is to be corrected *by the petitioner* before he can expect his prayer for temporal prosperity to be heard. This correction of the life and conduct is within the power of the man to make. It is laid upon him as an obligation to perform.

This brings us to vs. 18. "Let us reason together." What is the subject involved in the summons נִכְיָהּ of Yahweh? The temptation is strong to answer the question in accordance with our preconceived ideas of the meaning of the verse. But really there is abundant latitude for any interpretation which may otherwise commend itself.

The common explanation supposes that between vss. 17 and 18 the attitude of the Israelite has changed. Conviction of sin has followed the prophet's vigorous language of the preceding section. But there is no hint in the opening words of the verse that there is such change, or that the following thought is a new one. The analogy of prophetic utterance is abundantly satisfied if the prophet is to proceed to reiterate his former truth, especially if he elaborates or strengthens his case thereby. This increased emphasis is certainly secured by the literary fiction of a hearing at which Yahweh states his case fully. We are then not bound to find in vs. 18 an advance in thought.

As we come to examine the second part of the verse, we must do the well-nigh impossible, and forget our familiar "though", as a translation of the simple **אם** "if." "If your sins be as scarlet," what then? A second state is mentioned—"white as snow." Of course, the two clauses do not mean that a sin can be, now scarlet, and then snow-white. They mean that a man may now have great sin, and then be without sin; not a scarlet sin now, and then a snow-white sin; rather, you Israelites now sinful, and then sinless, unstained with sin. The figure employed evidently comes from the preceding verses; there it is concrete, here it is developed into an abstract proposition. If we go to vss. 15, 16 for the figure, why not go to the same source for the thought also? There a washing is contemplated, but without more ado the bloody-handed Israelite is commanded to wash his own hands. They have been leading wicked lives; they are bidden live righteous lives—a very simple and practical demand, not beset by any theological difficulties.

"If your sins be as scarlet"—what is the most natural thing for Isaiah to say next? What would be expected from a prophet who has written vss. 15, 16, 17, and is in vss. 19, 20 to bring his main contention to a climax with the forcible, "The mouth of Yahweh hath spoken it"? Is it not to be expected that he will say, "If your sins be as scarlet, let them become white as snow"? That this is his burden seems to the writer increasingly probable.

Isaiah 7:14b, 15, 16.—The following suggestion is hazarded in the somewhat uncertain search for the original form and meaning of the celebrated chapter. The verses may have been removed from an original location before vs. 9b. The reasons that prompt the suggestion may be stated in brief. They certainly do not amount to a proof of the correctness of the hypothesis, but are presented nevertheless:

1. The verses cited do not have good connection forward or backward. At least vss. 14b and 16 are promises of blessing, of deliverance from danger by the power and presence of Yahweh with his people. Vs. 15 is by some taken otherwise. Upon what Old Testament passages their view can be based is not clear. In Gen., chap. 18; Deut., chap. 32; Judg., chap. 5; 2 Sam., chap. 17; Job, chap. 20, butter and milk are indicative of abundance. They form part of the hospitality accorded to the

honorable. No one can think that the sacred writers meant a famine-stricken or devastated land when they referred to Canaan as a land flowing with milk and honey. The strong presumption is that the verse before us corresponds to its immediate context. The force of the terms in vss. 21, 22 is less clear if the context of these verses is to be considered. If they are taken independently, the impression created by them is certainly that of abundance, although כל הנותר may be taken to suggest that a depopulation has previously occurred. The context of vs. 15 contains no such connotation, and there is no occasion for rejecting the verse as a gloss on the ground of its incongruity with the favorable predictions of vss. 14 and 16. The character of vss. 14b, 16 is, however, not affected by the disposition made of vs. 15.

Vss. 12, 13, however, lead us to expect a prediction of evil to follow. Asked by the prophet to ask a sign by which his faith in Yahweh might be strengthened, Ahaz refuses. He does not believe, and he will not expose himself to conditions which may make belief necessary. This perversity of the king is met by a natural outburst of impatient rebuke. He "wearies" not only man (the prophet?), but the prophet's God also, by his obstinacy. Neither the prophet's language in vs. 14a nor temper of mind exhibited in vs. 13 allows us to take the giving of the sign to be in the same spirit as in vs. 11. If the אלה there would show the blessings to follow obedience, the אלה here would show the penalties of Ahaz' present disobedience. Into such a course of thought vss. 14b-16 intrude awkwardly.

The following context is no less awkward. The solemn introduction of the principal thought of vs. 17, and the comparison of the future with the schism between Judah and Israel, a grievous misfortune as interpreted by the prophets, and especially in evidence just now when Israel was arrayed against Judah, permit but one explanation of the verse. The lack of an introductory conjunction, in itself suspicious, is no more noticeable than the lack of logical connection.

2. Not only does the passage in question lack good connection, but if it is removed the remainder gains in continuity. The omission of connective at the beginning of vs. 17, disturbing in its present sequence, becomes natural and necessary if vs. 17 follows vs. 14a (הנה may stay with vs. 17 or go with vs. 14b). The strong *a priori* expectation of a threat of evil to come as a punishment

for Ahaz' perversity is perfectly met by the new connection. An אִרָּה is not of necessity a supernatural event (indeed the Immanuel sign as now explained is without miraculous quality) or an immediate event (the former reference of the child Immanuel was to Jesus of Nazareth centuries later), and no objection can be raised to the prophet's calling the devastation of Judah a sign if he choose; true, it is the substance of the prediction and not simply a sign, but such use we meet elsewhere, and here the form of the revelation is an easy development of the earlier verses of the section.

3. The foreignness of vss. 14b-16 to its present context has some degree of possibility from considerations already mentioned. Even if no better context can be found for it, they still have their weight, undiminished; if a suitable context can be found, they are greatly increased. The proposed original location is before the final clause of 7:9. The suggestion is made with extreme hesitation because of the disorder which characterizes that section and the consequent impossibility of fixing, with any confidence, upon the prophet's course of thought; and without any effort to reduce the resulting passage to a literary form, consistent in details, because no new difficulties are introduced by the proposed transposition.

Ewald suggests to insert, "but Judah's head is Jerusalem, and Jerusalem's head is Yahweh," after vs. 9a. He is led to this suggestion by the difficulty of כִּי (vs. 8) otherwise; he also claims that the words which would be suitable here must be few and forcible. Very likely vss. 14b-16 would not meet his notion; certainly their form is very different from his suggestion; but our reference to Ewald is to show that the propriety of a reference here to Judah and Yahweh's protection was felt by him.

Cheyne is still more significant. He says: "The writer of the gloss [vs. 8b] (. . .) may, however, have been right in his impression that the text as it stood was incomplete." Again: "We must suppose that here too [before vs. 10] something has fallen out of the text or been omitted—a view which is confirmed by the formula prefixed to vs. 10." This, he thinks, must have been nearly equivalent to the closing words of vs. 16. "In vss. 17-25 his language is deterrent; in the lost passage which should precede vs. 10 it was probably of a persuasive character." "Isaiah may have spoken somewhat thus: 'Wherefore shouldst thou seek

help afar off? Is there no God in Israel who is mighty to save? Yet a very little while and the fortress shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom from Damascus. Dost thou not even yet trust the divine promise? Then ask thee a sign from Yahwè thy God.'” One can only wonder that Cheyne should not mention, here or later in his discussion of vss. 14b-16, the possibility that this section is the lost passage which in his judgment so closely resembles it.

Speaking independently, it seems natural that vs. 9 should contain a reference to Judah's great king Yahweh, who would destroy the enemies of his people. Our Immanuel section furnishes that thought. Vs. 8b is proven by its form and location to be a gloss. And yet some idea of the time when the deliverance should come is more than natural. The Immanuel section contains it, and that in an unobjectionable form and, put after vs. 9a, in an unobjectionable place (so far as this point is concerned). The words are forcible, as Ewald demands, though not exactly few.

4. If a reasonable occasion can be suggested for the displacement of the passage in the course of its history, still more plausible will the theory be.

Can such suggestion be made for this case? The miraculous in the career of the coming Messiah and his reign was more and more emphasized. The Septuagint *παρθένος* for *עלמה* shows this principle at work on this passage. What more natural than that, when the immediate value of the section was swallowed up in the Messianic value, it should seem more fitting that it should be placed after the *ארת*? Without doubt it is purely and simply its connection with *ארת* which has prevented the suggestion of a break at this point, has kept it in its awkward position between vss. 11-14a and vs. 17. And yet the attempt to get back beyond its derived to its original value has, it would seem, revealed a possible line of cleavage just at that place.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCES IN ISAIAH 40-66.

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The summaries in the following pages represent in part the results of a systematic study of the syntax of sentences in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66. My object was to investigate the different kinds of sentences and classify the results. This was done without reference to the literary and critical problems connected with the book.

The purpose of the tables is twofold: first, to present some of the more interesting stylistic and syntactical characteristics of these chapters; second, to show their bearing on the question of the unity of the book. Syntax may not be the strongest argument in a discussion of literary authorship; it has nevertheless at least as much weight, if not more than enumeration of words and phrases. For it has been correctly observed that syntax indicates more clearly a writer's method of thinking than does his choice of words and phrases.

The division of the book adopted is due chiefly to recent discussions of the problems connected therewith. Stade,¹ Cornill² *et al.* doubt that chaps. 63-66 come in their present form from the author of chaps. 40-62; Duhm,³ Marti⁴ *et al.* assign chaps. 56-66 to a different writer. This suggested the division into chaps. 40-55, 56-62, 63-66. The first section was subdivided into chaps. 40-48, 49-55, not only because 40-48 form a uniform and closely unified series of prophetic discourses, but also for the sake of convenience in comparisons. Two classes of passages, which required special notice, have been separated from the rest of the book: first, the Ebed Yahweh passages (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12); then two passages on the foolishness of idolatry, which are treated as glosses by Duhm (44:9-20; 46:6-8). It is impossible in this connection to take up all the other alleged glosses of minor importance. The different sections

¹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, p. 70, note.

² *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*³, p. 161.

³ *Das Buch Jesaja*, p. xviii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 361 sq.

are indicated by the following letters: A = chaps. 40-48; B = 49-55; C = 56-62; D = 63-66; E = the Ebed Yahweh passages; I = the two passages on idol-worship.

A discussion of the syntactical features of doubtful and difficult passages is impossible in the brief space allowed, and inconvenient because it would seriously interfere with the unity of presentation. Notes on special passages have been reserved for future publication. As my purpose was to classify the material presented by our present Hebrew text, only those textual changes have been made which were demanded by syntax.

1. Table I. shows how the pronominal subject (both of nominal and verbal sentences) is strengthened either by repetition, *e. g.*, 43:25, or by an apposition (pronoun of the third person, *e. g.*, 41:4δ, or a noun, *e. g.*, 41:4γ).

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AS SUBJECTS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthened by							
(1) repetition.....	3	1	1	..	..	..	5
(2) the pronoun of the third person.....	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) nouns.....	13	1	2	1	..	..	17

Remark 1.—Usually the pronoun is in the first person, and God the logical subject; the nominal appositions are as a rule divine names. This is due to the controversial style of the earliest chapters, where Yahweh is so often introduced as speaker and his uniqueness and power contrasted with the nothingness of heathen idols.

Remark 2.—Some of the cases under (2) in the table are doubtful. In some cases the pronoun of the third person might be perhaps treated as a copula (*e. g.*, 43:25^a; 46:4^a; 51:12^a, 19^a, etc.). This position is strenuously defended by König.⁵ On the other hand, Kautzsch denies even that הוא in 51:19^a is a copula and translates it “illa.”⁶ In some cases, *e. g.*, 43:10, 13, etc., the pronoun is explained as predicate by Davidson;⁷ this is most probably the case in 48:12.⁷ The material in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, is hardly sufficient to decide the question, but it seems to me that

⁵ *Syntax*, § 338A.

⁶ Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 122q.

⁷ *Syntax*, § 106, rem. 2.

most of the cases can be explained as pronominal appositions. The pronoun of the third person as a copula is very rare in these chapters.

II. ORDER OF WORDS IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCES
(SIMPLE PROPOSITION).

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular: Subject-predicate.....	29	9	16	10	8	1	73
2. Inverted (pred.-subj.), the predicate being							
(a) a noun.....	4	4	..	4	2	..	14
(b) a participle.....	3	2	..	..	..	..	5
(c) an adjective.....	..	3	1	..	1	..	4
(d) a preposition.....	4	1	1	..	..	..	6
	11	10	2	4	3	..	29

2. In the verbal sentences only a few peculiarities of the predicate have been noticed :

(a) Verbal apposition in 47:1b,⁸ 5b,⁹ 52:1b.

(b) Infinitive absolute for a finite verb, 42:2a (Kt. perfect), 20b,⁹ 22β;¹⁰ 59:4b (four times), 13 (six times).

(c) הָיָה and participle for a perfect, 59:2a, 15a, β.

Remark 1.—The text of 44:14a, where an infinitive construct is used independently, is undoubtedly corrupt. The infinitive cannot be connected with anything that precedes or follows. Either a finite verb is fallen out before it (Dillmann : שָׁלַח) or it is an error for פָּרַח (Duhm *et al.*). Cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*

Remark 2.—The predicate is wanting, *e. g.*, 42:19a; 43:2γ, but easily supplied from the context; absence of the predicate is an evidence of a corruption in the text in 44:12a; 49:19a; 66:18a.

III. SOME USAGES OF THE VERBAL PREDICATE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Infinitive absolute.....	2	..	10	..	1	..	13
2. הָיָה + partic. (= verb. fin.)	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
3. Verbal apposition.....	2	1	..	..	..	..	3

⁸ Second fem. sing. continued by third plur. masc. (indefinite for passive).

⁹ Cf. Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 113z. Duhm's change of the text is not necessary.

¹⁰ The text very doubtful. Cf. commentaries, *ad loc.* (Even R. V., "They are all of them snared in holes").

IV. ORDER OF WORDS IN SIMPLE VERBAL PROPOSITIONS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular	156	52	77	67	27	39	418
2. Predicate, etc.: ¹¹							
on account of emphasis..	38	5	30	8	..	3	84
because of chiasm.....	4	..	3	..	..	..	7
3. Subject, etc.:							
emphasis	45	17	29	25	11	3	130
chiasm	2	3	3	1	2	..	11
4. Object, etc.:							
emphasis	15	5	11	4	5	4	44
chiasm	13	3	20	2	..	1	39
5. Adverb, etc.:							
emphasis	2	4	2	1	1	..	10
chiasm	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
6. Preposition, etc.:							
emphasis	1	18	18	10	14	6	67
chiasm	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
7. Pred. nom., etc.:							
emphasis .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

3. In connection with the copulation of the sentences I have observed the following peculiarities in the tenses of the verb:

(a) In some cases $\bar{\imath}$ simple and the perfect are used to continue a perfect, where we would expect as a rule $\bar{\imath}$ consecutive and the imperfect, *e. g.*, 40:12 γ , δ ; 41:4 α ; 43:12 (twice), 14 b ; 48:16 b ; 55:10 ϵ ; 55:10 ζ ; 44:15 a , b .

(b) Sometimes $\bar{\imath}$ simple and the imperfect occur instead of the consecutive $\bar{\imath}$ with the imperfect. This seems to be due to the desire of an editor or copyist to transform a statement concerning the past into a prediction. The text ought to be changed undoubtedly to read $\bar{\imath}$ consecutive,¹² 41:5 α ; 42:6 α ,¹³ 43:9 α , 28 α ; 48:1 β ; 49:5 b ; 51:2 δ ; 57:17 α ; 63:3 γ , δ , ϵ , 5 α , β , 6 α , β , γ .

(c) There are a few cases where $\bar{\imath}$ simple (separated from the verb) is used for $\bar{\imath}$ consecutive with the imperfect,¹⁴ *e. g.*, 40:18 β , 24 b ; 44:24 b (?); 45:13 β ; 49:13 δ (?); 44:14 b , 18 β , 19 α (?), 20 β (?); 41:25 δ .

Remark 1.—Changes of the order of words due to chiasm are very common in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

Remark 2.—Contraction of sentences (about eighty cases, if we count only those in which two or more parts of the contracted sentences are different) is most common in the early chapters, and is due to their poetic form.

¹¹ Usually with slight modifications of the regular order.

¹² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 107 b , note; König, § 366 t , and commentaries, *ad loc.*

¹³ Parallel with a perfect.

¹⁴ Cf. König, § 366.

Remark 3.—A positive statement is restated in negative terms, or *vice versa*, e. g., 41:9d; 42:16b, 24b, etc. Very often this form is used to make more emphatic statements concerning the uniqueness of Yahweh, e. g., 43:11; 44:6b, 8b, etc.

Remark 4.—Questions (usually rhetorical) continue sometimes simple positive or negative propositions, or *vice versa* (syndetically), e. g., 43:9, 13b; 44:7a, 8b; 45:9b; 48:6a, etc.

V. GROUPING OF SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. Chiasm.....	40	17	21	14	..	..	92
b. ¹⁵ (1) ¹⁶ Syndetic	133	71	112	86	17	27	446
Asyndetic	159	55	74	42	14	20	364
(2) ¹⁷ Syndetic	83	30	50	27	25	2	217
Asyndetic	31	18	15	6	6	1	77
(3) ¹⁸ Syndetic	18	11	15	16	5	3	68
Asyndetic	5	2	3	2	..	..	12
(4) Posit. negat. or negat. posit.	8	1	4	2	2	..	17
The same referring to Yahweh's uniqueness	10	..	..	..	..	..	10
c. אֵל	18	..	..	..	..	6	24
גֹּם or גִּם	6	..	2	3	..	..	11
אֵל	4	..	1	..	..	..	5
אֵל or אֵל-אֵל .....	..	3	3	1	1	..	8
אֵל	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
אֵל or אֵל-אֵל .....	..	..	3	2	..	..	5

4. Both the imperative and the jussive are used quite frequently to make the style more vivid. The different sections are often introduced by a command to the prophet to preach, or to the audience (frequently imaginary) to listen. Persons, nations, lands, etc., are addressed directly, as if the prophet (or his God) spake to them; coming events are represented as due to immediate commands of Yahweh, etc.

Remark 1.—Sometimes (when absent persons or poetic personifications are addressed) (a) the imperative passes into a jussive—usually of the third person—41:1a(?),¹⁹ 22a; 45:11b (jussive of second person), 21a; (b) the jussive is followed by an imperative, 41:22.

¹⁵ Syndesis and asyndesis.

¹⁶ Progressive.

¹⁷ Synonymous.

¹⁸ Contrast.

¹⁹ Text doubtful; יחליפו כח most probably dittography from 40:31a (Duhm *et al.* following Lagarde). Dillmann's explanation, "strength is needed for controversy with Yahweh," is weak. Such an idea is never even suggested in the numerous controversial passages in 2 Isaiah. The phrase is out of place in the context.

Remark 2.—The rhetorical uses of the imperative and the jussive may be roughly divided into the following four classes :

(a) introducing a new strophe or section (usually verbs of speaking and hearing), *e. g.*, 40:1, 14 ; 41:1 ; 42:18 ; 44:1, 21, etc.;

(b) adding color or emphasis to a description, *e. g.*, 40:4, 9 ; 41:1, 21 ; 44:11 ; 43:9, 26, etc.;

(c) ironical, 47:12 *sq.*; 57:13;²⁰

(d) making statements concerning the future more vivid and more emphatic, or representing them as due to direct commands of Yahweh, *e. g.*, 43:6, 8, 22*a*; 44:26, 28 ; 47:1 *sqq.*, 5 ; 48:20 ; 50:1, etc.

Remark 3.—The cohortative is not very frequent ; it occurs in 41:1*δ* ; 43:26*a* ; 50:2*b*, 8*β* ; 56:12*a* (twice) ; 59:10*a*, *β*. In the last passage it is used to express an obligation, "We must"

VI. RHETORICAL USES OF THE IMPERATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Introducing a strophe or section	18	8	1	1	..	1	29
2. Adding color (or emphasis) to description	12	5	1	..	..	1	19
3. Ironical	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
4. = Emphat. or vivid future.	8	7	2	2	..	..	19

VII. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES AND NOUNS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. הֵנָּה	9	5	6	11	1	..	32
הֵן	5	7	4	2	3	1	22
Total	14	12	10	13	4	1	54
2. הוּי	2	1	..	..	..	..	3
3. מֵה .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
4. קוֹל	2	1	..	3	..	..	6
5. אֲשֶׁר .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

VIII. OATHS AND OPTATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Oaths	1 ²¹	2 ²²	..	..	..	3
2. Optative sentences	1 ²³	1 ²⁴	..	..	2

²⁰ If the text is correct.

²¹ הֵן אֲנִי (Yahweh).

²² Imperfect + אֲנִי.

²³ Nominal sentence without special indication.

²⁴ לֵרָא + perfect.

5. Few peculiarities have been found in interrogative sentences. The following points may be noticed here:

(a) 44:19 ζ , η ; ²⁵ 63:15 γ ; 64:4 δ ²⁶ are probably questions without special indication of their interrogative character. They may have been indicated by the tone of the speaker's voice; in the absence of that criterion their character is doubtful and to be decided chiefly by their context.

(b) The members of a double question are synonymous in 66:8 β , γ ($\overline{\text{ה}} + \overline{\text{אם}}$), 49:24a-b ($\overline{\text{ה}} + \overline{\text{ואם}}$); 40:28a- β ($\overline{\text{לא}} + \overline{\text{אם-לא}}$); the second is the restatement of the first in negative terms in 50:2 δ - ϵ ($\overline{\text{ה}} + \overline{\text{אם לא}}$), and *vice versa* in 66:9a-b ($\overline{\text{לא}} + \overline{\text{ואם}}$).

IX. SOME RHETORICAL USES OF THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. ²⁷ $\overline{\text{הלא}}$	12	..	1	1	..	1	15
2. ²⁸ $\overline{\text{ה}}$	4	1	1	1	..	..	7
Some with $\overline{\text{מי}}$, $\overline{\text{מה}}$	8	2	1	2	4	..	17
3. ²⁹ $\overline{\text{למה}}$	1	1	1	[1 [?]]	3
4. ³⁰ Form various.....	5	..	..	1	..	..	6
5. ³¹ " ".....	6	4	1	8	..	4	23

(c) The use of interrogative sentences is mostly rhetorical. Hence an answer is rarely given or expected and the questions pass easily into positive or negative affirmations.

(a) Interrogative sentences with $\overline{\text{הלא}}$ are used for emphatic positive statements, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:24a; 43:19 β , etc.

(β) Many questions occur instead of emphatic negative propositions; questions introduced by $\overline{\text{ה}}$ (all cases in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, *e. g.*, 44:8 δ ; 45:9 γ ; 49:15a, etc.), by $\overline{\text{מי}}$ (= Nobody did . . . , *e. g.*, 40:13 sq., 18a, b, 25a, etc.), by $\overline{\text{מה}}$ (= Nothing . . . , 45:9 γ), and by $\overline{\text{אי}}$ (= Nowhere . . . , 50:1 β).

²⁵ Cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*

²⁶ The text is doubtful. The sentence $\overline{\text{ונושע}}$ might be translated "but we shall be saved;" but it would not suit the context as well as a question: "Thou (O God) art gracious to those who keep thy statutes (4a). But we have sinned against them; can we be saved?" (Cf. Revised Version.) The question expresses wonder and doubt. Recent exegetes emend the text, suggesting various parallels to $\overline{\text{ונושע}}$ of Ewald would be perhaps the most suitable reading; cf. LXX. *ἐπλανήθημεν*.

²⁷ = Emphatic positive statement. ²⁸ = Emphatic negative statement. ²⁹ = A rebuke.

³⁰ Interrogative sentence expressing a wish, prayer, or command, etc.

³¹ Interrogative sentences with a shade of doubt or wonder.

(γ) Questions with לָמָּה have the meaning of a rebuke (40:27a; 55:2a; 58:3a; except 63:17a?).

(δ) Some questions express a prayer, wish, or command, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:23; 43:9γ, 19β; 48:6β; 63:17a (negative).

(ε) Many of the questions have a shade of doubt or wonder, *e. g.*, 40:21; 40:28; 43:19β; 44:10a, etc.

Remark.—In the coördinated sentences, 50:2a, β; 58:3a, β; 66:9a, b, the second has an interrogative force, the first is temporal,³² *e. g.*, 58:3a, “[When] we fast, why dost thou not see?”

6. The following minor points have been noticed in the negative sentences:

(a) אַל is used once with a noun in prohibition, 62:6b (אַל לָכֶם דְּבַר = “Let there be no peace to you” = “Do not keep quiet;” *cf.* vs. 7a: לוֹ חַתְּמוּ דְּבַר לּוֹ).

X. THE NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. לֹא + perfect	34	3	13	16	7	2	75
לֹא + imperfect	39	23	23	17	11	7	120
לֹא + noun .....	..	2	..	1	4	2	9
לֹא + preposition	6(5?)	2(+4)	..	..	..	..	12
2. בִּלְּ + perfect	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
בִּלְּ + imperfect	1	..	..	..	..	3	4
3. אַל + jussive	12	6	4	4	..	..	26
אַל + noun .....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
4. אֵין + noun or participle...	29	7	11	5	..	1	53
אֵין + preposition .....	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
5. אֶפֶס or אֶפְסִי	5	1	..	..	..	..	6

(b) לֹא and אֵין sometimes form one concept with a noun, *e. g.*, 55:2b (לֹא לְטַבְעָה לֹא לֶהֱם—לְ and infinitive construct!); 66:3b (לֹא טוֹב = “not good” = “bad”); 40:29β (אֵין אֹנִים = “weak,” governed by preposition לְ); 59:10β (אֵין עִיִּים = “blind,” governed by כִּי).

(c) לֹא בִּ is used for בְּלֹא (“without”) in 45:13ε; *cf.* 55:1b; 48:1ε (four times); the meaning is doubtful in 48:10a (Kautzsch-Ryssel,³³ following the Vulgate, read וְלֹא כִּי בִּסָּה); likewise אֵין (47:1β), וְאֵין (57:1a; 60:15a), בְּאֵין (57:1b).

³² Or with a concessive shade of meaning, 58:3a, β(7); 66:9a, b(7).

³³ *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments: Textkritische Erläuterungen, ad loc.*

(d) אֵין and אַפֶּס may be strengthened by עַד and prepositional phrases:

(a) עַד, 45:5a, 6γ, 14c, 18b, 22b; 46:10β; 47:8β, 10b;

(β) בִּבְלַעַד with pronominal suffixes, 43:11β; 44:6δ; 45:6β;

(γ) זֶלַח with pronominal suffixes, 45:5β, 21δ.

7. The use of asyndetic relative sentences³⁴ (without relative particles and pronouns) in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is large and free.

Remark.—Some asyndetic sentences after nouns governed by כִּי of comparison seem to be in a transitory stage. It is impossible to decide in every case whether כִּי is a preposition or a conjunction. This seems to be the case in 53:7γ, δ; 61:10ε, ζ, 11a (not in 62:1δ; כִּלְפִיד is parallel with כִּנְהָה); 63:14a. It is noteworthy that in five cases (except 53:7δ; 61:10β) the noun is determined, while, as a rule, the antecedent of asyndetic relative sentences is undetermined.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES.

1. *Syndesis (a) and asyndesis (b).*

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. (1) אֲשֶׁר	10	15	11	14	2	1	53
(2) Article .....	..	1(?)	1(?)	..	..	..	2(?)
(3) אֲדֹנָי	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
(4) כִּי (indef.) .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Total	12	18	12	14	2	1	59
b. (5) Asyndetic	31	21	16	11	4	..	83

2. *The antecedent.*

a. Syndetic:							
(1) A substant. with article	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
(2) Proper name	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) A substantive partially determined	3	4	6	5	..	..	18
(4) An undeterm. substant.	1	..	3	4	..	..	8
b. The anteced't of the asynd. relative sentence:							
(1) An undetermined noun	13	7	10	4	1	1	36
(2) A noun partially determined	2	8	..	1	2	1	14
(3) A proper name	3	1	..	..	..	..	4
(4) A substant. with article	..	..	4	1	1	..	6
(5) A pronoun .....	..	..	1	..	1	..	2

³⁴ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²⁶, § 155d; Reckendorf: *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, § 171.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES (CONTINUED).

3. *The place of the independent relative sentence in the main sentence.*

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. The syndetic:							
(1) = the subject	1	3	..	..	..	..	4
(2) = a vocative .....	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
(3) An object (accus.)	2	2	..	1	2	1	8
(4) A genit. after a constr. .	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(5) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
b. The asyndetic relative sentence is:							
(1) A subject	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
(2) = a vocative .....	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
(3) A pred. nomin. ....	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(4) An object-accusative ..	4	..	..	..	..	..	4
(5) A genit. after a constr. .	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
(6) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:	..	..	..	2	..	..	2

4. *The retrospective pronoun.*

a. In the syndet. rel. sentence:							
(1) As object—							
omitted	2	..	1	3	1	..	7
expressed	2	..	1	1	..	..	4
(2) Genitive expressed	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
omitted	2	3	1	2	..	..	8
expressed	1	2	1	..	1	..	5
b. In asyndet. rel. sentences:							
(1) As object—							
expressed	6	..	2	..	..	..	8
omitted	4	4	3	..	..	..	11
(2) As genitive suffix expressed	3	1	2	..	..	..	6
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
expressed	3	..	1	3	1	2	10
omitted	1	2	..	..	..	..	3

8. The circumstantial sentences present hardly any peculiarities. They may have various shades of meaning: causal, 41:24 β ; 53:15 α , β , 12b(?); temporal (65:24 δ), concessive (43:8 α , b), etc.; but there is nothing unusual in their usage in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

9. The subject and object clauses are

(a) asyndetic, 42:21 β ; 48:8 γ ;

(b) introduced by וְ , *e. g.*, 41:23 β ; 43:10 δ ; 45:23 ϵ ; 50:7 δ , etc.;

(c) infinitive clauses, *e. g.*, 42:24; 47:11 β , γ ; 50:4 β ; 51:13 ϵ , etc.

Remark.—Verbal apposition takes the place of an object clause after יָסַף, 47:1b, 5b; 52:1b,³⁵ after רָאָה, 53:11a.³⁶ The first case is remarkable; the governing verb is second person sing. fem., but the apposition is third person plur. masc. (indefinite for an impossible passive).

XII. SUBJECT AND OBJECT CLAUSES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Independent.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
2. With כִּי.....	15	2	6	..	..	..	23
3. Infinitive construct.....	7	..	5	..	..	1	13
4. Infin. construct with לְ.....	..	2	1	..	3	..	6

XIII. CAUSAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. כִּי.....	18	32	25	15	1	2	93
2. יָשַׁן.....	..	..	1	3	..	..	4
3. אַחֲרֵי ³⁷ with preposition....	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
Total.....	19	32	26	18	2	2	99
Infinitive with preposition ...	1	..	..	[1?]	..	..	1

Remark 1.—Simple parataxis for a causal sentence is found, e. g., 48:21β.

Remark 2.—In 65:12γ, δ; 66:4γ, δ two coördinated sentences are introduced by the causal conjunction, which properly belongs to the second—the first in the place of a temporal sentence. Similar is the case of comparisons, where the conjunction precedes the protasis, the apodosis being a causal sentence, 55:9, 10 sq.; 61:11; 62:5a, β; 66:22 (cf. 44:3).

Remark 3.—In some passages the causal sentence does not give the cause of the statement immediately preceding, but rather of a section as a whole in a general way. This is true especially of כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה, when introducing a new section, e. g., 45:18a; 52:3a, 4a; 57:15a; not in 56:4a; 66:12a, where כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה is put in to make the following statement more emphatic. Cf. also 54:9a, though the text is very doubtful.³⁸—It is doubtful

³⁵ Cf. König, § 361.

³⁶ Cf. Kautzsch-Ryssel *in loc.* The verse is freely emended by recent exegetes; cf. Duhm, Marti, *ad loc.*

³⁷ אַחֲרֵי, 43:4b; אַחֲרֵי, 53:12γ.

³⁸ Cf. Dillmann and Duhm, *ad loc.*

whether "כִּי כֹה אָמַר י" in 49:25 is in its proper place; it separates the answer in vs. 25 from the rhetorical question in vs. 24. Duhm transposes it to the beginning of vs. 24; Marti rather freely cuts out vs. 24 as a gloss.

11. Very few conditional sentences occur in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.—וְיִּי occurs once (54:15a). To treat it as a particle of exclamation³⁹ is against the context: "Oppression and terror will not come near thee [vs. 24]; if anyone fights against thee it is not from me [= with my approval, 15a]; whoever strives with thee will fall." König's claim, that an apodosis would be wanting, fails, because וְיִּי and its supplement may be an independent sentence; cf., e. g., 46:9; 47:8, 10. The indefinite relative כִּי introduces a condition in 54:15b: If anyone⁴⁰

12, 13. Concessive and restrictive sentences are rare in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, and do not present any peculiarities.

14. In comparisons various forms are used:

(a) Coördination (asyndetic) appears in 62:5a.

(b) The following conjunctions are used:

- (a) In protasis כִּי־אֲשֶׁר, in apodosis —, 51:13ε; 66:20b;
 (β) " " כִּי־אֲשֶׁר, " " כִּי, 52:14 sq.; 55:10 sq.; 65:8;
 (γ) " " אֲשֶׁר, " " כִּי, 54:9β;
 (δ) " " —, " " כִּי, 55:9a; עַל כֵּן, 40:8b.

Remark 1.—An infinitive clause introduced by וְ stands in the place of a comparative sentence in 64:1a and is continued asyndetically by a verbal sentence (imperfect).

Remark 2.—There are some cases of shortened comparisons (besides the simple וְ with a noun):

(a) The inner accusative in 62:5b: "Thy God will rejoice over thee with the joy of the bridegroom over the bride."

(β) וְ and participle, 63:2b: "Thy garment is like the garment of one treading in the wine press."

(γ) One of the things which are compared is the subject, the other a predicate (both participles), 66:3a, e. g., "He that kills an ox (is like him) that slays a man;" cf. Revised Version, Dillmann, Duhm, Marti. The translation of Kautzsch-Ryssel creates

³⁹ König, *Syntax*, § 390γ.

⁴⁰ The text of the verse is doubtful, and its meaning not clear. Cheyne emends it freely; Duhm and Marti treat it as a gloss.

⁴¹ "As if"; cf. Revised Version, margin, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Dillmann; "when," Revised Version, Duhm.

an unnecessary anacoluthon between 3a and 3b: "He that kills an ox (but at the same time) slays a man"

Remark 3.—A nominal sentence seems to be governed by כִּי in 53:3b. Taking כִּי־נִסְתָּר with Dillmann and most recent exegetes to be a noun we may translate: "(He was) like (one) from whom faces are hid." The Revised Version (margin) translates: "He hid as it were (his) face from us." The context favors strongly the first translation (contempt of the people for the suffering servant).

Remark 4.—In 59:18a the second כִּל is most probably a dittography (Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Marti); it is a preposition and requires a noun. Duhm changes the verb יִשְׁלֵם to a noun שְׁלֵם, but such usage of כִּל does not occur anywhere else.

XIV. COMPARATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic	1	..	..	1
2. Apodosis — כִּן	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
3. כִּי־אֲשֶׁר	1	..	1	..	..	2
4. כִּן־כִּי־אֲשֶׁר	1	..	1	1	..	3
5. כִּן־אֲשֶׁר	1	..	..	..	..	1

15. The following conjunctions are used in the temporal sentences:

(a) כִּי (a) with a perfect—in the main sentence a gnomic perfect, 40:7γ;⁴²

(β) with an imperfect (future)—in the apodosis imperfect (future), 43:2a;

(γ) with an imperfect (contin.)—in the main sentence a perfect (present?), 54:6γ;⁴²

(δ) with an imperfect (iterative)—in the apodosis י consecutive with the perfect, 58:7γ.

(b) כִּי with an imperfect (future), while in the main sentence we find

(a) an imperfect (future), 42:4β, γ;

(β) a jussive (negative), 62:7b.

⁴² The temporal use of כִּי is doubtful in 40:7γ; 54:6γ. In 40:7γ it may be either temporal (G. A. Smith, *ad loc.*; Marti(1), *ad loc.*) or causal (Kautzsch-Ryssel, Duhm, Cheyne; cf. Dillmann, *ad loc.*).

- (c) טָרַם (only 65:24a) or בָּטַרַם with an imperfect—and
 (a) an imperfect in apodosis: iterative, 42:9γ; future, 65:24a
 .(י, separately introduced apodosis).
 (β) a perfect (historical) in apodosis, 48:5γ; 66:7a, β. (In
 β introduced by י, in a asyndetic).

Remark 1.—An independent sentence instead of a temporal sentence is found in 48:13b.

Remark 2.—Infinitive clauses governed by ב, יָדַע, and מִיָּדָע have a temporal meaning, 52:8b; 53:9β; 55:6a, β; 57:13a; 64:2a; 44:7γ; 48:16γ.

16. (1) Simple coördination⁴³ of sentences with a final shade of meaning is quite common in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66.

(a) Imperative after an imperative, 45:22a; 46:8a,⁴⁴ 47:2δ(?);⁴⁵ 55:2γ; 48:14a.

(b) Cohortative:

(a) after an imperative, 41:22δ (twice), 23β; 49:20δ; 51:23δ; 55:5γ;

(β) after a jussive, 41:23δ;⁴⁶ 66:5ζ;

(γ) after a perfect, 41:26a.⁴⁷

(c) Jussive(?) (resp. imperfect with jussive force):

(a) after a jussive, 45:8γ;⁴⁸ 55:7γ(?);

(β) after an imperfect, 46:6γ;

(γ) after a perfect, 41:26β;⁴⁷

(δ) after a nominal sentence, 41:28b.⁴⁹

(2) Another "lighter" (?)⁵⁰ way of expressing purpose is the use of infinitive construct with ל, quite frequent in Isa. 40-66.

(3) Sentences introduced by conjunctions, all regular in form; the imperfect tense is used:

(a) לִי־יָדָע, 41:20a, β; 43:10b, 26b; 44:9δ; 45:3γ, 6a; 66:11a,⁵¹ b,⁵¹

(b) לֹא (negative: that not, lest), 48:5γ, 6γ.

⁴³ A "lighter" way of expressing purpose. Davidson, § 148a; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 108, 2a; 109, 2a; 165a; Davidson, §§ 64, 65.

⁴⁴ The second imperative is a *ἀπαξ* λ., its meaning uncertain.

⁴⁵ Asyndeton.

⁴⁶ Continued by a jussive Kt. יִרְאָה (Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 109d; Oort's reading יִרְאָה, from יִרָא, does not fit Yahweh as speaker; cf. vs. 21). Vol. imperfect (Dillmann) or rather imperfect cohortative; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 751).

⁴⁷ After a question; cf. Davidson, § 65d; from our point of view, rather consequential.

⁴⁸ With an emendation: תִּפְתָּח אָרֶץ 'וְתִפְתָּח יִרְאָה' 'וְתִפְתָּח יִרְאָה'; the transposition of תִּפְתָּח removes the syntactical difficulty of the present text.

⁴⁹ After a negative sentence; cf. Davidson, § 65 (*ibid.*, classed by mistake in 65d interrogative).

⁵⁰ Davidson, § 148b.

⁵¹ Continued by י and perfect consecutive.

XV. FINAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Syndetic imperfect ⁵²	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
" cohortative	5	3	..	1	..	..	9
Jussive	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
Total	11	5	..	1	..	2	19
2. לִמְעַן	5	..	..	2	..	1	8
3. לֹא (negative)	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
4. לְ and infin. construct	9	10	22	8	4	2	55

17. (1) Consequences of a certain action are stated sometimes in

(a) an asyndetic sentence, *e. g.*, 63:19δ; 64:1δ; or

(b) in a sentence connected with the preceding by a ׀, *e. g.*, 46:5b,⁵³ 7β; 53:2b.

(2) Special means of indicating a result are:

(a) infinitive clauses (α) with לְ; (β) with לֹא (negative consequence).⁵⁴

XVI. CONSEQUENTIAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic .....	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
2. Simple syndetic	1	..	..	..	1	1	3
3. לְ + infinitive .....	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
4. לֹא + infinitive (neg.) .....	..	2	8	..	..	2	12

18. I. Parenthetical sentences are used to strengthen or to explain certain parts of the main sentence, as:

(1) (a) the subject—God in all cases—42:8β; 45:18β,⁵⁵ δ,⁵⁵ 51:15γ; 52:6γ; 54:5β, δ; 57:15β;

(b) the object, 48:6a (פִּלְסָה, the object of הִיָּהוּה, being also the object of שִׁמְעִיתָ);

(c) the predicate,⁵⁶ 52:14β, γ;

⁵² Simple syndesis with a final shade of meaning.

⁵³ Or final (f).

⁵⁴ Addendum (b) אֲשֶׁר with imperfect (after imperfect future).

⁵⁵ After participles.

⁵⁶ The parenthesis is introduced by כִּי and takes the place of a causal sentence ("Many were astonished, because," etc.); מִשְׁחָת to be taken most probably with Duhm, as participle hoph. מִשְׁחָת.

Remark 1.—The parenthesis refers to the divine name (יהוה, 48:8 β ; יהוה צבאות שׁבׁו, 51:15 γ ; 54:5 β^{57}), to Yahweh's uniqueness (45:18 β) and wonderful actions (45:18 δ).

Remark 2.—הִנְנִי in 52:6 γ has been translated as direct discourse after בְּדִבֶּר (Dillmann, who compares 40:9; 41:27; Kautzsch-Ryssel, Revised Version, margin). But (1) דִּבֶּר alone before direct discourse is unusual; (2) the parallels of Dillmann do not prove anything (אָמַר in 40:9; independent in 41:27) < Revised Version, Duhm, as in (1) (a) [Cheyne, Marti transfer הִנְנִי (or rather הִנֵּה־הִנֵּה) to the beginning of vs. 7, which they emend quite freely].

II. The parenthesis is used to mark the direct discourse.⁵⁸

(1) (a) It may be the defective nominal sentence:

(a) נֶאֱמַר יְהוה, usually at the conclusion of the discourse, 41:14 γ , etc.;

(β) once נֶאֱמַר אֲדַנִּי י' וגו' in the beginning of the verse, 56:8a.

(2) It may be a verbal sentence, either with the perfect or imperfect of אָמַר in predicate.

(a) The perfect is used

(a) once with an indefinite subject, 45:24a;

(β) very commonly with יהוה, or similar expressions as subject, 45:13 ζ , etc.

(b) The imperfect is used only five times, 40:1b, 25; 41:21 β^{59} = 66:9a;⁶⁰ 41:21 δ .⁶⁰

Remark 1.—It is interesting to compare the various ways in which certain verses (or passages) are stamped in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, as divine oracles. We find the following:

(a) The introductory formulas:⁶¹

(a) כֹּה אָמַר יְהוה וגו', 43:14a, 16a; 44:2a, 6a, 24a; 45:1a, 11a, 14a; 48:17a; 49:7a, 8a, 25a; 52:3a; 56:1a; 65:8a;

(β) כֹּה א' אֲדַבֵּר י', 49:22a; 52:4a;

(γ) כֹּה א' אֲדַבֵּר י', 51:22a;

(δ) כֹּה א' הָאֵל יְהוה; 42:5a;

(ϵ) כִּי כֹה א' אֲדַבֵּר י', 45:18a;

(ζ) כִּי כֹה א' רָם וגו', 57:15a;

⁵⁷ Addendum: 57:15 β .

⁵⁸ Cf. Remark 2.

⁵⁹ β : יֹאמַר מְלֶכְךָ וְעַקֵּב: δ : יֹאמַר יְהוה.

⁶⁰ β : אָמַר אֱלֹהֶיךָ parallel with יֹאמַר יְהוה in vs. 9b.

⁶¹ Sometimes with the addition of various modifications.

- (η) לָכֵן כֹּה א' אֶלֶי י', 65:11a;
 (θ) וַעֲתָה אָמַר יְהוָה, 49:5a;
 (ι) נֹאֵם אֶלֶי יְהוָה, 56:8a.⁶²
 (b) The parenthetical sentences:
 A. Verbal (always אָמַר):
 (1) The perfect:
 (a) אָמַר יְהוָה, 48:22; 57:19b; 59:21 (twice); 65:7β;
 66:20a, 21, 23b;
 (β) א' י' צִבְאוֹת, 45:13ζ;
 (γ) אָמַר אֱלֹהֶיךָ, 54:6δ; 66:9β.⁶³
 (δ) א' אֱלֹהֵי, 57:21;
 (ε) א' מִרְחֶמֶיךָ י', 54:10ε.
 (2) The imperfect:
 (a) יֹאמַר אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, 40:1b;
 (β) י' קְדוֹשׁ, 40:25; (' evidently a proper name; = יִשְׂרָאֵל ק?);
 (γ) י' יְהוָה, 41:21β,⁶⁴ 66:9a,⁶⁵
 (δ) י' מִלֶּךְ יַעֲקֹב, 41:21δ,⁶⁶
 B. The nominal נֹאֵם יְהוָה (as a rule, concluding an oracle),
 41:14γ; 43:10a; 43:12b; 49:18b; 52:5 (twice); 54:17δ; 55:8b;
 59:20b; 66:2β, 17b, 22a.

Remark 2.—The use of the imperfect is exceptional. It is variously explained.

(a) Praesens historicum (König, § 159b; cf. Targ., אָמַר, Pesh. 'amar)⁶⁷ is improbable, because even the perfect אָמַר is used usually of oracles, which are present from the speaker's point of view (perf. praesentiae).

(b) "The call is not a single, momentary one; it is repeated, or at least continued" (Driver, § 33a, O.). This would hardly explain cases (like 40:1b, 25b; 41:21β, δ) in which the imperfect occurs at the beginning of new sections; repetition or duration is hardly the important feature here.

(c) It seems that the presential moment is emphasized in contrast with something that happened, or used to happen (cf. Davidson, § 40b).⁶⁷

⁶² If the Massoretic division of verses (followed, e. g., by R. V., Dillmann, Duhm, Marti) is correct; Ewald, Kautzsch-Ryssel (following LXX) connect it with vs. 7.

⁶³ יֹאמַר יְהוָה, vs. 9a.

⁶⁴ Parallel.

⁶⁵ אָמַר אֱלֹהֶיךָ.

⁶⁶ But LXX: λέγει Vulg.: dicit.

⁶⁷ Cf. Duhm on 40:1, "präsentisch, zum Gedichte passend."

XVII. PARENTHETICAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthening (or explaining)							
(1) the subject ⁶⁸	3	4	1	..	..	..	8
(2) the predicate .....	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
(3) the object	1	..	..	..	..	..	1

XVIII. FORMULAS INDICATING DIVINE ORACLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
I. Introductory:							
1. Verbal, consisting of אמר יהוה, etc. ⁶⁹	12	7	2	2	..	..	23
2. נאם י' .....	..	..	1(?)	..	..	..	1
II. Parenthetical: (a) verbal, (b) nominal—							
a. (1) containing the perfect of אמר ⁶⁹	2	2	4	5	..	..	13
(2) containing the imperfect יאמר ⁶⁹	4	..	..	1	..	..	5
b. (3) נאם יהוה	3	5	1	3	..	..	12

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

I. Some special points in the syntax and style:

1. The copula in nominal sentences is very rare.
2. The irregular order of words both in nominal and verbal sentences is very common.

3. ׀ and a perfect occurs after a perfect, where historical Hebrew uses ׀ consecutive with the imperfect.

4. Instead of wāw consecutive with the imperfect, wāw separated is sometimes used with the imperfect.

5. Commands are used to introduce new sections (verbs of hearing and speaking), to add force and color to the discourse, to describe future events in a vivid manner.

6. Rhetorical questions are often used for emphatic positive or negative statements, to express a command or wish, doubt or wonder.

7. The negative particles לֹא and אֵין sometimes negate a noun (like German "un-"); אֵין, לֹאִי, and בִּלְאִי are used like בְּלֹא (= without).

8. The asyndetic relative sentences are used very frequently, even as independent parts of the main sentence.

⁶⁸ In all cases God.

⁶⁹ With various modifications.

9. The preposition בְּ passes into a comparative conjunction.

10. Purpose is more commonly expressed by simple syndesis (with a final shade of meaning), or by an infinitive construct with preposition, than by final sentences.

II. Some points, which have a bearing on the unity of the book :

1. The pronominal subject with strengthening pronominal or nominal appositions⁷⁰ is found often in A and B; rarely in C; never in D, E, and I.

2. וְהָיָה with a participle instead of a finite verb occurs only in C (three times).

3. The proportion of syndesis to asyndesis is ca. 2 : 1 in A, B, E, I; $2\frac{1}{2}$: 1 in C; 3 : 1 in D.

4. Chiasm is very common in A, B, C, D; wanting in E and I.

5. Restatement of a positive proposition in negative terms (or *vice versa*) does not occur in I; when referring to Yahweh's uniqueness it is found only in A.

6. בְּלֵךְ with the perfect occurs only in A, with the imperfect once in A, thrice in I. לֹא־יִהְיֶה as a negative is used only in A and B.

7. כִּי as a causal conjunction occurs only in C and D.

8. Use of simple copulative waw (with the jussive, etc.) with a final shade of meaning is frequent in A, B, I; rare in D; wanting in C and E; but the infinitive construct with בְּ is very common in C, D, E, less frequent in A and B.

9. Parenthetical sentences emphasizing the subject (God, as a rule) are used three times in A, four times in B, once in C, twice in E, never in D or I.

10. Formulas marking the discourse as a divine oracle are common in A, B, C, D, wanting in E, I.

CONCLUSION.

Syntax of the sentences can be used as an argument for separating C and D, and probably E and I, from A and B. It cannot be used to divide C and D. It is interesting to note, that the study seems to confirm, from a different point of view, the critical conclusions set forth by recent exegetes, especially by Duhm in his commentary.

⁷⁰ Usually divine names.

APPENDIX I.

INFINITIVE CLAUSES.

I. Infinitive construct⁷¹ without a preposition.

(1) It occurs in 40:16a; 42:24δ, 46:2β; 47:11(β)⁷²δ, 12γ; 53:10a; 58:2β, 5β, 6β, γ, δ, 7a, 9δ (twice), 13γ; 60:14a.⁷³

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed by a noun following the infinitive, 58:5γ;

B. is omitted (a) when it is the same as the subject of the main sentence, 42:24δ; 46:2β; 47:11(β)⁷²δ, 12γ; 53:10a; 58:13γ; 60:14a; 57:20β; 58:2β; (b) when indefinite, 40:16a; 58:9δ; (c) when parallel with the subject of continuing finite verb, 58:6β, γ, δ, 7a.

(3) The object of the infinitive

A. is expressed (a) by a noun following the infinitive, 46:2β; 58:2β, 5β, 6a, β, γ, δ, 7a, 9δ, 13γ; (b) by a pronominal suffix, 47:11(β)δ; 53:10a;

B. is omitted, 40:16a.

(4) The order of words in the infinitive clause corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate, subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. The only exception is 42:24δ,⁷⁴ where a prepositional expression precedes the infinitive; this is probably due to special emphasis⁷⁵ (Dillmann).

(5) The infinitive clause is (a) an object after the verbs אָבַר, 42:24δ; יָדַע, 47:11β, γ; יָבַל, 46:2β; 47:12γ; 57:20β; הִשָּׁי, 53:10a; 58:2β;⁷⁶ (b) genitive after a construct, 40:16a⁷⁷ (יָהּ); 58:5β (יָדִים); (c) an adverb, "modi," 60:14a;⁷⁸ (d) an expression of negative consequence, 58:13γ (supply מִן from מִן־שֶׁפֶּת); (e) subject (resumed after אֲדָרָה), 58:6β, γ, δ, 7a.

II. Infinitive construct with prepositions:

(1) (a) לְ, 40:20δ, 22δ; 42:7a, β, 18b; 43:20ε; 44:10b, 13ε, 15a, 19β, 28b; 45:1γ, ε, 18ζ; 47:14ε, ζ; 48:9b, 17γ; 49:5γ, 6β, γ, b, 8ε, ζ, 9a; 50:2δ, 4β (twice), δ; 51:13ε; 52:4β; 54:16b; 55:2β, 7δ; 56:1b (twice), 3β, 6β, γ (fem.), δ, 9b, 11β, γ; 57:7γ, 15ε, ζ; 58:4β, δ, 5γ, 12δ; 59:7β, 14δ; 60:9γ, 11γ, 13γ, 21δ; 61:1γ, ε, ζ, 2a, 3a, β, b; 63:1b, 12b; 64:1γ, 6β; 65:8ζ; 66:15b, 18b, 23b; (b) מִן, 44:7γ, 18β, γ; 48:4a; 49:15β; 50:2γ;⁷⁹ 54:9γ, δ (twice); 56:2γ, δ, 6δ (= 2γ); 58:13ε, ζ (twice);⁸⁰ 59:1a, β, 2b; (c) בְּ, 52:8δ; 53:9β (plur.); 55:6a, b; 57:13a; 64:2a; 47:9ε, ζ;⁷⁹ (d) תַּהֲיֶה, 60:15a; (e) מִיָּדָה (composite), 48:16γ.

⁷¹ Absolute in 42:24δ; 57:20β; 58:7a.

⁷² Vs. 11β after emendation.

⁷³ König, § 117, 1, inf. absolute in shortened form(!); but inf. constr., § 402d, b.

⁷⁴ Addendum: 58:7a, where a dative (emphatic) precedes the direct object.

⁷⁵ Aramäism? (Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

⁷⁶ Add.: Hiph. of סָרַר, 58:9δ.

⁷⁷ Parallel with עֲלֶיהָ, יָהּ; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 45a. König's designation (400c), "Attributiv-satz," is subject to misunderstanding, especially because he applies the same name to relative sentences.

⁷⁸ An inf. absolute used in a similar way, 57:17β, הִסְתַּר, "with a hiding (of my face)" = in anger; continued by יִּ imperfect; cf. König, § 402d.

⁷⁹ A different noun formation used instead of an inf. מִדְרֶה in 50:2γ (cf. 59:1a), עֲצָמָה in 47:9ε.

⁸⁰ מִן of the first infinitive (מִן־שֶׁפֶּת) to be carried over also to the second (יָבַר).

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed (a) by a noun, 47:9_ε, ζ; 51:10_b; 52:8_b; 54:9_γ; (b) by a pronominal suffix, 44:7_γ; 48:16_γ;⁸¹ 55:6_a, *b*; 57:13_a; 60:15_a; 64:2_a;

B. but most commonly is omitted and is to be supplied from the context. It is identical with (a) parts of the main sentence: (a) with its subject, 42:7_a, β,⁸² 18_b; 43:20_ε; 44:19_β; 48:9_b; 49:5_γ,⁸² 8_ε,⁸² ζ,⁸² 15_β; 50:4_β² (inf. governed by an inf.); 51:14_a, 16_γ (twice), δ; 52:4_β; 54:9_δ; 55:7_δ; 56:1_γ, δ, 2_γ,⁸³ 3_β, 6_δ (= 2_γ), 6_β,⁸³ γ, 9_b, 10_ζ,⁸³ 11_β, γ; 57:7_γ, 15_ε, ζ; 58:2_β, 4_β, δ, 13_ε, ζ; 59:14_δ; 60:9_γ; 63:1_b, 12_b,⁸³ 64:6_β,⁸³ 65:8_ζ; 66:15_b, 18_β, 23_b; (β) with the object, 40:20_δ; 44:13_ε; 48:17_δ; 56:2_δ; 61:1_γ, ε, ρ, 3_a, β;⁸⁴ (γ) with the predicate nominative, 49:6_β,⁸⁵ γ; 58:12_δ; (δ) with a genitive (noun or pron. suffix) connected with the subject, 44:18_β, γ; 50:2_γ; 53:9_β; 59:1_a, β, 7_β; 60:21_δ; 61:3_b; (ε) with a prepositional suffix, 50:2_δ, 4_β¹ (לְרֵצֶה), δ; (b) the subject of the following verb (finite), 60:13_γ,⁸⁶

C. is indefinite, 40:22_δ; 44:15_a,⁸⁷ 45:18_ζ (= 40:22_δ); 47:14_ε, ζ (ζ = 40:22_δ); 55:2_β,⁸⁸ 60:11_γ; 58:5_γ,⁸⁷ 9_δ.

(3) The object of the infinitive is omitted not only with verbs which are often used without it in finite forms,⁸⁹ but also in others, as בָּעֵר, 44:15_a (cf. 40:16); הִשְׁחִית, 51:13_ε; סָלַח, 55:75;⁹⁰ הִכָּוֹת, 58:4_β; שׁוּם, 61:3_a; הוֹשִׁיעַ, 63:1_b.

(4) The order of words in the prepositional infinitive clauses corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate (infinitive), subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. (43 cases). Exceptions are due (a) to varying emphasis, (b) to chiasm: (a) infinitive, prepositional phrase,⁹¹ object (or pred. nominative), 45:1_γ, ε; 58:4_δ, 5_γ; 60:11_γ; 61:1_ε, ζ, 3_β; 63:12_b; 66:15_γ,⁹² (56:6_δ); (b) object, infinitive, 49:6_γ.

(5) Uses of the infinitive clauses with prepositions.

A. With לְ: (a) purpose, 40:20_δ, 22_δ; 42:7_a, β,⁹³ 18_b; 43:20_ε; 44:10_b (negative, לֹא-לְרֵצֶה), 13_ε; 45:1_γ,⁹⁴ ε,⁹⁴ 18_ζ; 47:14_ε, ζ; 48:9_b (negative לֹא-לְרֵצֶה); 49:5_γ,⁹⁴ 8_ε, ζ, 9_a; 50:4_β¹, δ; 51:10_b, 16_γ (twice), δ; 52:4_β; 54:16_b; 55:2_β; 56:6_β, γ, δ, 9_b; 57:7_γ, 15_ε, ζ; 58:4_β, δ, 12_δ; 59:7_β; 60:9_γ,

⁸¹ הָיָה; its meaning is not clear, probably a neuter, the things that happened (Dillmann) limited by some especially to the work of Cyrus (Duhm, Marti; parallel with הָיָה in vs. 14).

⁸² But see note (1).

⁸³ All after a participle.

⁸⁴ On 59:2_b see note (1).

⁸⁵ So most probably the Hebrew text, Kautzsch-Ryssel.

⁸⁶ Cf. note (1).

⁸⁷ Cf. 40:16_a.

⁸⁸ The clause is practically one concept governed by לְ ([that which is] not [fit] for satisfying = poor food; cf. לֹא-לְרֵצֶה).

⁸⁹ E. g., הִשְׁמִיעַ, הִשְׁמַע.

⁹⁰ This verb used absolutely in finite forms sometimes.

⁹¹ In most cases the order was undoubtedly influenced by the close connection with the verb.

⁹² Reversed to the regular order in δ by chiasm.

⁹³ See note (2) *ad loc.*

⁹⁴ Continued by וְ separ. and imperfect.

11 γ , 13 γ , 21 δ ; 61:1 γ , ϵ , ζ , 2 α , 3 α , β , b ; 63:12 b ; 64:1 γ , 6 β ; 65:8 ζ (neg. לְבַלְחִי); 66:15 b , 18 α , β , 23 b ; (b) consequence, 44:19 β ; 50:2 δ ; ⁹⁵ (c) explicativum, 44:28 β ; ⁹⁶ 56:3 β . לְאַמֵּר is remarkably rare, after a verb of speaking introducing a direct discourse only in 56:3 β ; (d) specification (?), modifying an adjective, ⁹⁷ 50:1 b (twice); 63:1 b ; (e) indirect object, ⁹⁸ 51:14 α ; 58:5 γ ; (f) direct object, 50:4 β^2 (after לְרַעַת); 51:13 ϵ (after כְּוִי); 55:7 δ (after יִרְבֶּה); 56:10 γ (after יִרְבֶּלֶךְ), ζ (after partic. constr. [! אֲהַבִּי]; ⁹⁹ (g) predicate accusative, 48:17 δ (?); ¹⁰⁰ (h) predicate nominative, 44:15 α (?); ¹⁰⁰ (i) subject, 49:6 β , γ .

B. With בְּ: (a) temporal, 52:8 b ; 53:9 β ; 55:6 α , β ; 57:13 α ; 64:2 α ; ¹⁰¹ (b) concessive, 49:9 ϵ , ζ .

C. With כִּי: (a) temporal, 44:7 γ ; 48:16 γ (כִּי־עַתָּה); (b) negative consequence, ¹⁰² 49:15 β ; 44:18 β , γ ; 52:2 γ ; 56:2 γ , δ , 6 δ (= 2 γ); 58:13 ϵ , ζ ; 59:1 α , β , 2 b ; (c) negative object clause, 54:9 (thrice); ¹⁰³ (d) causal, 48:4 α .

D. With תִּהְיֶה the infinitive clause is practically a substantive, 60:15 α || 'נִאֲוֵן ע' and 'מְשׁוֹשׁ ד' (exchange). ¹⁰⁴

NOTES.

1. Owing to the nominal character of the infinitives, the need of expressing a subject or object was not so much felt as in the common verbal sentence. Even the context, our best guide, fails to help us in several cases to discover the unexpressed subject of an infinitive clause. Attempts have been made to reason it out by general considerations (circumstances, theology, etc.), with varying success; some cases remain very doubtful, as 42:7 α , β , where we have three views:

(a) The subject is the עֶבֶד י' because of 49:5 *sq.* (Dillmann).

(b) The subject is Yahweh himself, as in 49:6, (a) because in 2 Isaiah Yahweh himself is the chief actor, using men only occasionally as his instruments, like Cyrus (Duhm); (β) to take Israel (עֶבֶד י') as subject makes an ill-balanced sentence ("einen schleppenden Satz;" Marti; rather forced and fanciful).

(c) It is admitted that grammatically both constructions are possible (*cf.* Dillmann and Marti, *ad loc.*); on general grounds, Duhm's opinion seems to be the stronger one.

⁹⁵ *Cf.* König, § 406b.

⁹⁶ *Cf.* note (5) *ad loc.*

⁹⁷ Similar to the Latin *supine*; *cf.* Allen and Greenough, *Latin Grammar*, § 303.

⁹⁸ König, § 399b.

⁹⁹ Addendum, 56:11 β , γ (after יִדַּע); 59:14 δ (after יִכְלֵל).

¹⁰⁰ Or is it final?

¹⁰¹ Probably with a causal shade of meaning.

¹⁰² *Cf.* Brown's *Lexicon*, p. 583 under 7b; König, § 406n.

¹⁰³ *Cf.* König, § 406r.

¹⁰⁴ Grouped by König (§ 403) among causal-infinitives; but the emphasis is on the contrast between the present desolation and the future glory, which Yahweh will bring about in its place (*vs.* 15b; *cf.* *vs.* 17; 61:3; Duhm, *ad loc.*; Kautzsch-Ryssell; Dillmann).

58:5 γ : The subject is possibly indefinite; but the suffix רִאשֹׁנִי (and the third person sing. masc. in the continuing finite verb) favors אָדָם of the preceding clause.

59:2b: Though the connection between "face" and "hearing" is somewhat awkward, the subject of בִּישְׁמוֹתַי is evidently implied in פָּנִים (used for the face of God, God in his relation to man; cf. Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

In 60:13b the trees enumerated in 13a might be taken as subjects of לְפָנָי; two things are against it: (a) first person is used in 13a; (β) the usual subject of פָּנָה, whether used in Piel or Hithp., in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, is Yahweh (55:5; 60:7; cf. 60:21; 61:3, etc.).

2. It is very hard to draw a line always between the different uses of the infinitive clause governed by לֵ. From the primary meaning of the preposition¹⁰⁵ many different uses have developed, indicating, in general, the goal or aim of a certain action, then even introducing an object-clause (cf. לֵ with a nominal object), or a subject-clause (due to analogy?).

In 42:7a, β the infinitives have been regarded as gerundiva (explicative: opening the eyes, etc.) by Duhm and Marti; as final infinitives by Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.* The latter seems more plausible and fits easier into the context (vs. 7 giving the purpose of the divine call of the servant of vs. 6).

56:1b: The two infinitives have been classed by König with the object-clauses (§ 399w), but קִרְבָּה is an adjective. The primary meaning of לֵ¹⁰⁶ plays its part here in the selection of the preposition: "near to" (ward).¹⁰⁶

3. The infinitive clause in 64:2a connects very poorly with vs. 2b (MT., R. V., "When thou didst terrible things . . . thou camest down"), better with vs. 1b, ". . . nations may tremble, when [because] thou doest terrible things. . . ." Vs. 2b is most probably a gloss, which came from 63:19b (Dillmann, Duhm, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.*).

4. 52:14 γ , δ, בֵּן with nouns representing shortened infinitive-clauses, e. g., בְּהִיוֹת אִישׁ.¹⁰⁷

5. In 44:28b וְלֵאמֹר continuing a finite verb is rather unusual; וְ may be epexegetical (= German "und zwar;" cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 p.), but it seems best with Kautzsch-Ryssel to strike it out (after Oort); Dillmann would emend it to וְיֹאמְרוּ, or to וְיֹאמְרֵי; (so also Marti); Duhm strikes out 44:28b as a gloss (variant to 26b).

6. Addendum: פֶּ + infinitive, 64:1a. Subject noun, object noun; order regular; comparison, continued by an asyndetic verbal sentence (imperfect iterative).

¹⁰⁵ Indicating direction (mostly ideal); see Davidson, § 101 Rb; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 sq.

¹⁰⁶ Likewise after verbs of coming, going, etc.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. König, § 406n.

APPENDIX II.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLES IN ISAIAH, CHAPS. 40-66.

The participle presents some difficulties of treatment on account of its double nature (verbal + nominal). There are some participles frequently used in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, which are used as common nouns (e. g., לִבְיָדָא, לִבְיָדָא, etc.), and need not be considered here. Even if we exclude those, the use of participles may be called large.

I. WITH THE ARTICLE.

The determined participle is used

- (a) as subject, 40:26a¹⁰⁸ (?); 42:17 (twice); 45:20b¹, 47:13b; 46:6a; 57:13b; 59:5b; 63:11b (twice); 65:16a, b (passive), 20b; 66:17a (twice); 59:5d (passive);
- (b) as predicate, 44:26b, 27a, 28a; 45:3b, 51:9b, 10 (twice); 52:6b;
- (c) as attribute,¹¹² 43:16a, 17a; 47:8a;
- (d) in apposition to a noun,¹⁰⁹ 46:3b; 48:1a (?); 57:5a (passive); 65:2b, 3b, 4 sq. (three times);
- (e) as a vocative, 62:6b; 65:11 (three times); 66:10;
- (f) as a genitive after a noun in the construct state, 43:7a (passive); 45:24b (passive);
- (g) more or less independently, 40:22a, b, 23a; 51:20b.

II. WITHOUT THE ARTICLE.

The undetermined participle occurs in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66,

- (a) as subject,¹¹⁰ (a) 41:4β, 7a; 42:5 (4); 43:15b; 45:20b; 46:1b¹¹¹ (passive); 49:11a (passive), 17b, 19b; 54:5a; 57:15 (2); 59:15β; 61:6β; 62:9a, b; (β) in negative sentence with לֹא, 41:26b (3); 43:11b, 13β; 47:15b; 51:18a, b; [ad. (a) 47:13b, Q] (a) 54:10b; 50:8a; 63:12 sq. (3); 66:3a (4); (β) 59:4a, β, 16β; 63:5a, β; 64:6a, β;
- (b) as predicate, 40:10β; 41:13a, 17a; 42:9b; 43:3β, 19a, 25b; 45:7 (5); 44:24b (3), 26a; 46:1a, 1b (passive); 45:19b (2); 48:13b, 17b (2); 49:10, 26b (2); 50:10a²; 51:10b, 12a, 15a, 19a; 52:5b (passive), 12 (2); 54:10a, 11b; 53:3a (2, passive), 5a (2, passive), 7a? (passive); 56:1γ (passive); 56:4b; 57:1β; 60:16b; 61:8a, β; 64:7b; 65:24b; 66:3 (3), 12a, 22a², 22a¹,¹¹²
- (c) as attribute, 40:28β; 40:29a; 43:1a; 44:24β; 45:15a, b, 21γ, 18 (3); 48:12 (passive); 51:13 (3), 20a (passive); 54:16β, γ; 56:2b (2), 3β,¹¹³ 6a, 8a, 10b (3[?]); 49:5a; 65:2a; 66:5, 12β, 19a;
- (d) in apposition to a noun,¹¹⁴ 46:10a, b, 11a; 57:3b, 5a, b; 65:3b (2);
- (e) as a vocative, 51:1a, 7a; 50:11a; 51:21b; 52:11b; 65:11a; 66:10a;

¹⁰⁸ Defective answer to a question(?).

¹¹¹ Text uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ Sometimes impossible to distinguish.

¹¹² 65:17a, 18a, b; 66:6b(?).

¹¹⁰ Addendum: 66:17a.

¹¹³ With a slight emendation, הַקְלָה.

¹¹⁴ Sometimes hardly distinguishable from the attribute.

- (*f*) as a genitive after a noun in construct state, 40:3_a,¹¹⁵ 6_a; ¹¹⁵ 52:7;
 60:14_a, β ; 56:6 β^1 ; 59:8 γ ;
 (*g*) as object: 41:7_a; 44:2_a; ¹¹⁶ 56:6 b^2 ; ¹¹⁶ 64:4 (2); 65:9_a;
 (*h*) as predicate nominative, 47:13 γ ; 49:26_a; 59:2_a,¹¹⁷ 15_a,¹¹⁷ β ,¹¹⁷
 61:9 b ; 63:8 b ;
 (*i*) predicate accusative, 53:4 b (3, passive);
 (*k*) with preposition, 63:3 b (פ);
 (*l*) after ׀הי, 45:9_a, 10_a;
 (*m*) independent, 41:7 b (?).

¹¹⁵ After קול (exclamat.).

¹¹⁶ *Casus pendens* resumed by a pronominal suffix of the verb.

¹¹⁷ With ׀הי = finite verb.

NOTES ON THE PANTHEON OF THE GUDEAN CYLINDERS.¹

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The religious systems and worship of ancient Babylonia form a new and fascinating field for research. The great stretch of time covered by the history of the ancient peoples of that valley, and the fragmentary character of the material available on some periods of that history, render the solution of many of its problems doubly difficult. Since we are not in possession of documents covering the entire history, and cannot follow the development of the various ideas through successive ages, it is of prime importance that we secure material produced in specific places and at definite times.

When we turn to the period of Gudea, we have such a basis for our investigations. Although we may not be able to determine with exactness the date of the reign of that ruler, his period of activity furnishes us definite limits within which to work. The character of the religious system of his day, as of all times, was in large part due to the character of the pantheon which stood behind it. The divinities already discovered in the material of this period are many and complicated in their number, relations, and functions. It is only by a careful examination of the evidence of each available document that we are enabled to find a solution of some of these problems.

The first published attempt to classify the divinities of the period of Gudea was made by M. A. Amiaud,² and was based mainly on the long list of eighteen divine names found on Statue B of Gudea.³ Professor John D. Davis, of Princeton University, gleaned after Amiaud a few additional facts, as seen in his paper on "The Gods of Shirpurla,"⁴ from Gudean and other sources. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., has admirably summarized our

¹ A paper read before the American Oriental Society at Philadelphia, April 20, 1900.

² *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 57 sq.

³ Published in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, plates 16-19, col. viii, ll. 44 sq.

⁴ *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVI (1895), pp. ccxiii sq.

knowledge of these divinities up to 1898 in his valuable contribution to the history of religion.⁵

The hypothesis set forth by Amiaud, and followed in the main by Davis, is that Shirpurla in the inscriptions was used to cover several either adjacent cities or sections of one city. These sections or districts were (1) Girsu-ki, a royal section, in which was found the temple of Ningirsu, the patron deity of the royal house; (2) Uru-azagga, the seat of worship of the goddess Gatumdug, mother of Shirpurla, and of the goddess Bau, local mistress of Uru-azagga; (3) Nina-ki, over which Nina presided; (4) Gishgalla-ki, of which the goddess Innanna, Ninni, or Nana was patron deity. Probability lies in the direction of the confirmation of this theory. On this basis, at least at present, further investigations may safely be made.

The conclusions already reached by Amiaud and Davis establish (1) that there was a known genealogy of the gods in the time of Gudea, (2) that in this genealogy the order Anu, Bel, and Ea was fixed, and (3) that these three divinities stood at or near the head of the divine succession.

It is the purpose of the writer to present some facts gathered from a study of the Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea,⁶ confirmatory of positions already occupied, and to adduce additional lines of evidence on the relations and functions of certain deities in the pantheon of that period. Little more can be done than to present in this place some of the main facts of most importance on the general theme, reserving the minutest details for treatment in another place.

The center of population over which the *patesis* exercised their sway was Shirpurla, or Lagash,⁷ embracing, as already noted, several districts or municipalities. This Lagash was under the immediate protection of the goddess Gatumdug, "the mother of Shirpurla" (Cyl. A, xx, 17; Stat. B, viii, 55; also de Sarzec's *Déc.*, pl. 5, No. 2, 2), though her throne was established in that section of the domain called Uru-azagga (de Sarzec, *Déc.*, pl. 14, col. iii, 6). The identification of Bau and Gatumdug as one and the same deity,⁸ though they possessed some

⁵ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, chaps. iii, iv.

⁶ *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*. By Ira Maurice Price. Part I, Text and Sign List. Leipzig, 1899.

⁷ Pinches, *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, London, 1884, p. 7.

⁸ Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 61.

attributes in common, is not established in the period of Gudea. Again, the preëminence of Gatumdug is seen in the fact that Gudea himself is called her son or offspring (Cyl. A, xvii, 12, 13). In devotion to her he prepares her a dwelling-place in the Uru-azagga section of the quadruple city.

The four sections of the municipality of Lagash had each its own special patron divinity. In the light of the Gudean cylinders I shall point out some of their family relations, functions, and characteristics.

The first or chief quarter was under the protection of the most prominent of these divinities, Ningirsu, or "lord of Girsu." This deity is mentioned by name more than seventy-five times on these two Gudean cylinders. To specify all his great deeds and his relations would more than occupy our space. In several passages we find special mention of the temple of Ninnu (50) of Ningirsu, and of the sacrifices gratefully offered therein by Gudea the *patesi*. Within the precincts of this city, too, was found the palace of the ruler. Ningirsu himself is called "the son of Enlil" (Cyl. A, vii, 5; viii, 21; Cyl. B, vi, 6), "the hero of Enlil" (Cyl. A, x, 4), "the beloved warrior of Enlil" (Cyl. B, vi, 6), "the one who fights his battles" (Cyl. A, xvii, 20), the one who appoints and endows with authority the *patesis*. Gudea calls himself the builder of the temple of Ninnu for his lord Ningirsu, and repeatedly designates himself as the lord of [appointed by] Ningirsu.

We are also informed in these cylinders of Ningirsu's own immediate family relations. His consort was the goddess Bau (Cyl. B, xi, 11, 12), the patron divinity of Uru-azagga (de Sarzec, *Déc.*, pl. 13, No. 2, col. i, 4; col. iii, 18, 19). His two best-known and most important sons were Gal-alim, "the beloved son" (Cyl. B, vi, 22, 23; cf. Cyl. A, xviii, 14; Stat. B, ii, 19), and Dun-shag-ga (Cyl. B, vii, 10; cf. Stat. B, iii, 2), both of whom are mentioned in the long list of divinities found on Statue B (col. viii, 65, 66), without, however, any specification of their family relationships. A list of seven other sons will be noted later on.

The second district of the domain of Lagash, Uru-azagga, "the glorious city," was under the supervision of the patron goddess Bau. Her preëminence in this quarter made her of first importance in the pantheon of Gudea. She is mentioned at least

seven times on these cylinders, and in such connections as to define with some clearness her family connections and her position. She is the firstborn or chief daughter of the god Anna, or Anu (Cyl. A, xx, 19; Stat. B, viii, 57, 58), the god of the sky. She was the wife of Ningirsu, the chief god of Lagash. Gudea calls her his chief mistress (Cyl. A, xxiv, 6) and credits her with being his source of power.

The union of Ningirsu and Bau, the two ruling divinities of Girsu and Uru-azagga, may have had political as well as religious significance for the coalition of authority in these early districts or cities. The offspring of this union presents some peculiarities. In his discussion of "the pantheon of Shirpurla,"⁹ Amiaud mentions as the sons of Bau seven different names. The passage which he saw was probably Cyl. B, xi, 4-12, where we find the following seven names, varying somewhat from the readings adopted by Amiaud: dingir ZA-ZA-RU, d. IM-PA-UD-DU, Ur-e-nun-ta-ud-du-a, d. HE-GIR-NUN-NA, d. HE-SHAG-GA, d. GU-UR-MU, d. ZA-AR-MU—"seven male children of the goddess Bau, sons of the lord Ningirsu." It may be significant that before all of these names except one we find the determinative dingir, "god." There are no indications of the office or character of these sons, and we await a fuller display of the literature of this period to know whether at a later date they had any part or place in the religious development of Lagash.

It was noted above that Bau was the chief daughter of Anna. On Cyl. B (xxiii, 5) we find that Nin-gish-zi-da (mentioned five times on these cylinders) was a son (!) of Anna. This lord of "the right-hand scepter" is supposed by Jastrow¹⁰ to be merely a title, descriptive of Ningirsu in some traits of his character. The position of the name on Stat. B (ix, 4) and its connections in Cyl. A (xviii, 15) scarcely bear out this supposition. The modern tendency to reduce the number of divinities in the pantheon of this period receives no encouragement from the literature of Gudea.

The third section of the city of Lagash was Nina-ki, presided over by a divinity provisionally called Nina, "house of the fish," the character so read being identical with that which

⁹ *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 59.

¹⁰ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 92.

at a later date was read "Nineveh." This character occurs seventeen times on these cylinders, and in its connections reveals some interesting facts.

Ninā is said to have been a "child of Eridu (Cyl. A, xx, 16), to have appointed rulers (A, xiii, 19), and to have issued decrees. Add to these the evidence of the old Babylonian inscriptions, and we find that she was a daughter of Ea (OBI, I, pl. 30, col. i, 22), and thus a sister of Marduk. Her oldest daughter, as seen on Statue B (viii, 68; ix, 1), was Nin-mar.

The fourth section of this city Lagash, provisionally read Gishgalla¹¹-ki, was under the guardianship of Nanā (Ninni, Innana). One ancient text makes her the daughter of the moon-god Sin (En-zu) (*PSBA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 158, 159). The ten passages in which this name is mentioned are as yet so obscure as to contribute little to our scanty knowledge of this divinity. In one passage (Cyl. A, xxv, 11) we find mention of a temple in connection with her name, in another she is celebrated, and in a third we find mention of the oracle of this divinity. It may be true that her association with Ningirsu, the one male ruler among the four divinities controlling Lagash, made her a member of his family, and hence one of the important factors in the power exercised over that domain.

Aside from the families of divinities connected immediately with the sway over the domain of Lagash, we find evidence of other gods in these documents of Gudea. The three great parent gods of the rulers of Lagash figure in a number of inscriptions. Following the order mentioned in the list on Statue B (viii, 44—ix, 4), we find that the goddess Bau was a daughter and Ningishzida was a son (!) of Anna (Anu), the god of the heavens; also that to him (Cyl. B, xvi, 18) a glorious temple was dedicated, and that Gudea himself was one of his devotees.

Enlil, or Bel, was the second of these parent gods. The fact that the most prominent god in Lagash, Ningirsu, was a son of Enlil accounts in part for the frequent mention of the latter's name in the inscriptions of Gudea. The tender and close relationship existing between Enlil and his beloved hero son, Ningirsu, is everywhere lauded. His connection with the temple of Ninnu (50) and its service, and his authority beyond the limits of Lagash, are recorded on these cylinders.

¹¹ Cf. Ball, *PSBA.*, Vol. XV, pp. 51 *sq.*; Hommel, *ibid.*, pp. 106 *sq.*

The third parent god is Enki, or Ea, mentioned but a few times on Cylinder A. In one obscure passage, containing an unidentified sign, he is named in connection with Nannar. In one other passage a temple of Ea receives special mention.

Ninbarsag, "mistress of the mountain," as her name indicates, who is said, on other inscriptions, to be the wife of Bel and the mother of the gods, receives slight notice on these cylinders, and then in such connections as to give us no new light on her attributes and character.

Enzu, the moon-god Sin, is twice mentioned on Cyl. B. He is the firstborn son of Enlil, and was also worshiped in the temple of Ninnu (50). His domain stretched far beyond the special precincts of Lagash.

Nindar, read Ninsia by Jensen,¹² a royal warrior, is mentioned three times on these documents. Once he is named in connection with the city of Eridu, and once as related to a temple.

Babbar, or Shamash, the sun-god, appears about ten times. In two passages he is named as belonging to the city of Lagash, and in one as exercising his authority and sway over all outside territory.

The name of another divinity not mentioned on Statue B occurs in three passages on Cyl. A. This is Nisaba,¹³ or, as Delitzsch (*HWB.*, p. 471a) seems to prefer to read, Nidaba. In one passage this divinity is mentioned in connection with Gatumdug (Cyl. A, xvii, 14), while the other sheds little light on our scant knowledge.

Nannar is the name of a divinity twice named on Cyl. A. In one passage the name occurs in connection with Enki, or Ea, the passage carrying two signs difficult of identification Brünnow¹⁴ cites (No. 6455) the same ideogram as signifying the god Sin.

There is also quite a number of gods on these cylinders whose names are rare; some of the readings of the signs used are at present merely provisional. Among these we find (1) dingir Kadi (Cyl. A, x, 26), mentioned elsewhere in Zimmern's "*Shurputafeln*;" (2) dingir Mush (or Şiru) (Cyl. A, xxvii, 1), likewise found in Zimmern's "*Shurputafeln*" (cf. Brünnow,

¹² *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. III, p. 24.

¹³ Cf. Zimmern in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 278, 283.

¹⁴ *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*.

No. 7641); (3) dingir Ningul (Cyl. B, xxiii, 6; cf. Jastrow, p. 95); (4) dingir Nindub (Cyl. A, vi, 5, etc.); (5) dingir Ninmah (Cyl. B, xix, 15); (6) dingir Nintu (Cyl. A, xvi, 26).

Another name of somewhat frequent occurrence presents some considerable difficulty. It is either the name of a god or that of a temple. It may be read Im-mi-ḥu-bar-bar-ra, though Jensen¹⁵ prefers to read Im-gig-ḡu-bar-bar-ra and to take it as the name of a temple. But the fact that the name Im-mi-ḥu occurs with the sign for god before it in eight passages would point to a larger significance, and presumably to that of a divinity.

There are also other gods named in these cylinders whose signs are either not identified or their readings are still unknown.

These few brief notes are sufficient to point out the fact that the Gudean cylinders will be a fruitful source of material for the study of the Babylonian pantheon of this period. Detailed facts gathered from these sources will be presented in Part II of *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*.

¹⁵ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, p. 23, note *.†.

NOTES ON THE PSALMS.

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I.

One of the most interesting phenomena in Hebrew syntax is the nominal clause. It occurs throughout Hebrew literature and is, of course, not confined to any particular book ; but there are striking examples of its use in the Psalms, the correct treatment of which will at least make our renderings more exact.

A nominal clause is a sentence whose subject is either a noun or pronoun, and whose predicate is likewise a noun, pronoun, adjective, or participle. No verb is expressed in the Hebrew in such cases, but some form of the verb *to be* may often be supplied. Such a sentence expresses state or condition, not action. When the predicate is a participle, the state is generally an active one. The participle photographs, as it were, some particular point of a moving scene. When the predicate is a noun or adjective, an inherent state is described, and often one which is passive. An example may be found in Ps. 42:8, תְּהוֹם אֶל-תְּהוֹם קוֹרֵא "Deep unto deep is calling." The picture is vivid. The poet does not content himself with a statement of what is customary, nor merely continuous, but by a bold stroke portrays that which would challenge the immediate attention of the traveler. The external, patent condition in that distant land is the roar of the cataracts. The construction employed, therefore, is nominal, and the expressive word is a participle.

Another example is in Ps. 8, where we read : יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מָה אֲדִיר שְׁמֶךָ בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ "Yahweh our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!" The predicate is an adjective and expresses the inherent quality of God's name. The condition or state is passive, not active. It does not produce an effect, but is merely contemplated as existing. The construction with the participle is very closely akin to that of the imperfect and is often confused with it in translation, while sentences whose

predicates are nouns resemble those with the perfect. This is quite natural when we discover that the perfect describes a *fact* and the imperfect an *action*.

Nominal clauses do not always require to have the verb *to be* supplied, for they are not always independent and coördinate sentences. They are oftentimes dependent clauses and form parts of a complex sentence. In the Revised Version, and in translations generally, the distinctions between verbal and nominal sentences are frequently confused. Participial clauses are often rendered as if identical with sentences having the imperfect, and are thereby given a continuative force which they do not possess. Again, nominal clauses are treated at times as if coördinate with an accompanying sentence, containing a perfect or imperfect tense. In the latter case it will be found that the nominal clause is either a subject or an object.

Taking a very familiar example, Ps. 23:1, we shall be able to illustrate one or two points. In the first place the emphasis is not "Yahweh [rather than Asshur, or some other deity] is *my* shepherd," nor "Yahweh [the great God] condescends to be *my* shepherd," but "Yahweh being my shepherd, I shall not want." That is, shepherding care is one of the phases of Yahweh's activity, a phase which excites not the psalmist's wonder so much as his faith. Again, the words יְהוָה רֹעִי are not to be taken as a sentence coördinate, or nearly so, with לֹא אֶחָסֵר, but as a circumstantial clause, expressing the simple, confident recognition of Yahweh's relation to the psalmist.

In Ps. 16:11 occur several nominal clauses which are usually translated as if coördinate with the first clause and its leading verb. This is the rendering of the Revised Version: "Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." The verb at the beginning is plainly a jussive, and shown to be such by its position, for it is the first word in the sentence. It should, therefore, be translated "show me" ("cause me to know"). The noun-clauses should all be taken as objects of הוֹדִיעֵנִי, and the translation should be as follows:

Show me the path of life,
The satisfying fulness of joys in thy presence,
The delightful experiences which are at thy right
hand forever.

In Ps. 46:10 the nominal clause is the subject of the succeeding verbs. The ninth verse reads :

Come see the wonderful acts of Yahweh,
How he hath set desolations in the earth ;

and the tenth verse is rendered in the R. V. as if the participle clause **מִשְׁבִּית מִלְחָמוֹת עַד-קֵצָהּ הָאָרֶץ** were coördinate with the two following :

He *maketh* wars to *cease* to the end of the earth,
He breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder,
He burneth the chariots in the fire.

But while **מִשְׁבִּית** is a participle, two of the succeeding verbs are imperfects and the other a perfect with wāw consecutive. It is contrary to the analogy of the language to render the participle by exactly the same tense-form as the imperfects of customary action. The first four words of the tenth verse are more naturally taken as the compound subject of the verbs which follow, which gives us the following translation :

He that causeth wars to cease to the ends of the earth
breaketh the bow
And cutteth the spear in sunder, the chariot he burneth
in the fire.

The case is precisely similar to Ps. 2:4, **יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁחָק**, where the participial clause is plainly the subject of the verb and in apposition to **אֱלֹהִים** in the next clause. The vividness of the participial construction, however, can be brought out best by the following translation :

There is one sitting in the heavens.
He is laughing—
Even the Lord—
He is mocking at them.

The first verse of the ninety-first psalm has always been a *crux* to interpreters. The accepted and well-known translation is :

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

Or, according to the margin of the R. V., "He that dwelleth . . . that abideth under the shadow of the Almighty, even I, will say," etc. The margin makes the twofold mistake of treating the participle **יֹשֵׁב** and the imperfect **יִתְלֹוֹן** as if they were exactly

coördinate, and as if both were clauses in apposition to "I" and subjects of אֲנִי (vs. 2). The text of the R. V. is much better, though I should prefer to translate either thus, bringing out the continuative force of יִתְּלֶנָּה :

The dweller in the secret place of the Most High
Will ever lodge (continually abide) under the shadow of the
Almighty;

or thus :

There is one sitting in the secret place of the Most High!
He will ever abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

The latter rendering removes in part, at least, the objection that the two clauses in our version are tautologous. It is justified by the fact that the participle יוֹשֵׁב describes a state, "Lo, there is one sitting aloft in the cleft of the rocks," בַּסֶּתֶר עֲלִיּוֹן, while the imperfect at the end of the verse goes on to describe the results that will follow. The rendering is further justified by the dramatic character of the psalm: one down in the valley calls to the one who has found a safe shelter under some overhanging rock, and describes his security and blessedness.

II.

A peculiarity of psalm syntax which is quite generally overlooked is the balance of tenses in parallel clauses. Ps. 2 has interesting illustrations of this. In vs. 1a the perfect is used, in 1b the imperfect. This is reversed in vs. 2, giving a chiasmic structure. In Ps. 24:2 is another good example. In such cases it ought to be manifest that the translation of the two verbs by the same tense-form is incorrect.

In Ps. 2:1 הִנֵּנִי expresses a *fact* which is the necessary antecedent of the events described in vss. 1b and 2. יִהְיֶה is in the imperfect because the writer is describing the *actions* which are taking place, namely, the plots and schemes of the insurgent nations and their rulers. Vs. 2 presents in the imperfect יִתְּצֵבּוּ a picture of troops arriving and falling into line preparatory to the great revolt, while the final verb נִסְדְּרוּ is perfect, because the initiatory fact is again brought forward, "the rulers *have taken* counsel together," hence these great movements. Let us translate, then, in this way :

Wherefore have the nations raged,
 And the peoples—why are they engaging in empty plots?
 Kings of the earth are setting themselves in array,
 And as for the rulers, they have (already) taken counsel
 together
 Against Yahweh and against his anointed.

The balance of tenses in Ps. 24:2 may be brought out thus:

For he [Yahweh] founded it upon the seas,
 And upon the streams he still holds it fast.

III.

There are many cases in which the correct rendering of the original is missed because the jussive imperfect is overlooked or ignored. Numerous instances can be cited from the R. V. where no adequate attention is given to this tense-form. Yet the jussive is unmistakable when the verb is *יָהִי* or *לִיְהִי*. And though in other classes of verbs it does not as a rule have a distinctive form, nevertheless an imperfect preceded by the simple *wāw*, or standing as the first word in a sentence, is almost invariably a jussive. Exceptions to the latter case are probably only apparent, or are due to the Massoretic verse-divisions, which at times arbitrarily cut across a homogeneous sentence.

There are two main uses of the jussive: first, it is employed with an imperative force; and, second, it is used in the apodosis, in which case it usually is preceded by the simple *wāw*, and need not be translated with the auxiliary "let" or "shall." Ps. 72 contains a number of very instructive examples of the jussive with the imperative force.

The difficult passage Ps. 49:8-10 is misunderstood and mistranslated through a complete disregard of the principles of Hebrew syntax. The R. V. translates:

None of them can by any means redeem his brother,
 Nor give to God a ransom for him.
 (For the redemption of their soul is costly,
 And must be let alone forever)
 That he should still live away,
 That he should not see corruption (*marg.*, the pit).

The Amer. Rev. for *soul* read *life*, and for *and must be let alone* read *and it faileth*. Baethgen translates in much the same way,

except that he reads אֶחָד in vs. 8 for אֶחָד (*cf.* vs. 16) and יִפְדֶּה for יִפְדֶּה .

Vs. 9, the portion usually treated as a parenthesis, is the one around which the main difficulty centers. The verb at the beginning of vs. 10 is יִחְיֶה , the apocopated form, and is used with the simple *wāw*; it is therefore the jussive, but in this case, being in the apodosis, the translation, "that he should still live away," is perfectly consistent and correct; but the tense in vs. 9a is also imperfect and is preceded by the simple *wāw*. There is absolutely no reason for assuming a construction for יִחְיֶה (vs. 9) different from יִחְיֶה (vs. 10); they are both imperfects of the apodosis, dependent upon לֹא יִתֵּן (vs. 8). וְיָחַד , the second verb of vs. 9, is perfect with *wāw* consecutive, continuing יִחְיֶה and likewise dependent on לֹא יִתֵּן .

The constructions in vs. 9 are, however, elliptical. יִחְיֶה in the majority of instances is followed by בְּעֵינֵי or לִּי ; *cf.* 1 Sam. 26:21; 2 Kings 1:13, 14, in each of which passages נַפְשִׁי is the subject. Ps. 72:14 is another instructive example: $\text{וְיִחְיֶה דָּמָם בְּעֵינֵי}$. In Ps. 49:9, if we supply בְּעֵינֵי , the sense of the clause will be "that the redemption money which the man would offer should have any value in God's eyes."

Again, יָחַד usually has the meaning "to leave," "leave off," "desist from." It is sometimes followed by the accusative, and sometimes by מִן ; *cf.* Judg. 9:9, "Shall I leave my fatness" (accus.); Exod. 14:12, "Cease from us," בְּיָמֵינוּ "let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians." In Ps. 49 יָחַד should be given its regular meaning, and its subject should be supplied from אֱלֹהִים (vs. 8), its object, to be understood, is the man who hypothetically offers the ransom. The translation, therefore, which commends itself is the following:

8. Not a man [of mine enemies] can find redemption,
He cannot give to God his ransom,
9. So that the redemption of his life¹ should be valuable
[in God's eyes],
And that He [God] should cease [from him, the man]
forever,
10. That he [the man] should go on living forever,
That he should not see the pit.

¹ Read נַפְשִׁי .

Book Notices.

ZIMMERN'S CONTRIBUTIONS ON THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.¹

The Babylonians had a religion of their own. And the more important for us still is the fact that they have left for later ages an abundant religious literature. The inherent value of these documents and their fruits available for comparative religion have already turned the energies of a group of Assyriologists to this specific line of study. Among those who have given or are now giving attention to this fruitful field may be mentioned Lenormant, Sayce, Zimmern, Knudtzon, Jensen, Jastrow, Craig, and King. Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen* gave him an acknowledged place in this field, and was simply the forerunner of more detailed and more specialized investigations.

The first part of this work appeared in 1896 under the title, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, and consisted of 80 pages and 19 autographic plates, with list of deities, glossary, etc. The first half of the second part bears the sub-title, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*. The Introduction of 15 pages summarizes the material and important results of the investigations of the texts which fill the later pages of this part. The author gives special attention, as the sub-title implies, to the cult of the Babylonians, although the published texts are few and the difficulties of interpretation great. He anticipates the possibility of finding some surprises, some historical connections between the cult of the Babylonians and that of the Israelites, especially as touching the "priest codex."

A classification of the priests and their functions, as revealed in these texts, gives us three classes: (1) the *bār ū*-priests, or soothsayers, (2) the *āšipu*-priests, or conjurers, and (3) the *zammāru*-priests, or singers. Traces of the first class can be found as far back as during the third millennium B. C. in the documents of Hammurabi (*ca.* 2200 B. C.). The existence and the functions of this class of religious officials are seen in many of the texts reaching down to the last century of the new Babylonian empire. Their relations to their divinities and to the sacrifices, and their part in uttering oracles have some parallels in the Old Testament.

Likewise the *āšipu*-priests, the conjurers, played an important rôle in the life of the Babylonian people. For the king, the sick, and the troubled he was an essential personage. He was a member of a class, and his office was inherited by his sons down through the ages.

¹ BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION. Von Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, a. o. Professor der semitischen Sprachen in Breslau. Zweite Lieferung, erste Hälfte. [Assyriologische Bibliothek, Band XII.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 48 Ss. und 19 Tafeln in Autographie. M. 15.

Less is known of the *zammāru*-priests, the singers. But they evidently occupied a part of some importance in the full conduct of the Babylonian religious ritual.

The texts investigated are found beautifully autographed on nineteen lithographed plates. The fragments of small or broken tablets are so pieced together as to give us one long consecutive description of the office, the character, and the function of the *bārū*-priests. The lacunæ often interfere with the discovery of the meaning of a passage, but the general sense, and duplicates in some places, help to bridge over the chasm.

These texts, so well executed, are transliterated and translated over an area of 34 pages. The notes at the bottom of the page explain the origin of the bracketed words inserted to fill out breaks, the reasons for certain readings and translations, and general philological material.

The well-established character of Zimmern's work leads us to put a good measure of confidence in his methods and conclusions.

In our examination of this part of his contribution to Babylonian religion we have noted a few minor errata. On p. 82, note 6), bottom, ŠÚ should be ŠŪ; p. 86, note 1), ZA IV should be ZA III; p. 100, l. 53, should we not read *tanaḫḫi*(-ki)? p. 100, note 23), read ŠŪ.BI. ÁŠ.A.AN; p. 104, l. 120, *abḫal*? p. 118, the number 40 should be dropped one line; p. 121, l. 10, the figure 3 should be 4.

Such valuable collections of religious material as we find here will do much to elevate the religious systems of the Babylonians to a new place among the religions of the ancient oriental world. We await with interest the completion of this notable work.

IRA M. PRICE.

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THOMPSON'S REPORTS OF THE MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.¹

These two volumes constitute Vols. VI and VII of Luzac's "Semitic Text and Translation Series," to which E. A. Wallis Budge, the supervising editor of the series, has contributed thus far five volumes of Syriac texts and translations, and Mr. L. W. King three volumes of "The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi," a publication received most favorably by Assyriologists. Thompson's work is thus in very good company, and the publishers are to be congratulated upon securing such scholarly editors and translators, as well as upon bringing out their contributions in such a pleasing dress and handy form. Typographical- and press-work, as well as binding, are done well, and the paper is good and heavy.

¹THE REPORTS OF THE MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON in the British Museum. The original texts, printed in cuneiform characters, edited with translations, notes, vocabulary, index, and an introduction. By R. Campbell Thompson, B.A. (Cantab.), Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. 2 vols. London: *Luzac and Co.*, 1900. Bound, 25s.—Vol. I, "The Cuneiform Texts," xx pp. (of which pp. ix-xvii are a descriptive list of the astrological reports printed in this volume) + 85 plates.—Vol. II, "English Translations, Vocabulary," etc. xcii + 147 pp.; i. e., Preface, pp. vii-ix; Contents, p. xi; Introduction, pp. xiii-xxix; Translations, pp. xxxiii-xci; Transliterations, pp. 1-111; Vocabulary, pp. 113-32; Index, pp. 133-44; Lists, pp. 145-7.

Thompson's first volume contains the "Cuneiform Texts" of these reports in 277 numbers, of which only about fifty have hitherto been published. Some of these reports would naturally appear also in an edition of omens and presages, while others might be incorporated in the Letter literature. The editor, however, has been very careful in avoiding useless duplication, and, in consequence, we find but one text (80-7-19, 19) which is also found in Robert Francis Harper's standard edition of *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (Vol. IV, No. 416). The reports "deal with the phases and appearances of the moon (and the sun) on the days of the various months throughout the year; the rising and setting of the planets, and of the stars which form the signs of the Zodiac;² observations concerning eclipses,³ halos,⁴ parhelia,⁵ etc., and remarks on earthquakes and storms, and the probabilities of fine or bad weather." In the preface to Vol. II the editor pays just tribute to the work of his predecessors in this special line of work, the great Edward Hincks,⁶ Jules Oppert,⁷ and Professor Sayce. Assyriologists have now before them the text of the complete series of the reports found at Nineveh, etc., and deposited in the British Museum.

It is, of course, impossible to collate these reports as to their accuracy; the whole work, however, impresses one so favorably that we venture to say that there can be only very few instances in which a careful collation would discover a different reading.

Volume II contains the transliteration of the texts, preceded by translations, wherever possible, except in the case of duplicate texts, which number about two hundred and twenty.⁸ Philological notes are added in most cases to the translations, and in footnotes to the transliterations are added important variant readings and glosses.⁹ The

² See the author's remarks on *manzalti*, Vol. II, pp. xxvii sq.

³ Eclipses were very carefully observed and registered. "For the purpose of accurately recording partial eclipses, the face of the Moon was divided into four parts, and each part was identified with a certain country; the portion to the right was Akkad, that to the left was Elam, the upper part was Aharârû, and the lower part Subartu. A total eclipse of the Moon was called a *tal mā tā ti*, i. e., a 'darkness of the countries'" (pp. xxviii sq.).

⁴ Of which there were two: one of 22°, called *tarbagu*, and the other of 46°, called *supuru*; both words meaning originally "sheepfold," it being understood that the moon is the shepherd of the stars, or the celestial "sheep," which are within the halo (see pp. xxiv sqq.).

⁵ Called *nidu*, a word occurring "in several places in astrological reports in the phrase *nidu nadi* which seems to mean 'casting a shadow, or image, or reflection.' The 'image' appears at the Sun's zenith, to the right or left of the Sun; in one case four such 'images' are mentioned. I cannot help thinking that these 'images' refer to mock suns" (p. xxvii).

⁶ On whom see Dr. Cyrus Adler's articles, "The Life and Works (and Writings) of Edward Hincks," in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, meetings of May and October-November, 1888; and *Andover Review*, October, 1887.

⁷ Cf. the present reviewer in *Beitrag zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. II (1892), pp. 523-56, "The Works of Jules Oppert."

⁸ These duplicate texts are inserted in transliteration, in Vol. II, after the numbers to which they properly belong, e. g., No. 11 is followed by 11A, 81 by 81A-81K, 136 by 136A-136U etc. It is a great pity that the author has not given us the cuneiform text of at least the most important ones, together with translation and commentary. A few misprints in these transliterated texts cannot be corrected without the cuneiform text, e. g., No. 236F, 5, *ri-u-buš*; should this perhaps be *nu-buš*? Speaking of misprints, I am happy to say that I have noticed only a few: No. 141, 3, *iš-ša-ka-u* (for *n*); r. 3, *au* (for *n*)-*ni-ú*; 95 r. 4, omit the sign - between *ša* and *zi-ki-ti*.

⁹ It is interesting to notice that the largest number of glosses occur in the shortest texts. Here is a complete list of the texts with the number of glosses added in parentheses: s: 103 (11); 98 (10); 181 and 229 (8); 238 (7); 139, 209, and 258 (6); 246B (5); 43, 84, and 214 (4); 57, 179, 191, 244G, 246A, and 248 (3); 62, 112, 178, and 272 (2); and one gloss in 42, 70, 81G, 88, 89, 96, 106, 137, 141, 176, 235D, 236G, 236H, and 246G.

author justly points out that these glosses and the explanations of difficult phrases, which they frequently give, are of the highest value philologically and certainly throw considerable light on the professional methods adopted by the early Mesopotamian astrologers.¹⁰

One of the most attractive features of this second volume is the "Introduction," in which the author gives a short sketch of the science of astrology among Assyrians and Babylonians, and explains a number of technical terms employed by the astronomers in their reports to the king.¹¹

The author has done his work carefully and well; the texts are extremely difficult, the style and language of these reports obscure and difficult grammatically, especially in view of the fact that their writers even took pains to make their forecasts and portents as unintelligible to the uninitiated as possible. This, of course, makes it impossible to secure accuracy at every point in text and transliteration, translation and commentary. There are many words and idioms in these astrological reports which will remain obscure and unintelligible until, at some future time, we shall have before us a complete collection of all astrological and astronomical reports, and other texts bearing on astronomy and astrology, thus far found. Yet even at this point Mr. Thompson's edition has materially enriched our knowledge of the Assyrian lexicon, as any reader of the vocabulary can see at once. A few words added here will amply prove this statement.

Thus we have many new and interesting forms of *ededu* "be sharp;" *u-di-na* (a particle), No. 112 r. 5; *ezu* "stand," *e.g.*, No. 153, 7 (= III R. 54 b 16), *ana Sin ina alaki-šu e-zi*, etc. (*cf.* Del., *HWB.*, 35, col. 2); 96, 3, Jupiter stood (*it-ti-it-zi*) within the halo of the moon, and 106, 7, where it is preceded by *iz-za-az* and *izziz*; No. 180, 8; 228, 2, *it-ti-ti-zi*; and *ittitiz* in 235, 8, *ki-ma it-te-mid it-ti-ti-iz šu-u-tu*, "when it stands and waits;" 236G r. 1; 251, 1. Perhaps it would be better to connect these forms with the verb *nazû*, a synonym of *nazazu*, discussed by T. G. Pinches, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 112.—A few more forms are added for a new treatment of the verb *aḫaru* "delay," on which see the remarks of R. F. Harper in this *JOURNAL*, Vol. XIV, p. 178.—*iluttu* "calf," 257 r. 3.—*imdû* "standing of crops," 272, 16.—*ummulu* "grow

¹⁰ Thus *KA-GI-NA* (= *sanaku ša pi*, Brünnow, 618) is glossed in 42, 5 by *pu-u i-kan*; *AGA* in 43, 1 (and *MIR* in other texts, *e.g.*, 106, 2; 209, 4) glossed *a-gu-u*; *ibid.*, 1, 5, *SI-ZAG-šu ANA-u* glossed *kar-nu i-mit-ti-šu ša-mu-u*; 7, *HI-GAR* glossed *bar-ti (ba-ar-tu, 237, 8)*; 62, 3, *EME-BAR-tum* glossed *li-ša-a-nu a-ḫi-tum*; 81G, 4, *KAB-šu* glossed *šu-me-li-šu* (*cf.* 235D, 1); 84 r. 1 (98, 2; 139, 6), *IM-DIR* glossed *ur-pa-a-ti*; 89 r. 7 reads *NIGIN: la-mu-u* and the former is glossed *ni-gi-in*; in 149 r. 2 *NIGIN-šu* is glossed *il-me-šu*; 98, 7, *KUR-MAR-TU*¹¹ is glossed *ma-at A-ḫar-ri-e*, followed in line 8 by *lum-nu ša (mât) A-ḫar-ri-e*. Thompson throughout his book reads *Aḫarrû* instead of the universally accepted *Amurrû* (*cf.* pp. xvii, xviii). A knowledge of Robert Francis Harper's note in this *JOURNAL*, Vol. XV, p. 142, would undoubtedly have led the author to read these two lines somewhat differently. No. 103, 7, *MULU-SA-GAZ* is glossed *ḫab-ba-a-te*; r. 9, *KUR-šu* glossed *ni-pi-iḫ-šu* (*cf.* 178, 1. *KUR-ma* glossed *ip-pu-ḫa-ma*); 112, 8, *IM-MEŠ* glossed *ša-ra-a-ni* (*cf.* 229, 3, *ZI-IM* = [ti]-ib *ša-a-ri*; 248, 2, *IM* = *ša-a-ri*; for *ZI* see 244G, 7, *ZI-ut* = [ti]-bu-ut and 246B, 3), and *NU-DUG-GA-MEŠ* = *la ḫa-bu-u-ti*; *UD-NÁ-A-AN* (179, 4) = *um bu-ub-bu-li*; *HU-MEŠ* (233 r. 2) = *iḫ-ḫu-ri*; *KASKAL-šu* (246B, 6) *ḫar-ra-ni-šu* (*cf.* 103 r. 4); 274E, 3, *AN-MI* is glossed *a-ta-lu-u* (*cf.* *ANA-u* = *ša-mu-u*, 84, 8+9; 139 r. 2; 179, 5; 229, 2; and *MI* glossed *ḫa-al-mu*, 98, 1; 180 r. 1, 209 r. 1; or *mu-šu*, 176 r. 1).

¹¹ I mention here, in addition to those already spoken of in this review, the *abkallu šikla* "the measure-governor," an instrument to which the name *Bel-rimenû-uḫarrad-Marduk* was given, and which was probably the clepsydra.

indistinct" (said of stars), *e. g.*, 232, 9, *ma'-diš um-mul*; *ibid.* 6, *um-mu-liš* "dimly;" also 243 *r.* 4, *a-mu-liš*.—236E, 3 (. . . *ta-lu-ki-šu*) *un-di-iṭ-ṭu*, treated by Thompson as a noun. It is said there of the planet Mars that *ta-lu-ki-šu un-di-iṭ-ṭu*. I prefer to consider *undiṭṭu* as an Ifta'al of *maṭū*, to which *ta-lu-ki(-šu)* is the subject. —*enētu* "become dim," etc. (?); Ifta'al *ittintu*, which means "the gradual disappearance of the moon as it draws near the sun at the end of the month."—*ur-ri-tum* "point of light" (268, 3; *cf.* p. lxxxv).—(amōl) *a-ra-su-u* (236F *r.* 5).—*iš-šik-ki*¹² *ri-ḫu-te* (207 *r.* 3).—*miširtu* "justice" (121, 4).—*atū Ishtafal* (*šutatū, uštata*) "be invisible," a meaning discussed on pp. xxvi *sq.*—*un-nu-ut a-tin-nu ul i-šak-kam-ma* (181 *r.* 3; p. lxiv: "perhaps we may compare the Heb. *ethān*").—*ba'ālu* (*iba'il, ib-il; ba'il, etc.*) "grow bright."—*batū* "cut in pieces" (257 *r.* 4, *di-e-i-qi i-ba-at-ti*; see p. lxxxi).—*gubru* (223 *r.* 2) "man."—*da'aḫu*; *dimqu*, etc.—158 *r.* 4 has the interesting form *ul-taḫ-ṭu-ni, ṽḫaṭū*; 94 *r.* 3 (108, 3) *enāti pl. uš-taḫ-ḫa-a, ṽteḫū*, "approach," written *uš-ṭa-ḫa-a* (143, 8).—¹¹ *EN-LIL ka-mar māti* (267, 7).—*mu-nik-si-sa* (var. *mu-ni-ik-si-sa*) "divided," Nif'al partic. of *kasasu*.—*uk-tap-pad* (277AE, 7), *ṽkapadu*.—[mul] *ŠU-GI kur-kur-ru-šu i-nam-bu-uṭ* (244 [not 3] A, 1) "when the circle of the pleiades is bright" (p. lxxvii compares Heb. *kārār*, "revolve").—*ku-ru-sis-su tibū-ma* (2 [not 9] 8, 4) "the *K* will come and eat up the sesame;" p. xxxvii says: "perhaps a worm or insect."—*katatu* "grow dim," 208, 3 *uš-tak-ti-it-ma* (and 208A, 3), while parallel text 204 *r.* 1 has *uš-tak-ti-ma*; this latter had better be derived from *katamu*.—*it-tam-me-ḫi-ir*, 180, 6, Ittafal of *maḫaru*, which in the vocabulary is also suggested for the reading: . . . *ultu me-ḫir* of 57 *r.* 4; but I do not quite see how *is-sa-na-aḫ-ḫar* (88, 4; 103 *r.* 11 *is-sa-na-ḫar*) can be an Ittanaf'al of *maḫaru*, notwithstanding the gloss *ma-ḫi-ru* added to the form in No. 88.—*mātu A-ŠI-ŠI-ša* (191, 2) has the gloss *me-li-ša*; why not compare Hebr. *מַלְאכָה*?—*ma-sa-ar-ti bit ḫatā* II (240, 9) "an attack on the treasury."—*marū* "spoil," *umarri* (201A, 3).—*im-da-na-ra-aṣ* (257 *r.* 7) Iftane'al of *marāṣu* "be sick."—277 *r.* 2 has the rare form (*i-na ṭābti*) *an-di-di-il-šu* (of *ṽna'alu*) "I preserved it in brine."

These are only a few instances of the many new words and interesting verbal forms found in this welcome and timely work of Mr. Thompson's.¹³

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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¹² The author, p. lxx, says: "*Rev. 3 iššikku*: see Muss-Arnolt, *Dict., sub voce*;" but the *iššikku* quoted there seems to be entirely distinct in meaning from the *iššikku* used here.

¹³ For *zalpu* (181, 1) read better *galpu*; *zirtu* (p. 120), *pl. zi-ra-a-ti* (190, 2; 190A, 2), should rather be *zirūtu*; see my *Concise Dictionary*, p. 294, col. 1. I do not quite see why *ṭimu* (270, 7, *kima ṭe-im šame*) should be separated from *ṭemu* "command," etc. 195A, 3, [*mad*]-*da-giš* (p. 123, col. 2) should be read [*šad*]-*da-giš*, as Robert F. Harper has shown in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, p. 13 (October, 1897); *it-tan-ta-ḫa*, 84, 6, etc., is a IV, 2 (Ittafal), rather than a IV, 3 (Ittanaf'al) form of *mataḫu*. But these few items do not detract in any way from the great value of this splendid publication.

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JANUARY, 1901

THE
AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago Press

LONDON: LUZAC & Co., 46 Great Russell St. LEIPZIG: K. F. KÖHLER'S
ANTIQUARIUM, Kurprinzstrasse, 6.

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The peculiar interest attaching to the history of the text of the Acts of Thekla in its various forms, Greek,¹ Latin,² Syriac,³ Armenian,⁴ and Coptic,⁵ together with the problems, not yet fully solved, which that history raises, justifies the publication of another and quite unusual form of this early Christian romance. The Ethiopic "Book of Thekla" is preserved in two British Museum codices, dating respectively from the fifteenth ("A") and from the eighteenth ("B") centuries.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 689 is a ponderous fifteenth-century synaxarium of 237 heavy parchment leaves. It is well written in double columns, with forty-five to forty-seven lines to a column. The leaves measure *cm.* 31.9 by 46.2. They are carefully lined

¹ Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 235-72.

² There are two Latin translations—one published in *Bibliotheca Cassinensis, III Florilegium*, 271 *sqq.*; the other in Mombrinius, *Sanctuarium II*, 303 *sqq.*

³ The Syriac, considered most important of the versions, at least until the Coptic, has been published by W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871), I, pp. ۴۴۵ *sqq.*; II, pp. 116 *sqq.*, on the basis of four British Museum manuscripts.

⁴ Translated by F. C. Conybeare, *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity* (1894), pp. 49-88, from select Armenian martyrdoms, published by the Mechitarists of San Lazaro, 1874.

⁵ Parts of the Coptic version of the Acts of Paul, including the Acts of Thekla, are soon to be published, from a Heidelberg papyrus, by Dr. Karl Schmidt, of Berlin. Arabic (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, 1, 286—Harnack's reference to 288 is an error) and Slavonic versions also are known to exist, the latter in several codices; *cf.* Bonwetsch, in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, I, pp. 904-5.

on the flesh side, and are set with flesh sides facing flesh sides. The outer and lower margins are wide. There are numerous erasures and some other corrections. The ornaments are few and generally simple, and there are no pictures. The quires are not at all uniform, but in most cases consist of the usual four double leaves, or their equivalent. The Book of Thekla stands fifth among the volume's sermons and martyrdoms, and occupies *fol.* 31a to 34a.

Brit. Mus. Orient. 687-688 is an eighteenth-century folio of 233 parchment leaves. The leaves, which measure *cm.* 31 by 35.3, are gathered in quires of four—rarely of three—with flesh sides facing flesh sides. They are carefully lined on the flesh side. The writing is fine and regular, and is arranged in three columns, of from thirty-one to thirty-three lines. There are more than fifty pictures, great and small, representing the martyrdoms described, for the volume is a synaxarium of lives of saints. The names Jesus, Christ, Paul, Thekla, and Walda Giyörgis, who seems to have been the owner of the book, are usually in red. The Book of Thekla occupies *fol.* 49a to 51b. Both manuscripts were presented to the British Museum in August, 1868, by the Secretary of State for India.

The question of the relationship of the two manuscripts at once suggests itself, but their connection does not seem to be very close. A certain amount of modification from the archaism of a fifteenth-century exemplar is indeed to be expected in an eighteenth-century copy, and it is not surprising that B's readings are very often improvements upon A's. But the divergences of B are by no means all improvements or modernizations. Once at least B unwittingly allows us a glimpse of precisely what the parent manuscript read, and that manuscript was evidently not A. In the account of Thekla's second attempted martyrdom the immediate ancestor of B seems to have had a different order of words from that of A. After the words "lions and bears" (AB), the sentence "and they seized her and cast her into the den of bears and lions" (A) has fallen out of the text, doubtless by an error of the eye, *homoioteleuton*, and must thus have ended with the same word as the preceding sentence, *i. e.*, with the order "lions and bears." The parent manuscript thus cannot have been A, which has the order "bears and lions." The alternative explanation that one or two complete lines of A were

simply skipped is inadmissible, as the sentence in A begins and ends in the middle of the line. A few lines farther down the first hand of B has been guilty of a similar error, but this time of repetition. There, however, the corrector has set him right. But the distinguishing of A from the parent of B rests on broader grounds than this isolated, though instructive, instance. How frequently the two manuscripts differ a glance at the lower margins of the following pages will show.

In a comparison of A and B the statistics of preferred readings rather favor the younger manuscript. Its text commends itself in over 25 per cent. more cases than does that of A. In the matter of fulness, on the other hand, the older manuscript excels in over 60 per cent. more readings than B, but B's omissions are often in the interests of clearness, if not absolutely required by the sense. In a large number of cases neither manuscript can be given the preference, both being right or both equally wrong. B has the smoother, easier text. A is occasionally found using a nominative for an accusative, or a singular pronoun for a plural, while B is in general better in the matter of forms. As to roots, A rarely has a different root from B for the same meaning, but in general differences in roots are confined to the common confusions α with ω , γ with δ , θ with κ , ϕ with η , λ with θ , etc., A usually preserving the better reading. B shows a decided preference for α -long instead of short, especially in the case of ψ , for which guttural it evinces considerable fondness.

The evidence supplied by a comparison of the tables of contents is not in itself decisive. To the thirty-five titles of the older manuscript the younger adds eleven. Five of these—Nos. 3, 16, 31, 35, 36—are scattered through the manuscript. The remaining six appear at the end. The place of each seems to have been determined by the ecclesiastical calendar, in accordance with which the contents of both manuscripts are arranged. But numbers 25–28 of A, in which the calendar order is not observed, are correctly rearranged in B.

It seems reasonable to conclude that, while B is a corrected and amplified manuscript of the synaxarium, it is not the immediate descendant of A, and probably not a direct descendant of A at all, but comes through a collateral line from some ancestor of A.

The numerous modifications that the monument has undergone in passing into the Ethiopic form suggest the propriety of prefacing the text with an epitome.

Paul comes to Macedonia, and, taking up his abode with Tāmerēnōs, preaches the new righteousness and the doctrine of virginity. Thekla, the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs, from her window hears his discourse and believes. The importunities of Tāmerēnōs and her mother only strengthen her new convictions. She escapes by night to the house of Paul and sits at his feet. For a week these visits continue. At the end of this time her mother discovers her and tells Thekla's lover, Tāmerēnōs, who must thus be another than the entertainer of Paul. Unable to move Thekla, Tāmerēnōs denounces Paul to the governor, who seizes him and orders him to be burned. Paul escapes death—how, is not quite clear—and is cast out of the city. Thekla's mother now renews her importunities, pointing to Paul's supposed fate as discrediting his teaching. When Thekla remains steadfast, her mother denounces her to the governor, as disobedient in refusing to marry. Repeating her refusal before the governor, she is sentenced to be burned. The maidens of the city bring fagots, and the fire is kindled. Thekla makes the sign of the cross, rain extinguishes the fire, and thunder deafens her judge. Upon her release her mother disowns her. Thekla meets a woman who owes her 1,000 pieces of money, and forgives her the debt, accepting only a few dinars. Meeting Paul's attendant on his way into the city to sell Paul's garment and buy bread for Paul and his followers, Thekla buys the garment with a part of her money and takes it back to Paul. She relates her experiences to him, and asks him to cut off her hair and disguise her as a man, which he reluctantly does. They then proceed to Thessalonica together. Thekla's mother learns of this, and at her instigation another magistrate has Thekla brought back, and condemns her to the lions for disobedience and refusing to marry. At the sign of the cross, however, the lions become harmless and play about her feet, while she breaks forth into a hymn of praise. Meantime the magistrate is mysteriously troubled all night and sends men, apparently the next morning, to bury Thekla's bones. They report that she is alive. The magistrate himself comes and releases her, and entreats her to pray for the recovery of his superior and himself. She requires him to bring Paul to do

it. Paul is brought, and prays for them, and they are healed and believe.

The recent discovery of the Acts of Paul in a Coptic version, among the Heidelberg papyri, has shown that the Acts of Paul and Thekla were originally part of that work. Like all the known versions until the Coptic, the Ethiopic form of the Thekla story shows little trace, after its first sentence, of its origin as part of a larger body of Acts. It stands somewhat apart from the Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, however, in being, not a mere version, but a very free reworking of the story, with numerous omissions, transpositions, and interpolations. So frequent are the writer's divergences from the earlier type of the monument that the question arises whether the Greek (or its equivalent in some intermediate version, *e. g.*, the Syriac or Arabic) was actually in his hands, or had only been seen or heard by him and was written up from memory.

To undertake the creation of a text with so meager an apparatus as two manuscripts has not been deemed advisable. The text presented is therefore that of the older manuscript A, while the variants of B are collected in the footnotes. The only deviation from rigid fidelity to the text of A is in the spelling of the name of Paul, the usual **ጳውሎስ**: being substituted for A's occasional **ጳውሎስ**: A more serious inconsistency in A is its spelling of Thamyris now **ታምራኖስ**: and now **ታምራንስ**: which latter appears uniformly in B. But A's **ታምራኖስ**: is perhaps not quite a meaningless variation. In the first three occurrences of the name in the Book of Thekla it stands where a Greek original would have had a genitive, **Θαμύριδος**. The last vowel of **ታምራኖስ**: may be a reflection of this. The remaining five occurrences of the name stand where accusatives and nominatives would have stood in a Greek original, again supposing our Ethiopic text to have had one; and for four of these A uses **ታምራንስ**: The persistence with which *n* appears in the forms of this name suggests the possibility that the writer is struggling with a stem, not in *δ*, but in *ν*, like **Σαλαμὶς Σαλαμῖνος**; but of this the Greek manuscripts of the Acts of Thekla show no trace. An alternative explanation is to suppose that our writer worked under the influence of the Syriac version, and misread **ܬܡܪܝܢܐ** as **ܬܡܪܝܢܐ**—not an unnatural mistake. But Professor Noldeke, who has very kindly looked over the whole text for me, tells me that

he finds many points reflecting the influence of an Arabic version lying back of the Ethiopic.¹ It seems to me probable that this intermediate version was nearer the Greek than the Ethiopic form. But the Arabic form does not seem to have been published, and so it has not been possible to follow up the suggestion of Professor Nöldeke. Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, p. 286) simply mentions a [*Vita*] *Theclae virginis et martyris* as present in an Arabic manuscript of lives and martyrdoms of saints in the library of the Vatican.

In the lower margins such of the readings of B as seem preferable to those of A have been indicated (*q. l., recte*), and in some cases, where neither manuscript gives a satisfactory reading, one is recommended (*l.*), but A's occasional obvious confusions of nominative and accusative have not always been corrected in the notes. The numerous and remarkable shortcomings of the older text have thus been supplemented and an intelligible text secured throughout. At the same time, as Professor Nöldeke reminds me, we must not lose sight of the fact that the harsh and unconventional reading may in many cases be the true and original one.

For permission to publish the text and for helpful suggestions on the form of publication I am indebted to Mr. Margoliouth and Mr. Budge, of the British Museum. Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, and Professor Charles, of Oxford and Dublin, have most kindly helped me on many doubtful points in the text and the translation; but they are not to be held responsible for either text or translation as a whole.

¹ A case almost analogous is that of the Ethiopic form of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions, which was based upon the Arabic version. There, however, a Coptic form of the Constitutions seems to have been intermediate between the parent Arabic version and the Ethiopic, which, as in the case of Thekla, was a free reworking. Cf. Harnack *op. cit.*, I, p. 517.

መጽሐፈ ጤቀላ፡

መጽሐፈ ጤቀላ፡ አመ፡ ይሰብክ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ውስተ፡ ነተሉ፡ አህ
ጉር፡ ወበጽሐ፡ መቂዶንያ፡ ወኅደረ¹፡ ማኅደሮ፡ ለታምሬኖስ²፡ ወይቤ፡
እንዘ፡ ይሚህር³፡ ወይጌሥጸሙ⁴፡ መጸእነ፡ ንስብክ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማ
ያት፡ በቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ብፁዓን፡ እለ፡ የአምኑ፡ በልበሙ፡ በወ
ልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ብሂል፡ መድኅኔ⁵፡
ዓለም፡ ዘአስተርአየ፡ በሥጋ፡ ሰብእ፡ እንዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር⁶፡ ውእቱ፡
ኮነ፡ ሰብእ⁷፡ ከመ፡ ያድኅን፡ ሰብእ፡ ወከመ፡ ምውታን፡ ያሕዩ፡ ሞተ⁸፡
ወአመ፡ ሣልስተ⁹፡ ዕለት፡ ተንሥአ፡ ወከመ¹⁰፡ ሕሙማን¹¹፡ ያጥሟ¹²፡ ሐ
መ፡ ብዙኅ¹³፡ በእንተ፡ ሰብእ፡ እንዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ ኮነ፡
ሰብእ፡ ወአርአየ¹⁴፡ ትዕግሥተ፡ ከመ፡ ይትዐገሡ¹⁵፡ እለ፡ የአመኑ¹⁶፡
በስመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ወይረሱ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወይቁሙ፡ ምስሌሁ፡
ወምስለ፡ አቡሁ፡ ለዘ፡ ውእቱ¹⁷፡ ምክሩ፡ ወጥበቡ¹⁸፡ ወኅይሉ¹⁹፡ ለእ
ግዚአብሔር ፥ ብፁዓን፡ እለ፡ ያነድዩ፡ ነፍሶሙ፡ እስመ፡ ሎሙ፡ መ
ንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት ፥ ብፁዓን፡ ጸድቃን²⁰፡ እስመ፡ ይወርሱ፡ ሕይወተ ፥
ብፁዓን²¹፡ እለ፡ ይእዜ፡ ይላሕዉ²²፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጢአቶሙ²³፡ ኪያሆ
ሙ²⁴፡ ይምዕዱ፡ ጸድቃን²⁵ ፥ ብፁዓን፡ እለ፡ ይእዜ፡ ይርኅቡ፡ ወይጸም
ኡ²⁶፡ እስመ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ይጸግቡ፡ በነተሉ²⁷፡ ጸሎቶሙ፡ እንተ፡ ጊዜ፡
ጸለዩ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አመ፡ ምንዳቤሆሙ ፥ ብፁዓን፡ ገባርያነ፡

^a *corr.*; *prim. man.* ሰብእ፡^b *corr.*; *prim. man.* ሕማማ፡^c MS. A fol. 31 verso.^d *corr.*^e *corr.*; *prim. man.* ይከያሆሙ፡¹ ወኅደረ፡² ለታምሬንስ ፥³ ይሚህር፡ *q. l.*⁴ ወይ⁵ ጌሥጽ፡⁶ መድኅኔ፡⁷ እግዚእ፡⁸ ሰብእ፡ *q. l.*⁹ እ¹⁰ ሞተ፡¹¹ ሌ ሣልስተ፡¹² ከመ፡¹³ ብዙኃ፡¹⁴ *corr.*¹⁵ ይትዐገሡ፡¹⁶ ተአመኑ፡ *q. l.*¹⁷ ለዘውእቱ፡¹⁸ *tr.* ጥ¹⁹ በቡ፡ ወምክሩ፡²⁰ ወኅይሉ፡²¹ ሌ ጸድቃን፡²² ብዙዓን፡²³ ይላሕዉ፡²⁴ ሌ ኃጢአተሙ፡²⁵ ወይፀምዑ፡²⁶ ንቱ፡²⁷ ይጸግቡ፡ በነተሉ፡ *corr.*

ምጽዋት፣ እስመ፣ ሎሙ፣ ሣህል፣ በኅበ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ብፁዓን፣
ንጹሐን¹፣ ልብ²፣ እሙንቱ፣ ይሬእም፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣ ብፁዓን፣
እለ፣ ያስተሳልሙ፣ ወያስተኳንኑ፣ እስመ፣ እሙንቱ፣ ውሉደ፣ እግዚ
አብሔር፣ ይሰመዩ⁴ ፥ ብፁዓን፣ እለ፣ ይሰደዱ፣ በእንተ፣ ጽድቅ፣ እስ
መ፣ ሎሙ፣ ይእቲ፣ መንግሥተ፣ ሰማያት ፥ ብፁዓን፣ አንትሙ፣ ሶበ፣
ሰብእ፣ ይጸልክሙ⁵፣ በእንተ፣ ጽድቅ፣ ተፈሥሐ፣ ወተኃወዩ⁶፣ ይእ
ተ፣ ጊዜ ፥ ብፁዕ፣ ብእሲ፣ ዘይተሉ፣ ትእዛዘ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ወዩኅ
ድግ⁷፣ ፈቃዶ፣ ለዝ፣ ዓለም ፥ ብፁዕ፣ አንተ፣ ለእመ፣ ኅደገ⁸፣ ዙሉ፣
ጥሪተከ፣ ወተለውከ፣ ትእዛዘ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ብፅዕት፣ ብእሲት፣ እ
ንተ፣ ኢታወስብ⁹፣ ወተኅድጎ¹⁰፣ ለዝ፣ ዓለም፣ ወድንግልኒ፣ እንተ፣
ኢታወስብ፣ ወትነብር፣ በከ¹¹፣ እንዘ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣ ትብል፣ እስ
መ፣ ዘአውሰበ፣ መክፈልተ¹²፣ ገሃነም ፥ ወለእመሂ፣ በኢያአምሮ፣ አ
ውሰበት፣ ብእሲትኒ¹³፣ ትቁም፣ በምታ፣ ወብእሲኒ፣ በብእሲቱ^b ፥ ወእ
መሰ^o፣ ካልአ፣ ሖረ¹⁴፣ መክፈልተ^o፣ ገሃነም ፥ ውእቱ ፥ ወእመሰ፣ ተግ
ሣጸ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ተለውከ፣ መንግሥተ፣ ሰማያት፣ ትወርስ ፥ ወአ
እምርዎ፣ ብዕሉ¹⁵፣ ለዝንቱ፣ ዓለም፣ ከመ¹⁶፣ ካንቱ^{d17}፣ ውእቱ ፥ ወሕ
ይወቱኒ፣ ካንቱ^{d17}፣ ወወርቁኒ¹⁸፣ ወብሩሩኒ፣ ካንቱ^{d17}፣ ወዘያፈቅሮሂ¹⁹፣
ወዘይትአመኖሂ²⁰፣ ወኩሉ²¹፣ ወእምኩሉ፣ ዩአኪ²²፣ ትዕቢት፣ እስመ፣
ላዕቡያን²³፣ ይትሄዩሉ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ኢትኩኑ፣ ከመ፣ ኩሉ፣ አሕ
ዛብ²⁴፣ እለ፣ ይቀርቡ፣ ኅበ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ በአፋሆሙ፣ ወበልቦሙ
ሰ²⁵፣ ርሐቅ²⁶፣ ሀሉ፣ እምኅበ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ እምቅድሚሆሙ፣ ለጸ
ላእትከሙኒ²⁷፣ ኢትጸልእምሙ²⁸፣ ወለእለ፣ ያፈቅሩከሙ፣ ኢታፋቅር

^a corr.^b corr.; *prim. man.* በብእሲትኒ፣ ?^c corr.^d corr.; *prim. man.* ከንቱ፣^e corr.; *prim. man.* ለዕቡያን፣¹ ሌ ገጽ፡፩፣² እስመ፣ *add.*; *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:8.³ ይሬእይ⁴ ም፣ *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:8.⁵ *tr.* ይሰመዩ፣ ውሉደ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣⁶ ይ⁷ ጸልጻክሙ፣⁸ ወተሐሣዩ፣ *q. l.*, c. Mt. 5:12.⁹ ወዩኅድግ፣ ሌ¹⁰ ንደገከ፣¹¹ ኃደገ፣¹² ኢውስብት፣¹³ ወተኃድግ፣¹⁴ በከ፣ *corr.*; c. 1 Cor. 7:11.¹⁵ መክፈተ፣¹⁶ ብእሲት፣ *q. l.*¹⁷ *tr.* ሖረ፣ ካልአ፣ ሌ ካልእት፣¹⁸ ብእሉ፣¹⁹ ከመ፣ *om.*²⁰ ከንቱ፣ *q. l.*²¹ ወርቁኒ፣²² ወዘያፈቅር፣²³ ወዘተአመ²⁴ ኖሂ ፥²⁵ ወኩሉ፣ *om. recte.*²⁶ ዘዩአኪ፣²⁷ ለዕቡያን፣²⁸ *q. l.*²⁹ ሰብእ፣³⁰ ወልቦሙሰ፣ *q. l.*³¹ ርሐቅ፣³² ወ³³ ባጸላእትከሙኒ፣³⁴ ኢትጸልእምሙ፣ ሌ ኢትጸልእምሙ፣

ምሙ ፥ ወለእመሰ፣ ዘአፍቀረከሙ፣ አፍቀርከሙ፣ አልብከሙ፣ ዘአፈ
 ድፈድከሙ¹፣ እምባዕዳን፣ አሕዘብ² ፥ ወእመኒ³፣ ርኅብ፣ ጸላኢከሙ⁴፣
 አብልዕዎ፣ ወለእመኒ፣ ጸምአ⁵፣ አስትይዎ፣ ወለእመኒ⁶፣ ዓረቀ⁷፣ አል
 ብስዎ ፥ ወለእመኒ፣ ለከ⁸፣ አኃቲ⁹፣ ልብሰከ¹⁰፣ ግምድ¹¹፣ ሎቱ፣ ወአል
 ብሰ¹² ፥ ወዘንተ፣ ለእመ፣ ገበርከ፣ አፍሐሙ¹³፣ አሳት፣ ተስታጋብእ¹⁴፣
 ወትሰውጥ¹⁵፣ ዲባ፣ ርእሱ፣ ወንዋዩ፣ ቢጽከ፣ ርእየከ¹⁶፣ ኢትሱጥ፣ ዲ
 ባ፣ ርእስከ¹⁷፣ ወኢትፍቱ¹⁸፣ ወኢትበል፣ ለእመ፣ ሐዩውኩ፣ እረከብ፣
 ዘንተ፣ ኩሉ¹⁹፣ እስመ፣ ኢታአምር²⁰፣ አንተ፣ ኅብ፣ ተጼሊ፣ ከመ፣ አ
 ንተ²¹፣ ሶቡ፣ ቤት፣ መሉእ²²፣ ወርቅ፣ ወብሩር²³ = ወይመጽእ፣ ሰራቂ፣
 ወይሰርቆ፣ ወዩጎድጎ፣ ዕራቆ²⁴ ፥ ከግሁኬ፣ አንትሙኒ፣ ሰብእ፣ ኢታ
 አምሩ²⁵፣ ጊዜ፣ አንተ፣ ትመጽእ²⁶፣ ኩነኔ፣ እምኅብ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣
 ወይነሥእዋ፣ ለነፍስከሙ²⁷፣ ወትከውኑ፣ ዕራቅከሙ²⁸፣ ዘእንበለ፣ ስን
 ቅ²⁹፣ በቅድመ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ወክብርከሙ³⁰፣ ይትሐጉል³¹፣ ወነ
 ፍስከሙ³²፣ በገንነም = ወይእዜኒ፣ ሐልዩ³³፣ ወለብው³⁴፣ ለርእስከሙ³⁵፣
 እስለከሙ³⁶፣ ወአስተበቀዎከሙ³⁷፣ በስመ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ እግዚእ
 ነ³⁸፣ ኢየሱስ፣ ክርስቶስ፣ ከመ፣ ዘወሀብናከሙ³⁹፣ ተግሣጸ፣ ትዕቀቡ ፥
 ወትትመሐጸኑ⁴⁰፣ ገዜ፣ ውእቱ፣ ፈቃዱ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣ ከመ፣ ት
 ግበሩ፣ ዘሰማዕከሙ፣ ወዘርኢከሙ፣ ወዘጠየቅሙ⁴¹፣ ከመ፣ ኢኮነ⁴²፣
 ትእዘዙ⁴³፣ ለእግዚአብሔር ፥ ሐሰቱ ፥ ወሕዝብሰ፣ እለ፣ ነሥኡ፣ ሕ
 ጎ፣ ለእግዚአብሔር፣ ኩኑ፣ ነኪራ⁴⁴ ፥ ወይእዜኒ፣ አኃዊዩ⁴⁵፣ ተፋቀሩ፣

^a corr. ^b prim. man. ርእሱከ፣ MS. A fol. 32 recto.

¹ ፈድፋድ፣ ² አሕዛብ፣ q. l. ³ እመኒ፣ ⁴ ጸላኢከሙ፣
⁵ ጸምኅ፣ ⁶ ርኅብ፣ add. ⁷ ወዓረቀ፣ ⁸ ብከ፣ ⁹ አሕ
 ቲ፣ q. l. ¹⁰ ልብሰከ፣? q. l. ¹¹ ግምድ፣ q. l. ¹² ወአልብሰ፣
 q. l. ¹³ ሊ. አፍሐሙ፣ ¹⁴ ታስተጋብእ፣ q. l. ¹⁵ ሊ. ርእከ፣
¹⁶ ወኢትፍቱ፣ om. ¹⁷ ኩሉ፣ q. l. ¹⁸ ኢትአምር፣ ¹⁹ እን
 ቲ፣ q. l. ²⁰ ምሉዕ፣ ሊ. ምሉእ፣ ²¹ ወብሩ፣ ር፣ ²² ወዩን
 ድን፣ ዕራቆ፣ om. ²³ ኢትአምሩ፣ corr. ²⁴ ጊዜ፣ እንተ፣ ትመጽ
 እ፣ corr. ²⁵ ለፍስከሙ፣ ²⁶ ዕራቅከሙ፣ ²⁷ ሊ. ሥንቅ፣
²⁸ ወክብርከሙ፣ ²⁹ ሊ. ይትሆጉል፣ ³⁰ ሊ. ንልዩ፣ ³¹ ወለ
 ብዉ፣ q. l. ³² ለርእስከሙ፣ q. l. ³³ እስእስከሙ፣ q. l. ³⁴ ወ
 አስተበቀዎከሙ፣ ³⁵ እግዚእየ፣ ³⁶ ዝ፣ ወሀብናከሙ፣ q. l. ³⁷ ወትትመሐጸኑ፣ ሊ. ወትትመሐጸኑ፣
³⁸ ወጠየቅሙ፣ ³⁹ ኢኮነት፣
⁴⁰ ትእዘዙ፣ q. l. ⁴¹ ነኪራ፣ ሊ. ነኪራን፣ ⁴² አኃዊዩ ፥ add. ፍ
 ቁራን፣

በበይናቲክሙ፡ ለምንት¹፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ለክሙ፡ በእንተ፡ ተፋቅሮ²፡
 ስሙዓን፡ አንትሙ፡ ወምሁራን፡ በኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር³፡ በወንጌል፡
 ቅዱስ ፥ ወሰማዕክሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
 ዘመጠወ፡ ነፍሶ፡ በእንቲአን⁴፡ ወበእንተ፡ እለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ወበእንተ⁵፡
 ክዕወተ፡ ደሙ፡ ዘከዐወ⁶፡ ደሞ⁷፡ በእንቲአን፡ ከመ፡ ንሕነኒ⁸፡ ንትባላ
 ሕ፡ እምኅጣውኢን⁹፡ እለ፡ ነአምን¹⁰፡ ቦቱ ፥ ወይቤለን¹¹፡ በቃለ፡ ወን
 ጌል፡ አንትሙስ¹²፡ ሰብአ¹³፡ ተፋቅሩ፡ በበይናቲክሙ¹⁴፡ እስመ፡ ከማ
 ሁ፡ አፍቀረን¹⁵፡ እግዚአብሔር ፥ ወይቤ፡ እመታፈቅርዎ¹⁶፡ ለእግዚአ
 ብሔር፡ ተፋቅሩ፡ በበይናቲክሙ ፥ ለእግዚአብሔርስ¹⁷፡ አልቦ፡ ዘርእ
 ዮ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ወልደ፡ እጓለ¹⁸፡ እመሕያው፡ ዘእምህየ፡ ወረደ ፥ ወእ
 መስ፡ ታፈቅርዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ተፋቃሩ¹⁹፡ በበይናቲክሙ²⁰፡ ወአ
 ፍቅሩ፡ ቢጸክሙ²¹፡ ከመ፡ ነፍስክሙ፡ ወዘኢትፈቅዱ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ለክ
 ሙ፡ ሰብአ፡ አንትሙ²²፡ ኢትግበሩ፡ ለባዕድ ፥ ወይቤ²³፡ እግዚእነ፡
 ወመድኅኒን²⁴፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነሉ ፥ ትእዘዝ²⁵ ፥ ወይእ
 ዜኒ፡ ኢታውስቡ²⁶፡ ዘረከብክሙ፡ ነሉ፡ ወኢትፍቅዱ፡ ብእሲተ፡ በ
 ዕድ ፥ ወእመስ፡ ሞተ፡ ምታ፡ ትንብር²⁷፡ በከ፡ ኢታውስብ²⁸ ፥ ወእ
 መስ፡ ኢትክል፡ ተዐግሶ²⁹፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ብእሲ፡ ታውስብ፡ አሐደ³⁰፡
 እስመ፡ ይጌይስ፡ አው፡ ስቦ³¹፡ እምዘምዎ ፥ ወእፍ፡ ትዜም³²፡ እን
 ዘ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አንትሙ፡ ወሥጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሥ
 ጋክሙ ፥ ወይእዜኒ፡ ኢትረስዬ፡ ሥጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሥጋ፡ ዘማ ፥

^a cf. Isa. 53:13, John 6:45. ^b corr.; prim. man. በእንቲ
 እበ፡? ^c corr.; prim. man. ቢጸክሙ፡ ^d corr.; prim. man.
 ኢትውስብ፡ ^e corr.; prim. man. ተዐግሶ፡
¹ ለምንት፡ ² በእንተፋቅሮ፡ q. l. ³ በቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
 add. ⁴ ወበእንተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ add. post በእንቲአን፡ ⁵ በ pro
 ወበእንተ፡ q. l. ⁶ ዘከዐወ፡ l. ዘከዐወ፡ ⁷ ደም፡ om. ⁸ ን
 ሕነ፡ ⁹ እምኅጣውኢ፡ ¹⁰ አምኑ፡ ¹¹ ወይቤለ፡ ¹² አ
 ንትሙስ፡ corr.; prim. man. አንትሙ፡? ¹³ ሰብአ፡ q. l. ¹⁴ በበ
 ደቲክሙ፡ ¹⁵ corr.; prim. man. አፍቀረ፡ ¹⁶ እመ፡ ታፈቅር
 ዎ፡ q. l. ¹⁷ ወበእግዚአብሔር፡ ¹⁸ ዕግለ፡ ¹⁹ ተፋቅሩ፡ q. l.
²⁰ በበይናቲክሙ፡ corr. ²¹ አንትሙ፡ ሂ፡ ²² ደቤ፡ ²³ ወመ
 ድኃነ፡ ²⁴ ትእዘዝ ፥ q. l. ²⁵ tr. ወኢታውስቡ፡ ይእዜኒ፡
²⁶ ትንብር፡ ²⁷ ወኢታውስብ፡ ²⁸ ተገገም፡ l. ተዐግም፡ cf.
 1 Cor. 7:9. ²⁹ ጸደ፡ ³⁰ አወስቦ፡ q. l. ³¹ ትዜም
 ዉ፡ q. l.

እስመ፡ እምከመ፡ ተደመረ፡ ብእሲ፡ ምስለ፡ ብእሲተ¹፡ ብእሲ²፡ አ
ሐደ³፡ ሥጋ፡ ይከውት፡ ኢትደመሩኬ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘማ፡ ወዘአውስበ፡
ዘማ፡ ነኑኔሁ፡ ሞተ⁴፡ በገሃነም፡ አግብኡ፡ ነፍስከመ⁵፡ ለኢየሱስ⁶፡
ከርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ነሉ፡ ዘአግብኦ፡ ነፍሱ⁷፡
ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መንግሥተ⁸፡ ሰማያት፡ ይወርስ፡

ወነሉ⁸፡ ዝቃለ⁹፡ እንዘ፡ ያሰምዕ¹⁰፡ ወይሱበክ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ትሰምዕ፡
ጤቃላ¹⁰፡ ወፍቅርት፡ ይእቲ፡ ለታምሬርስ¹¹፡ ወመስከተ፡ ቤታ፡ ወዐጸ
ደ¹²፡ ቤታ¹³፡ ማኅደሩ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ይትናጸር¹⁴፡ ወይእቲስ፡ ታስተፋ
ኑ፡ ወታጸምእ¹⁵፡ ዘንተ፡ ነሉ¹⁶፡ ዘይሔውዛ¹⁷፡ ወተዐቅብ¹⁸፡ በልባ፡
ወነበረት፡ ሠለስተ፡ ወሠሎስ¹⁹፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢትወርድ፡ እመስከ
ተ²⁰፡ ቤተ²¹፡ ወተናገረታ፡ እማ፡ ወትቤላ፡ ወለትየ፡ ኢትወርዲኑ፡ እ
ምዝንቱ፡ መስከት፡ ወትብልዲ²²፡ እክለ፡ ወትስተይ²³፡ አኩኑ፡ ፍሕር
ቱ፡ አንቲ፡ ለታምሬርስ²⁴፡ ወከመዝ²⁵፡ ትቤላ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ከመዝ²⁶፡
ስእነት²⁷፡ ተዐግሶ²⁸፡ በልባ፡ ወወረደት፡ እመስከት²⁹፡ ወፈቀደት፡ ት
ሐር³⁰፡ ኅበ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወነሥኦት፡ ጤቀላ፡ ከንበሎሃ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ወዓ
ሰበቶ፡ ለዓጻዊ³¹፡ ቤቶን³²፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ህንካ³³፡ ዘንተ፡ ወኢትንግር፡ ከ
መ፡ ለልየ፡ እወፅእ፡ ወነሥኦ፡ ዝኩ፡ ዓጻዊ³⁴፡ ከንበሎሃ፡ ዘወርቅ³⁵፡
ወኅደጋ³⁶፡ ትሐር³⁷፡ ኅበ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወበጺሐ³⁸፡ አኅዘት³⁹፡ ታንገር

^a *corr.*; *prim. man.* ብእሲት፡

^b *prim. man.* መንግሥት፡

^c *corr.*; *prim. man.* ያሰምዕ፡

^d *corr.*; *prim. man.* ወትስተይ፡

^e Dillmann, *Lex.*, s. v. ክንበሎ፡ cites the substance of this passage from the Synaxaria, for the 27th of the month Maskaram, thus: ወሀበተ፡ ለፀጻዊ፡ ቤታ፡ ክንበሎሃ፡ ዘወርቅ፡

¹ ምስለ፡ ብእሲት፡ *corr.*, q. l.

² ብእሲ፡ *om. recte.*

³ አደ፡

⁴ ሞት፡ q. l.

⁵ ነፍስከመ፡ q. l.

⁶ ኢየሱስ፡ *om.*

⁷ ነፍሱ፡

q. l.

⁸ ወነሉ፡ q. l.

⁹ ሊ ዘቃለ፡

¹⁰ ጤቀላ፡ q. l.

¹¹ *tr.* ለታምሬርስ፡ ይእቲ፡

¹² ዓፀደ፡

¹³ ቤተ፡ q. l.

¹⁴ ት

ትናጸር፡

¹⁵ ወታጸምዕ፡

¹⁶ ክሉ፡ q. l.

¹⁷ ዘይኔውዛ፡

¹⁸ ወተዐቅብ፡

¹⁹ ሠለስተ፡ ወ *om. recte.*

²⁰ *corr.*; *prim. man.*

እመከተ፡

²¹ ቤታ፡ q. l.

²² ወ *om.*

²³ ወትስተይ፡ *add.*

ማየ፡

²⁴ ለታምሬርስ፡

²⁵ ሊ ዘከመ፡

²⁶ ወከመዝ፡

²⁷ ስዕነት፡

²⁸ ተአገሥ፡ q. l.

²⁹ እመስከተ፡ *add.* ቤታ፡

³⁰ ት

ሐር፡ q. l.

³¹ ለዓጻዊ፡ ሊ ለዐጻዊ፡

³² ህንካ፡ ሊ ዐንቅ፡

³³ ዓ

ዓዊ፡ ሊ ዐጻዊ፡

³⁴ ዘወርቅ፡ *om.*

³⁵ ወኃደጋ፡

³⁶ ትሐር፡

³⁷ *corr.*; ሊ በጺሐ፡

³⁸ አኅዘት፡

ግር፡ ታሕተ፡ እገሪሁ፡ ወትልሐስ¹፡ ጸበለ²፡ እገሪሁ፡ ወመከየዱ³ ተ
 ወትቤሉ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ዘይሰምዕ፡ ተግሣጸክ፡ ወይክል⁴፡ ገቢ
 ሮቶ⁵፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ እግዚእየ፡ መሀረኒ⁶፡ ኩሉ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይስሓት⁷፡
 መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እስመ፡ ብፁዕ^a፡ ሰብአ^{b8}፡ ዘይገብር፡ ትእዘዝ⁹፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ወየአመን¹⁰፡ ከመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር።
 ወይቤላ፡ ብፁዕት፡ አንቲ፡ ጤቀላ፡ እንዘ፡ ንእስቲ^{c11}፡ አንቲ፡ ታፈቅሪ፡
 ዘንተ፡ ወትፈቅዲ። እስመ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ሰብአ፡ ዘየጎሦ^{d12}፡ ለእግዚአብሔር
 ር። ወለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወዘይዘበጥ¹³፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ወይስደድ¹⁴፡
 ወይጸምእ¹⁵፡ ወይርጎብ¹⁶፡ ወይዓርቅ¹⁷፡ ወይመውት፡ ዘኩሉ¹⁸፡ ይረክ
 ብ፡ በሕይወቱ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይረሲ፡ ርእሶ፡ ከመ፡ በግዕ፡ ዘመ
 ጠውዎ፡ ለጥብኃት¹⁹፡ ወእትአመን²⁰፡ ወአኦምን፡ በስሙ፡ ለወልደ፡
 እግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ። ከመ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘመጠወ፡ ርእሶ፡
 በእንተ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኩሉ²¹፡ ይመውእ²²። እስመ፡ አፍቀረ
 ነ፡ ወበስመ²³፡ ዚአሁ፡ ወንሕነኒ፡ ንግበር^d፡ ፈቀደ²⁴፡ እስመ፡ ጥዩቅ²⁵፡
 ከመ፡ ወኢዋት፡ ወኢሕይወት፡ ወኢኩነኔ፡ ወኢዘይእዜ፡ ወኢዘይመ
 ጽእ፡ ወኢጎይለ²⁶፡ ወኢተላዕሎ²⁷፡ ወኢመላእክተ²⁸፡ ወኢከልእ²⁹፡
 ፍጥረት፡ ወኢይክል³⁰፡ አጎድጎተነ፡ ፍቅሮ፡ ለክርስቶስ³¹፡ እግዚእነ፡
 ወእምዝ፡ ብዙጎ³²፡ መዋዕለ፡ ነበረት፡ ጤቀላ፡ እንዘ፡ ትሐውር³³፡ ወ
 ትገብእ። ከማሁ፡ አእሚራ፡ ኃሠሠታ፡ እማ³⁴፡ ወጎጥአታ³⁵፡ ወእንዘ፡
 ተኃሥዛ። ተሥእለቶ³⁶፡ ለዓጽዊ³⁷፡ ወነገራ፡ ፈሪሆ፡ ወሐረት፡ እማ፡

^a ብፁዕ፡ MS. A fol. 32 verso.

^b *prim. man.* ሰብእ፡?

^c *prim. man.* ንእስቲ፡

^d *prim. man.* ንግብር፡

^e *corr.*

^f *cf.* Rom. 8:38.

¹ ወትልሐስ፡ ² *corr.* ፀበለ፡ ³ እገሪሁ፡ ወ *om.* ⁴ ከ
 መ፡ *pro* ወ ⁵ ገቢርታ፡ ⁶ *tr.* መሐረኒ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ⁷ ኢይ
 ስሓት፡? ⁸ ሰብእ፡ *q. l.* ⁹ ትእዘዝ፡ ¹⁰ ወየአምን፡ *q. l.*
¹¹ ነ፡ ነ፡ ንእስት፡ ¹² ዘየጎሦ፡ ¹³ ወይዘበጥ፡ ¹⁴ ወይ
 ሰደድ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁵ ወይጸምዕ፡ ¹⁶ ወይትመደብ፡ *add.* ¹⁷ ወ
 የግርቅ፡ ¹⁸ ዘኩሉ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁹ ለመጥባሕት፡ *q. l.* ²⁰ ወ *om.*
²¹ ኩሉ፡ *q. l.* ²² ይመውዕ ተ ²³ ወ *om., recte.* ²⁴ ፈቃ
 ዶ፡ *q. l.* ²⁵ ጥዩቅ፡ ²⁶ ወኢጎይለ፡ *l.* ወኢጎይለ፡ ²⁷ ወ
 ተልዕኮ፡ ²⁸ ወኢመላእክት፡ *q. l.* ²⁹ ወኢካልእ፡ *q. l.* ³⁰ ወ
om. recte. ³¹ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ³² ብዙጎ፡ ³³ ትሐው
 ር፡ ³⁴ *tr.* እማ፡ ኃሠሠታ፡ ³⁵ ወጎጥአታ፡ ³⁶ ተስእለተ፡
q. l. ³⁷ ለዓጽዊ፡ *l.* ለዓጽዊ፡

ቤተ፡ጳውሎስ፡ ወረከበታ¹፡ ወአግብአታ፡ ቤታ፡ ወትቤ፡ ጸውዑ፡ ሊ
ተ፡ ታምሬንስሃ፡ ወጸውዕዎ፡ ለታምሬንስ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ስማዓ²፡ ለዛቲ፡
ብእሲትከ³፡ ሰቡዕ፡ ዮም፡ እምዘበሐ⁴፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ዘይብልዎ፡ ብእሲ፡
ወቃለ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ተምህረት፡ ወአገዘት፡ ወናሁ፡ ለልዩ፡ ወለያልዩ⁵፡ ት
ወፅእ፡ ወትሐውር⁶፡ ጎቤሁ ። ወስምዓ⁷፡ ዘትብል፡ ወቦአ፡ ጎቤሃ፡ ታ
ምሬንስ፡ ወይቤላ፡ እግዝእትዩ፡ ምንተ፡ ትብሊ፡ ዘሰማዕኩ፡ ነገረ፡ እ
ምእኪ⁸፡ ንግርኒ⁹፡ ምንትኑአ፡ ወኢትሕብእኒ¹⁰፡ ወእመሰ¹¹፡ ኢታውስ
ብኒአ¹²፡ ትብሊ ። ወትቤሎ፡ ሖር¹³፡ ፍናትከ¹⁴፡ ሰብሰበ¹⁵፡ ዚአዩሰ፡ በ
ዕድ ። ወይቤላ፡ ታምሬንስ፡ ኢትስምዕዮ¹⁶፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ይሔሰ
ወኪ¹⁷፡ ወተሐጉሊ¹⁸፡ ዘንተ፡ ዓለም¹⁹፡ በከንቱ²⁰፡ ነገረ²¹፡ ወመጠዝ²²፡
ወርቅ፡ ወብሩርኒ፡ ወሢራዩ²³፡ ወሚላት²⁴፡ ወታጸምታ²⁵፡ ቤትከን ።
ወትቤሎ፡ ጤቀላ፡ ወርቅከ፡ ወብሩርከ፡ ለከ፡ ይኩንከ፡ ወሲራይከ²⁶፡
ወሚላትከ²⁷፡ ለከ²⁷፡ ይኩንከ²⁷ ። ወሊተሰ²⁸፡ ወርቅዩ፡ ወብሩረዩ²⁹፡ ወ
ሲራይዩ³⁰፡ ወሚላትዩ፡ ወካብካብዩ³¹፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት ። ወከብከ
ብክሙሰ³²፡ ለክሙ፡ ለይኩን³³፡ ወኢትትናገኒ³⁴፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገር³⁵ ። ወተ
ምዕዓ፡ ታምሬናስ³⁶፡ ወወፅእ³⁷፡ ወሐረ፡ ቤተ፡ መኩንን፡ ወነገር ።
ወይቤሎ፡ ዝብእሲ፡ ዘመጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ብሔርን፡ መርዐ³⁸፡ ለነ፡ አንስ
ትያ³⁹፡ ወብዙኃት⁴⁰፡ አንስትሂ፡ ትእዘዝ⁴¹፡ ዚአሁ፡ ሰሚዖን⁴²፡ ጎደ
ጋ⁴³፡ አምታቲሆን፡ ወዕደውኒ፡ እንከ⁴⁴፡ ጎደጉ⁴⁵፡ አንስቲያሆሙ ።

¹ *prim. man.* ወትስምዓ፡

¹ *corr.; prim. man.* ወረከታ፡ ² ስምዓ፡ ³ ሰብእሲትከ፡
om. ዛቲ፡ ⁴ እምዘበሐ፡ *q. l.* ⁵ ለልዩ፡ ወ *om. recte.* ⁶ ወ
ትሐውር፡ ⁷ ወስምዓ፡ *q. l.* ⁸ እምኪ፡ *corr. q. l.; prim.*
man. እም. ኪ፡ ⁹ ዘነገረተኒ፡ ¹⁰ *om.; l.* ወኢትተብእኒ፡ ¹¹ ወ
እመሰ፡ *om.* ¹² ወኢታወስበኦአ፡ ¹³ ሖር፡ ¹⁴ ፍናትከ፡
q. l. ¹⁵ ሰብሰበ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁶ ኢትስምዕዮ፡ ¹⁷ ይሔሰወኪ፡ *q. l.*
¹⁸ ወተሐጉሊ፡ ¹⁹ ዓለመ፡ *q. l.* ²⁰ ሲ በከንተ፡ ²¹ ነገር፡
q. l. ²² ወመጠዝ፡ *corr., q. l.* ²³ ወርቅ፡ ወብሩረ፡ ወሲራዩ፡ *q. l.*
²⁴ ወሚላት፡ *q. l.* ²⁵ ወታጸምታ፡ *cf. ἐξάμιτος.* ²⁶ *om.; l.* ወ
ሢራይከ፡ ²⁷ *om.* ²⁸ ወ *om.* ²⁹ ወብሩርዩ፡ *q. l.*
³⁰ ወሢራይዩ፡ *q. l.* ³¹ ወካብካብዩ፡ *q. l.* ³² ወከብካብክሙሰ፡ *q. l.*
³³ ሰ *om.* ³⁴ ወኢትትናገኒ፡ *q. l.* ³⁵ ነገር፡ *q. l.* ³⁶ ታም
ሬንስ፡ ³⁷ ወ *om.* ³⁸ መርዓ፡ ³⁹ አንስቲያ፡ ⁴⁰ አን
ስት፡ *add.* ⁴¹ ሲ ትእዘዝ፡ ⁴² ሰሚዖን፡ ⁴³ ጋደጋ፡
⁴⁴ *om.* ⁴⁵ ጋደጉ፡

ወበቀለ¹፡ ደናግል፡ ተለዋ²፡ ወአበያ³፡ አውስቦ ። ወይቤ፡ መኩንን፡ ሐሩ⁴፡ አምጽአዎ፡ ወተቀበልዎ፡ ለጳውሎስ ። ወይቤዝኩ⁵፡ መኩንን፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ አንተስ፡ ምንተ⁶፡ አንተ፡ ወምንት፡ ዝትእዘዝ⁷፡ ዘአም ጸእከ፡ ለዕሴን⁸፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገርን፡ ለአንስቲያን⁹፡ ይጎድጋ፡ ምቶን፡ ወብ እሲኒ¹⁰፡ ይጎድግ፡ ብእሲቶ፡ ወደናግል፡ አበያ¹¹፡ አውስቦ¹²፡ ምንት ፡ ዘትብል፡ እንከ ። ወይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ አይኑ፡ ይኒይሰ¹³፡ አውስቦ፡ ወሚመ፡ ፈቀደ¹⁴፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወዘመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወይቤሉ፡ ዝኩ፡ መኩንን፡ ርእዩ፡ ዓዲ፡ ከመያትዋሥኢ¹⁵ ። ወይቤ፡ ንሥእዎ፡ እስርዎ¹⁶፡ ቀላቀሊተ፡ ወደዩ፡ ጌራ፡ ብርተ¹⁷፡ ውስተ¹⁸፡ ርእሱ፡ ወአ ውዕይዎ¹⁹፡ በፒሳ፡ ወተይ፡ ወበኅሠረ¹⁹፡ ዐውድ²⁰፡ ወገብሩ፡ ከማሁ፡ ወሥእንዎ²¹፡ በእሳቶሙ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ አውዕዮቶ²²፡ እስመ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ላዕሴሁ ። ወአንከረ፡ ዝኩ²³፡ መኩንን²³፡ ወይቤ፡ መንከር፡ ዝ ነገር፡ እሳት፡ ዘኢይክል²⁴፡ አውዕዮቶ፡ አውዕእዎ²⁵፡ እምሀገርን፡ ንሥ ኡ፡ ዋዕዩ፡ ሐመዱ፡ ወአውዕኡ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብሉ፡ ናሁ፡ ዋዕዩ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ ዘአውዓይናሁ²⁶፡ ወፍጹመ²⁷፡ ገደፍናሁ፡ ወገብሩ፡ ከማሁ ።

ወስምዓት²⁸፡ እማ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ወትቤላ፡ ለጤቀላ፡ ናሁ፡ ርእዩ፡ ከ መ፡ ርእሶ፡ ጥቀ፡ ስእነ፡ አድኅኖ፡ ወሚመ፡ እንከ፡ ታወስቢኑ ። ወት ቤላ፡ ሰብሰብኪ²⁹፡ ለኪ፡ ይኩንኪ፡ አንሰ³⁰፡ ብዩ፡ ኢየሱስ³⁰፡ ክርስቶስ³¹፡ ምእመን³²፡ ዘጳውሎስ፡ ይሰብክ፡ በስሙ፡ እግዚአ፡ ሰማያት³³፡ ወምድር፡ ዘውእቱ³⁴፡ ያስተዳሉ፡ ሊተ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ በሰማያት ። ወእመ

፡ ዝትእዘዝ፡ ?

፡ አውስቦ፡ ?

፡ MS. A fol. 33 recto.

^d Dillmann refuses to recognize እንስ፡ *man*, given by Ludolf in his Lexicon, cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon* 771.

- ¹ ወበቃለ፡ *add.* ዘአሁ፡ *q. l.* ² ተለዋ፡ ³ ወዓቢያ፡ ⁴ ሐ
ሩ፡ ⁵ ወይቤሉ፡ ዝኩ፡ *q. l.* ⁶ ምንት፡ *q. l.* ⁷ ዝትእዘዝ፡
q. l. ⁸ ላዕሴ፡ *q. l.* ⁹ ሰእንስትኒ፡ ¹⁰ ወሰብእሲ፡
¹¹ ዓቢያ፡ ¹² አውስቦ፡ *q. l.* ¹³ ይኒይስ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁴ ፈቃደ፡
q. l. ¹⁵ ከመ፡ ይትዋሥኢ፡ *q. l.* ¹⁶ ወእስርዎ፡ ¹⁷ ብርተ፡
q. l. ¹⁸ ዳቦ፡ ሊ. ዳቦ፡ ¹⁹ ወበኃሠረ፡ ²⁰ ዓውድ፡ ²¹ ወ
ስዕንዎ፡ ሊ. ወስእንዎ፡ ²² *tr.* አውዕዮት፡ ሰጳውሎስ፡ *q. l.* ²³ *corr.*
²⁴ ኢክህሰ፡ *om.* ዘ፡ ²⁵ ወአውዕእዎ፡ ²⁶ ዘዓውኢይናሁ፡ ሊ. ዘእ
ውዕይናሁ፡ ²⁷ ወዳመ፡ ²⁸ ሊ. ወስምዓት፡ ²⁹ ሰብሰብኪ፡
q. l. ³⁰ ፡ *om.* ³¹ *corr.*; *prim. man.* ክርስትስ፡ (ክርስትስ?)
³² ማእመን፡ ³³ ሰማያት፡ ³⁴ ዘ *suppl. corr.*

ሷ : ትብሊሁ : እምየ : ንሥኢ : ዘንተ¹ : ነሉ : ዘአብሰልኪ¹ : ወይናሂ :
 ወመጋዝእትሂ² : ወአስዋረሂ : ሀቢ : ለነዳያ³ : ወሊተሰ : ውስተ : ከብ
 ኩብየ : ዐቢየ⁴ : ሰብሰብ⁵ : ሊተ : ወለእምየኒ⁶ : ለኪ : ሠናየ⁷ : በዝንቱ :
 ዓለም = ወሊተሰሂ⁸ : ለወለትኪ : ወተምዐት⁹ : ይእተ : ጊዜ : እማ :
 ወሐረት : ጎበ : መኩንን : ወትቤሉ : ለመኩንን : ኪየከሁ¹⁰ : እንዘ :
 ብየ¹¹ : እትገፋዕ¹² : እምጎበ : ወለትየ : እንተ : ትአቢይ¹³ : አውስቦ :
 አውዕያኬ : በከመ : አውዓይኮ : ለጳውሎስ : እስመ : አብደረት¹⁴ : ት
 መት¹⁵ : እምእርአያ¹⁶ : በከመ : ኢይፈቅድ¹⁷ : ወይቤላ : መኩንን :
 ይወርውዋ¹⁸ : ወይውግርዋ : ለጤቀላ : ወትቤ : እማ : ደናግልሂኬ : ጎ
 በ : ሀለዋ : አዝዝ : ያውርደ¹⁹ : ዕፀወ : ውሉደ : ጊራን : ወዐበይት²⁰ :
 ወይርአያ²¹ : ከመ : ያውዕይዎ : ለዘአብየ²² : አውስቦ : ወገብሩ : ከማ
 ሁ : ወአውረደ²³ : ደናግል : ዘውእቱ : ሀገር : ውሉደ : ዐበይት²⁴ : ወ
 ጊራት²⁵ : ዕፀወ = ወወረደት : ጤቀላ²⁶ : ሥርጉታ²⁷ : ወላሕያ²⁸ : መንክ
 ር : ወይበጽሕ : ሥዕርታ : እስከ : ሰኩናሃ : ወአፃብኢሃ : ዘውግ : ወጎ
 ብራ : ከመ : ቀርነ : ነጌ = ወይቤ : ውእቱ : መኩንን : ሂድዋ = ሰርን²⁹ :
 እምላዕሌሃ : ወአውዕኡ : አልባሲሃ : ወሠቀ : አዕጥቅዋ : ወገብሩ³⁰ :
 ከማሁ : ወይቤልዋ : ለጤቀላ : ሚዘታወስቢኑ³¹ : ወሚመ : ዘኢታወስ
 ቢኑ : ወሚመ : ይወርውኪኑ³² = ወትቤሉ³³ : ጤቀላ : ለምንትኑ³⁴ : ትዌ
 ርውኒ³⁵ : ለልየ : እበውእ : ወኢያወስብ³⁶ : ወአንደዱ : ዝኩ : እሳት³⁷ :
 መደንገፀ³⁸ = ወግሩመ = ወመጽእት³⁹ : ወትቤ⁴⁰ : ጤቀላ : ለቦዊእ⁴¹ :

* *prim. man.* መደንገፀ :

¹ *suppl. corr.*

² ወመጋዝዕት : ሊ. ወመጋዝእትሂ : ³ ለነዳያ
⁴ ግቢይ : ሊ. ዐቢይ : ⁵ ሰብሳ
⁶ ሂ *pro* ኒ : ⁷ ሠናይ : *q. l.* : ⁸ ወሊተሂ : *q. l.*
⁹ ወተምዓት : ሊ. ወተምዐዐት : ¹⁰ ኪየከሂ : *q. l.* : ¹¹ እምዘብየ :
¹² እትጋፋዕ : ¹³ ተዓቢ : ሊ. ተአቢ : ¹⁴ አበ
¹⁵ *om.* : ¹⁶ እመእርአያ : ¹⁷ እእፈቅድ : ¹⁸ ይ
¹⁹ ያውርዳ : *q. l.* : ²⁰ ወዓበይት : ²¹ ወ
²² ለዘጎብየ : ²³ ወአውረዳ : *q. l.* : ²⁴ ዓበይት :
²⁵ ወኒራን : *q. l.* : ²⁶ ሂ : *add. post* ጤቀላ : ²⁷ ሊ. ስርጉታ :
²⁸ ወላህያሂ : ²⁹ ሠርን : ³⁰ ወገብሩ : *q. l.* : ³¹ ሚመ : ዘ
³² ይወርወኪኑ : *q. l.* : ³³ ወትቤ : ³⁴ ለ
³⁵ ትዌርወኒ : ³⁶ *corr.* : ³⁷ ዝኩ : እሳት : *q. l.*
³⁸ መደንገፀ : *q. l.* : ³⁹ ወመጽእት : *q. l.* : ⁴⁰ *om. recte.* : ⁴¹ ለ
 ቦዊእ : *q. l.*

ሰፍሐት፣ እዱሃ¹፣ ወኃተማ²፣ ፍጽማ፣ ትቤ፣ በማጎተመ³፣ ክርስቶስ⁴፣
 ወልደ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ዘጳውሎስ፣ ይሰብክ፣ ከመ፣ ውእቱ፣ ወልደ፣
 እግዚአብሔር፣ ወኪያሁ፣ እንዘ፣ እትአመን፣ እበውእ፣ ትቤ ፥ ወቦአ
 ት፣ ጎቲማ፣ ዝኩ⁵፣ እሳት⁶፣ በማጎተመ፣ ክርስቶስ ፥ ወውእተ፣ ጊዜ፣
 ተንየየ፣ ዝኩ፣ እሰት⁷፣ እምላዕሌሃ፣ ወዘንመ፣ ዝናመ⁸፣ እምሰማይ⁹፣
 ወአጥፍአ፣ ዝኩ¹⁰፣ እሳት¹¹፣ ወጸዓ¹²፣ ጸዕፅ¹³፣ ወአጽመሞ¹⁴፣ እዝኖ^b፣
 ለዝኩ፣ መኩንን፣ እስመ፣ ሐለየ፣ እኩየ፣ ላዕለ^c፣ እግብርተ፣ እግዚአ
 ብሔር፣ ወመገለ፣ እዝኩ፣ ወዓጸየ¹⁵፣ ወጸመመ¹⁶ ፥ ወመጽአት፣ ዝኩ¹⁷፣
 ጤቀላ፣ እማእከለ፣ እሳት፣ እንዘ፣ አልቦ፣ ዘይሬሰያ^{d16}፣ ወሰደደታ፣ እ
 ማ፣ ወትቤላ፣ ኢትባኢ፣ ቤትየ፣ ወኢትቆረብኒ፣ እምዮም^d፣ ነኪርየ፣
 አንተ¹⁹፣ ሊተ ፥

ወይእቲ፣ ጤቀላ፣ ነበረት፣ ውስተ፣ ጎሞስ²⁰፣ ውስተ²¹፣ ሀገር፣ ወ
 እንዘ²²፣ ትነብር፣ ረከበት፣ ብእሲት²³፣ እንተ፣ ትፈድያ፣ ፲፪ ዲናረ ፥
 ወትቤላ፣ ጤቀላ፣ አኮኑ፣ ፲፪ ዲናረ፣ ዘትፈድዩኒ²⁴፣ ወትቤላ፣ ይእቲ፣
 ብእሲት፣ እወ²⁵፣ እግዝእትየ²⁶፣ ጎደጉ²⁷፣ ለኪ፣ ከሉ²⁸፣ ሀብኒ፣ ፫²⁹ ዲ
 ናረ፣ ወወሀበታ፣ ወጎደገት³⁰፣ ላቲ፣ ከሉ፣ ዘትፈድያ፣ እስመ፣ ከማሁ፣
 ይብል፣ መጽሐፍ፣ ለእመ፣ ጎደግመ³¹፣ አበሳሆመ፣ ለቢጽከመ፣ የጎ
 ድግ³²፣ ለከመ፣ ጎጢአተከመ³³፣ አቡከመ፣ ሰማያዊ ። ወዘንተ፣ ተዘ
 ኪራ፣ ጤቀላ፣ ጎደገት፣ ዘትፈድያ ። ወእምዝ፣ ርእየት³⁴፣ ረድኡ፣ ለጳ
 ወሎስ³⁵፣ ወተለወዳ፣ ወትቤሉ³⁶፣ አይቲ፣ ሀለወ፣ እግዚእየ፣ ጳውሎ

^a ? ^b *prim. man.* እዝና፣ ^c *ver. tot. ras.* ^d *corr.*
 • ዙ|ሉ፣ MS. A fol. 33 verso.

¹ እደዌ፣ *q. l.* ² ወኃተማ፣ *q. l.* ³ በማጎተመ፣ ⁴ ለ
 ክርስቶስ፣ ⁵ ዝኩ፣ *q. l.* ⁶ እሳት፣ *q. l.* ⁷ እሳት፣ *q. l.*
⁸ ዝናም፣ *q. l.* ⁹ *suppl. corr.* ¹⁰ ዝኩ፣ *q. l.* ¹¹ እሳት፣
q. l. ¹² ወመጽአ፣ *corr. rec., q. l.* ¹³ ፀዓፅ፣ *q. l.* ¹⁴ ወ
 እጽመመ፣ *q. l.* ¹⁵ ወዓፀየ፣ *q. l.* ¹⁶ ወጸመ፣ *q. l.* ¹⁷ ዛቲ፣
q. l. ¹⁸ ዘይሬሰያ፣ *q. l.* ¹⁹ አንቲ፣ *q. l.* ²⁰ ሊ ቆሞስ፣
²¹ አካቲ፣ *add.* ²² ወ *om.* ²³ ብእሲት፣ *q. l.* ²⁴ ዘትፈ
 ድይኒ፣ ²⁵ እወ፣ *add.* ²⁶ ወትቤላ፣ ጤቀላ፣ *add.; q. l.*
²⁷ ኃደጉ፣ ²⁸ ከሉ፣ *q. l.* ²⁹ ፭ ³⁰ ወኃደገት፣ ³¹ ኃ
 ደገመ፣ ³² የኃደግ፣ ³³ አበሳከመ፣ ³⁴ ርእየት፣ ³⁵ *prim.*
man.; corr. rec. ሰረድአ፣ ጳውሎስ፣ *q. l.* ³⁶ *prim. man. om.;*
suppl. corr.

ስ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ ፈሪሆ ፡ ኢያአምሮ¹ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ወኢርኢከም² ። ወይጸው
 ሮ³ ፡ ከነ⁴ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ውሳጢት⁵ ፡ መልበሱ ፡ ለጳውሎስ ፡ እስመ²³ ፡
 ይሰድድም ፡ ወተለውም ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወይቤልም ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ሰ
 ብእ ፡ አለቅነ⁶ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ተለውነከ⁷ ፡ በሠሚረ ፡ ቃልከ ፡ ወኢነሣእነ ፡ ምን
 ተኒ ፡ ዘንበልዕ⁸ ፡ ወይእዜኒሂ⁹ ፡ ርኅብነ ፡ ወንሖር¹⁰ ፡ ናምጽእ ፡ እክለ ፡ ለ
 ኩልነ ፡ ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ኮንክሙ¹¹ ፡ ናሁ¹² ፡ ይእዜ ፡ አመጽእ ፡ አነ ፡ ወበ
 እንተዝ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ ውሳጢተ¹³ ፡ መልበሱ ፡ ወልዱ¹⁴ ፡ ይሢጥ ፡ ዝኩ ፡ ወ
 ልድ ፡ ልብሶ ፡ ለጳውሎስ ፡ ወነሢኦ ፡ ኅብስት¹⁵ ፡ ወሀበቶ ፡ ጤቀላ ፡ ጀዲ
 ናር¹⁶ ፡ ወነሥአት ፡ ዝኩ¹⁷ ፡ መልበስ¹⁸ ፡ ወተለውቶ ፡ ለረድኦ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡
 ኅብ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ የኅድር¹⁹ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ ሐዌሳ ፡ እግዚ
 እየ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ አማን ፡ ዐቢይ²⁰ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ዘታመልክ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወርኢ
 ኩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትኤዘዝ²¹ ፡ ሎቱ²² ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወአማን ፡ ያጠፍእ²³ ፡ እሳት²⁴ ፡
 ወይኩንን ፡ ለዘ ፡ ተኅየሎሙ²⁵ ፡ ለአግብርተ ፡ አግዚአብሔር ። ወይእዜ
 ኒ ፡ አኅዙኒ ፡ ወወደዩኒ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እሳት ፡ በኢያውስቦ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ለእግዚ
 አብሔር ፡ እብል²⁶ ፡ ወኢእፈቅዶ²⁷ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ዓለም ። እስመ ፡ ዘአውሰበ ፡
 ዘዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወእምቀለ²⁸ ፡ መጸሕፍት ፡ ይነግር ፡ ዘሰበከ ፡ አን
 ተ ። ወይእዜኒ ፡ ተንሥአ²⁹ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወቅረጸኒ³⁰ ፡ ወአቅንተኒ³¹ ፡ ወእት
 ሎከ ፡ ወእኩን³² ፡ አመተ³³ ፡ እግዚአብሔር³⁴ ። ወተሰጥዋ³⁵ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡
 ወይቤላ³⁶ ፡ አማን ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ሃይማኖትኪ³⁷ ፡ ያድኅነኪ ፡ እግዚአብሔ
 ር ፡ እስመ ፡ አዝማድኪ ፡ ኩሎ³⁸ ፡ ይትፈሣሕ³⁹ ። ወይእዜኒ ፡ ቅርጸትኪ

^a cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 771.

^b ታንሥአ፡?

¹ ኢያአምሮ ፡ ² ወኢርከም ፡ ³ ወይፀውር ፡ ⁴ om.; ሌ.
 ከነ ፡ ⁵ ውሳጢት ፡ ⁶ አለቅነ ፡ q. ሌ. ⁷ ተለውናከ ፡ q. ሌ.
⁸ tr. ዘንበልዕ ፡ ወኢምንተኒ ፡ ⁹ ሂ om. ¹⁰ ወንሖር ፡ ¹¹ ኮን
 ክሙኦ ፡ ሌ. ይኩንክሙ ፡ ¹² ርኅብነ ፡ ወ add. ante ናሁ ፡ ¹³ ውሳ
 ጢተ ፡ ሌ. ውሳጢት ፡ ¹⁴ ለወልዱ ፡ q. ሌ. ¹⁵ ኅብስተ ፡ ¹⁶ ጸና
 ረ ፡ q. ሌ.; om. ጸ ¹⁷ ዝኩ ፡ q. ሌ. ¹⁸ መልበስ ፡ q. ሌ. ¹⁹ የኃ
 ድር ፡ ²⁰ ዓቢይ ፡ ²¹ ይትኤዘዝ ፡ ²² suppl. corr.
²³ om. ²⁴ ሌ. እሳት ፡ ²⁵ ተሀየሎሙ ፡ ²⁶ ሌ. እብዕል ፡
²⁷ ወኢያፈቅዶ ፡ q. ሌ. ²⁸ ወቃለ ፡; om. እም recte. ²⁹ ተንሥእ ፡ q. ሌ.
³⁰ ወቅርጸኒ ፡ q. ሌ. ³¹ ወአቅንተኒ ፡ q. ሌ. ³² ወ om. ³³ ዓ
 መተ ፡ ³⁴ ወእግብር ፡ ፈቃድ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ add. ³⁵ ወተሰጥዋ ፡
³⁶ ወይቤላ ፡ add. ³⁷ ሌ. ሃይማኖትኪ ፡ ³⁸ ኩሎ ፡ q. ሌ. ³⁹ ይ
 ትፈሣሕ ፡

ሰ¹፡ ወአቅንቶትኪ²፡ ኢይክል፡ ወራእይ³፡ በዘ፡ ኢይትከህል፡ ላሕይ⁴፡
አንቲ፡ ፈድፈደ፡ ጥቀ፡ ወንስቲቲ⁵፡ እንቲ፡ ዘኢተመከርኪ⁶፡ ወእመቦ፡
ዘከመ፡ ተስሕትኪ፡ ሕገ፡ ናእስ⁷፡ ዘኢረከበ፡ አሐድ⁸፡ ውሑደ፡ ትበው
ኢ፡ ወዝኩ፡ ሃይማኖትኪ፡ ይማስን፡ ሕገ፡ ዘተስሕተ፡ ወይእዜኒ፡ ተዓ
ገሢ፡ ምዕረ ። ወሰሐቀት⁹፡ ጤቀላ፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ዘይሰብክ፡ ኢይናፍቅ፡
ለሊሁ፡ ዑቅ፡ ወኢትናፍቅ¹⁰፡ አንተሂ፡ ወአእምሮ፡ አእምሮ¹¹፡ ከመ፡
መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይረድኡኒ ። ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ አንከረ¹²፡ ጳውሎስ፡
ወይቤላ፡ አማን¹³፡ ትቤሊ፡ ወለትየ ። ወተንሥኡ፡ ወቀረፃ¹⁴፡ ወአቅነ
ታ፡ ወሖሩ፡ ተስሉንቄ¹⁵፡

ወሰምዐተ¹⁶፡ እማ፡ ከመ፡ ተቀርጾት፡ ወቀነተት፡ በከየት፡ ወሖረ
ት፡ ኅበ፡ መኩንን፡ ከልእ¹⁷፡ ዐቃቢሁ¹⁸፡ ለዘ፡ አጽመሞ፡ እዝኖ፡ ጽዓ
ዕ¹⁹፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ጤቀላሁ፡ ኅየለት²⁰፡ እምኩሉ፡ መኳንንተ፡ ምድር፡
ትትቀረጽሂ²¹፡ ወትትቀነትሂ፡ ወትእበይ²²፡ አውስቦ፡ ወርእሳ፡ ትኳን
ን፡ እንዘ፡ እማ፡ ሀለወት ። ወአልብክሙኑ²³፡ እለ፡ ትረድኡኒ፡ ኩን
ኖታ ። ወይቤላ፡ ዐቃቢሁ²⁴፡ ለዝኩ፡ ለዘ፡ ጽዓዕ²⁵፡ አጽመሞ²⁶፡ ጤቀላ፡
ዕፁብ²⁷፡ እምኩሉ፡ ኅየለት²⁸፡ ሖሩ²⁹፡ አምጽእዋ፡ ወተቀበልዋ ። ወረ
ከብዋ፡ በተሰሉንቄ፡ ወአኅዝዋ፡ ወአምጽእዋ፡ ኅበ፡ ዝኩ፡ መኩንን ።
ወይቤላ፡ ጤቀላ³⁰፡ እምኩሉኑ፡ ኃየልኪ፡ አንቲ³¹፡ ትትቀረጽሂ³²፡ አን
ቲ³³፡ ወትትቀነትሂ³⁴፡ ወአው፡ አበይኪ³⁵፡ አውስቦ፡ ምንትኑ፡ ትብ
ሊ ። ወተሰጠወቶ³⁶፡ ጤቀላ፡ ወትቤሉ፡ ዚአከ፡ አነ፡ ኢሐለይኩ³⁷፡ መ
እመንየ³⁸፡ የዐቢ³⁹፡ ዘሉቱ፡ ነፍስየ፡ መጠውኩ፡ ውእቱ፡ ይበልሐኒ⁴⁰ ።

^a *prim. man.* ተስንቄ፡; ሉ *suppl. man. rec.* ^b *MS. A fol. 34 recto.*

¹ ቀፊጸ(ጊ. ጸ)ተኪስ፡ *q. ሊ* ² ወአቅነተትኪ፡ *q. ሊ* ³ ወራእይኪ፡
q. ሊ ⁴ ላህይ፡ ⁵ ሊ ወንስቲት፡ ⁶ ዘኢተመከረ፡ *om. ኪ*፡
⁷ ናዕስ፡ ⁸ ጸ ⁹ ሊ ሠሐቀት፡ ¹⁰ ወ *om.* ¹¹ አነት
¹² አንከረ፡? ¹³ አማነ፡ ¹⁴ ወቀረጸ፡ *corr.*
¹⁵ ተስሉንቄ ። ¹⁶ ወሰምዓት፡ ሊ ሰምዐት፡ *aut potius* ሰሚዓ፡ ¹⁷ ኳ
¹⁸ ልእ፡ *q. ሊ* ¹⁹ ጽዓዕሁ፡ ²⁰ ፀዓዕ፡ *q. ሊ* ²¹ *tr.* ኃየለት፡ ጤ
²² ቀላ፡ *om. ሁ* ²³ ትትቀረጽሂ፡ *q. ሊ* ²⁴ ወተንቢ፡ ²⁵ ኑ *om.*
prim. man.; suppl. corr. ²⁶ ጽዓዕሁ፡ ²⁷ ፀዓዕ፡ *q. ሊ* ²⁸ አፀ
²⁹ መሞ፡ ³⁰ ፀፁብ፡ ሊ ፀጹብ፡ ³¹ ኃየለት፡ ³² ሖሩ፡
³³ *om.* ³⁴ *tr.* አነቲ፡ ኃየልኪ፡ ³⁵ ትትቀረጸ፡ ³⁶ *om.*
³⁷ ወትትቀነቲ፡ *q. ሊ* ³⁸ ወአበይኪ፡ *om.* አው፡ ³⁹ ወተሠጥወት፡
⁴⁰ ኢኃየልኩ፡ *q. ሊ* ⁴¹ ማእምንየ፡ ⁴² የንቢ፡ ⁴³ ደድኅነኒ፡

እምእደ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወእምኩሉ¹፡ ዘእፈርህ² ። ወይእዚኒ፡ ምንትኑ³፡
ትብል ። ወይቤላ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኩንን፡ እርአይኬ⁴፡ ከመ፡ ትድኅኒ ።
ወይቤሉ⁵፡ በከመ፡ ርእዩ፡ ቀደምት፡ አንተ፡ ትሬኢ ። ወይቤላ፡ ውእ
ቱ፡ መኳንን⁶፡ እንከሰኬ፡ እርአይ⁷፡ ዘያድኅና፡ ሐሩ⁸፡ ደይዋ፡ ውስ
ተ፡ ቤተ፡ አናብስት⁹፡ ወድብ ። ወነሥእዋ፡ ወወደይዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤ
ተ፡ ድብ፡ ወአናብስት¹⁰ ። ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ በጽሑ፡ ኅዓተ፡ ዝኩ፡ ቤ
ተ፡ ድብ፡ ወአናብስት¹¹፡ ሰፍሐት፡ እደዊሃ፡ ከዕበ¹²፡ በከመ፡ ልማዳ፡
ወኅተመት¹³፡ ርእሳ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል¹⁴ ። ወእምአንቀጹ፡ ኅተ
መት¹⁵፡ በከመ፡ ኢየሱስ¹⁶፡ ወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእበውእ፡ ዮ
ምኒ¹⁷፡ እንዘ፡ ይረድኡኒ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ ። ወበእንተዝ፡ ትትፈሣ
ሕ¹⁸ ። ወመሰሉሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ወሰድዋ¹⁹፡ ዘይበልዕዋ፡ ዝኩ²⁰፡ አራ
ዊት ። ወሶበ፡ ርእይዋ፡ ዝኩ²⁰፡ አራዊት፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ላቲ፡
ወአኅዙ፡ ይልሐስዋ፡ ወያንገርግሩ፡ ዲበ፡ እገሪሃ ። ወይእቲስ፡ ሰፍ
ሐት፡ እደዊሃ፡ ወአኅዘት፡ ትጸሊ፡ ወትቤ፡ ታኣኩቶ²¹፡ ነፍስየ፡ ለእ
ግዚአብሔር፡ ዘአቅደመ፡ ገቢረ፡ ሣህሉ²²፡ እምቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይ
ሄሉ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሰማ
የ፡ ወምድረ፡ በአሐዱ²³፡ ቃል፡ ወኩሉ²⁴፡ ዘውስቲቶሙ²⁵፡ ዘገብረ፡ ለ
ባሕር፡ ወለኩሉ፡ ዘውስቲታ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ለእንለ²⁶፡ እመሕያው፡ በአርአ
ያሁ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገብረ፡ ሊተ፡ ለዘ፡ አመንኩ፡ በከመ፡
ወበኅይሉ²⁷፡ ወበጥበቡ²⁸፡ ወበምክሩ፡ ለዘበቃሉ፡ ተገብረ፡ ዘውእቱ፡
አዘዘ፡ ወኩሉ²⁹፡ ኮነ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሠምረ፡ ወኩሉ²⁹፡ ተፈጥረ፡ ለዘ³⁰፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ ሰብእ³¹፡ ተመሰለ፡ ወኮነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ወአስተር
አየ ። ወእንዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሞተ፡ ወአመ፡ ሣልስተ³²፡ ዕለት፡ ተን

¹ ወእምኩሉ፡ *q. l.* ² ዘእፈርህ፡ *q. l.* ³ ምንትኑ፡ *q. l.*
⁴ እርአይኬ፡ *corr.* ⁵ ወትቤሉ፡ *q. l.* ⁶ *tr.* መኩንን፡ ውእቱ፡
⁷ እርአይ፡ ⁸ ሐሩ፡ ⁹ *l.* ፀናብስት፡ ¹⁰ ወነሥእዋ... ወእና
ብስት፡ *om.* ¹¹ *l.* ወፀናብስት፡ ¹² ካዕበ፡ *q. l.* ¹³ ወኅተ
መት፡ ¹⁴ ወእምአንቀጹ፡ ሐተመት፡ ርእሳ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል፡ *add.*
prim. man.; om. corr. ¹⁵ ሐተመት፡ ¹⁶ ክርስቲስ፡ ¹⁷ *l.*
om. ¹⁸ ትትፈሣሕ፡ ¹⁹ ይወስድዋ፡ ²⁰ እሉ፡ *q. l.*
²¹ ተኣኩት፡ ²² ሣህሉ፡ *q. l.* ²³ በፃ ²⁴ ወኩሉ፡ *q. l.*
²⁵ ዘውስቲታ፡ ²⁶ ለዕንለ፡ ²⁷ ወበኃይሉ፡ ²⁸ ወ *om.*
²⁹ ወኩሉ፡ *q. l.* ³⁰ ለ *l.* እንዘ፡ ³¹ ሰብአ፡ *q. l.* ³² ማል
ስት፡ *q. l.*

ሥአ : ከመ : ምውታን¹ : ያሕዩ : ወይባልሕ : ለዘየአምኑ² : በስሙ :
 ከመዝ : ለዘአጽነን : ወወረደ³ : ወዓርገ⁴ : ለዘ⁵ : በአማን⁶ : አቡሁ⁷ : ነበ
 ረ : ወቀደመ : ነቢረ : ወዓለም⁸ : ሀሎ : ውእቱ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመ
 ንፈስ : ቅዱስ = አሐዱ⁹ : ውእቱ : መፍቀሬ : ሰብእ : ወመስተዐገሥ¹⁰ :
 ውእቱ : መኃሪ¹¹ : ዘኢያስተፈሥሕ¹² : ጸላእተን¹³ : ለዕሌን¹⁴ = ወአጥፍ
 አ : ነበልባለ : እሳት : ወአክፍአ : ስነ : አናብስት¹⁵ : ለከ : ስብሐት :
 ወአኩቴት : ወለከ : ቅድስያት¹⁶ : ለአብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ =
 ወዘንተ : ቃለት¹⁷ : እንዘ : ትጼሊ : ጤቀላ : መጽአ : ዘይርእያ¹⁸ :
 ለእመ : በልዕዋ : አራዊት : ወለእመሂ : ሀለወት : እስመ : አብእዋ¹⁹ =
 ዝኩ : መኩንን : ደኅራዊ²⁰ : ዐቃቢሁ²¹ : ለዝኩ : ለዘ : ጸዓዐ²² : አጽ
 መሞ : ተቀሥፈ : ዙላ : ለያልዮ²³ : ወኢያስመረ : ዘይቀሥፎ : ወይቤ :
 ሐሩኬ²⁴ : ርእዩ : ዓጽማ²⁵ : ለጤቀላ : እመቦ : ዘትረከቡ²⁶ : ንቅብራ :
 ወንድላን²⁷ : እም : ዝንቱ : መቅሠፍት = ወሶበ : የሐውሩ²⁸ : ይርእይ
 ዋ²⁹ : ረከብዋ³⁰ : ሕያውታ = ወገብኡ : ኅበ : ዝኩ : መኩንን : ወነገር
 ዎ : ከመ : ሀለወት : ሕያውታ = ወይቤሎሙ : መኩንን : ንሐር³¹ : ወ
 ኅዊሮሙ³² : ይቤሉ : ስቡሕ : እግዚአብሔር : ዘአድኅነኪ³³ : እግዚእ
 ኪ : ዘአምለኪ : ወኅረይኪ³⁴ : ወአብደርኪ³⁵ : እስመ : እምአመ³⁶ : አ
 ባእኩኪ^b : ውስተዝ³⁷ : አናብስት³⁸ : እትቀሠፍ : ነዩ : እስከ : ዮም = ን
 ዒ : የኢ : ወጸልዩ : ላዕሌዩ : ወላዕለ : ዝኩ³⁹ : መኩንን : ዘእስከ : ዮ
 ም : ዘዓፂ⁴⁰ : እዝኑ⁴¹ = ወትቤሎ : ጤቀላ : እንከሰኬ : ላዕሌከሂ : ወላ
 ዕለ : ዝኩሂ⁴² : መኩንን : ኢይክል : ጸልዮ : ለእመ : ኢያምጸእከምዎ :

^a corr.; *prim. man.* ወአብርኪ :

^b corr.; *prim. man.* አባእኩኪ :

^c MS. A fol. 34 verso.

¹ ምውታን : *q. l.*

² ለእለ : የአምኑ : *q. l.*

³ ሰማደተ : *add.*

⁴ ረ : ወዐርገ :

⁵ *del. man. rec.?*

⁶ የማነ : *q. l.*

⁷ ኡባ :

⁸ ለዓለም : *q. l.*

⁹ *om.*

¹⁰ ወመስተዓገሥ :

¹¹ መሐፊ : ረ

መሓፊ :

¹² ዘይስተፈሥሕ : *om. ሕ.*

¹³ ጸላዕተ :

¹⁴ ላዕ

ሌን : *q. l.*

¹⁵ ረ ዐናብስት :

¹⁶ ቅድሳት : *q. l.*

¹⁷ ቃለ : *q. l.*

¹⁸ ዘይሬእያ : *q. l.*

¹⁹ ሕብአ :

²⁰ ደኃራዊ : *q. l.*

²¹ ዓቃ

ቢሁ :

²² ፀዓዐ : *q. l.*

²³ ረ ሌሊተ :

²⁴ ሐፋ :

²⁵ ዓ

ፀማ : ረ. ዐፀማ :

²⁶ ዘትረከብዋ :

²⁷ ወንድኃን :

²⁸ ሐፋ :

²⁹ ርእይዋ :

³⁰ ወረከብዋ :

³¹ ንሐር :

³² ወሐዊሮሙ : *q. l.* ;

³³ ዘአድኃኪ :

³⁴ ወኃረይኪ :

³⁵ ወአብደርኪ :

³⁶ አመ ;

om. እም

³⁷ ወስተ : እሉ : *q. l.*

³⁸ ረ ዐናብስት :

³⁹ ዝ

ኩኒ :

⁴⁰ የዓፂ : ረ. የዐፂ :

⁴¹ እዝኖ :

⁴² ሂ *om.*

ለጳውሎስ፡ ውሕቱ፡ ይጸሊ፡ ላዕሌከሙ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ሀሎት¹፡ እንጋ፡ አ
ኮኑ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ ከመ፡ አውዐይዎ²፡ ወገደፋ፡ አዕጽምቲሁ³ ፥ ወትቤ
ሎ⁴፡ እው፡ ኪየየሂ⁵፡ ወአውዓይከሙኒ⁶፡ ወገደፍከሙኒ፡ አዕጽምትየ⁷ ፥
ወአምኑ⁸፡ ወፈነው⁹፡ ይጸውዕዎ⁹፡ ለጳውሎስ ፥ ወአመጽአ¹⁰፡ ጳውሎ
ስ፡ ወጸለየ፡ ላዕለ፡ ዝኩሂ¹¹፡ መኩንን ፥ ዘጸዓዕ¹²፡ አጽመሞ¹³፡ እዘኒ
ሁ፡ ወላዕለ፡ ከልኡ¹⁴፡ ዐቃቢሁ¹⁵፡ ዳጎራዊ¹⁶፡ ዘይትቀሠፍ ፥ ወሐይ
ው¹⁷፡ ከልኡሆሙ¹⁸፡ በጎይለ¹⁹፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ²⁰ ፥ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለ
ም ፥ አሜን፡ ወአሜን²¹ ፥

The translation that follows is in general based upon the text of A. Where the readings of B have been followed, or where the readings of both have been displaced by a conjectural emendation, the fact is duly indicated in the footnotes of the first margin. While some other of B's readings are translated in these notes, the notes are not designed to cover all the significant variants of B. These textual notes are referred to by superior numerals. Superior letters refer to the critical notes which occupy the second margin. The proper names of the Ethiopic are given in their usual English forms, the only exceptions being Tāmerēnōs or Tāmerēnes (for Thamyris) and Walda Giyörgis, in both of which it seemed desirable to imitate the Ethiopic closely. For the sake of uniformity, however, the former name has been thus

¹ ሀላወት፡ ² አውዓዩ፡ ³ አዕጽምቲሁ፡ q. l. ⁴ ሎ om.
⁵ ኪየየሂ፡ q. l. ⁶ ወ om. ⁷ አዕጽምትየ ፥ q. l. ⁸ ወፈነው፡
q. l. ⁹ ወጸውዕዎ፡ ¹⁰ ወመጽአ፡ q. l. ¹¹ ሂ om. ¹² ዘፀ
ዓዕ፡ q. l. ¹³ አጽመሞ፡ ¹⁴ ካልኡሂ፡ q. l. ¹⁵ ዓቃቢሁ፡
¹⁶ ደጋራዊ፡ ¹⁷ ወሐይሁ፡ q. l. ¹⁸ ጽሆሙ፡ ¹⁹ በጎይለ፡
²⁰ ወአምኑ፡ ጽሆሙ፡ በስመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ ፥ ከማሁ፡ ፈውሶ፡ እገዢአ፡ እም
ሕማመ፡ ያፍስ፡ ወሥጋ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ add. ²¹ om. — ወ
ሊተኒ፡ ለዘጸሐፍከዋ፡ ገብርክ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ወአባሲ፡ ስረይ፡ (ጊ ስሪ)፡ ኃጢአትየ፡ (ጊ
ገጢአትየ)፡ ወባርከኒ ፥ add.

Professor Nöldeke, who has examined the Ethiopic proofs, kindly furnishes the following additional notes: P. 72, note 7, omit *l.* ጎይግክ፡ note 13, omit *q. l.* — P. 73, omit note 15፡ note 26, add *q. l.*፡ note 36, omit *q. l.*፡ note 41, read *q. l.* for *l.* ዘኪራን፡ — P. 74, note 2, omit *q. l.* — P. 75, l. 7, read ለጽምራኖስ፡ l. 14, read አመስኮት፡ note 31, omit *l.* ለዐጻዊ፡ note 32, omit *l.* ዐንቅ፡ — P. 76, note 11, omit *l.* ንእስት፡ note 19, omit *q. l.* — P. 79, note 9, omit *l.* ወተምዕዐት፡ — P. 81, note 11, omit *l.* ይኩንከሙ፡ — P. 84, note 2, omit *q. l.*፡ note 37, omit *q. l.*

showed patience that those who believed in his name might be patient and inherit the kingdom of heaven, and stand with him and with his Father, whose are the counsel and the wisdom and the might of God. Blessed are they who make poor their soul, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the righteous, for they shall inherit life. Blessed are they that mourn now for their sin; them shall the righteous admonish.¹ Blessed are they who hunger and thirst now, for they shall be satisfied in all their prayer when they pray unto God in their affliction. Blessed are the doers of charity, for to them belongs mercy with God. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they who make peace and reconcile,² for they shall be called children of God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall hate you for righteousness' sake; rejoice at that time and be exceeding glad (Matt. 5:8-12; Luke 6:20-23). Blessed is the man that follows the commandment of God, and renounces the desire of this world. Blessed art thou, if thou dost leave thy substance and dost follow the command of God. Blessed is the woman who does not marry, but renounces this world, and the virgin who does not marry, but remains by herself (1 Cor. 7:38), saying unto God that he who marries is the portion of Gehenna. And if a woman has married in ignorance, she shall remain with her husband, and a man also with his wife (1 Cor. 7:27). But if he marry another, he is the portion of Gehenna. But if thou dost follow the admonition of God, thou shalt inherit the kingdom of heaven. But know that the wealth of this world is vanity, and its life is vanity, and its gold and its silver, vanity, and he who loves it and he who trusts it; and beyond all else is pride evil, for the proud God sets at naught.

Be not like all gentiles who draw near unto God with their mouth, but their heart is far from God (Matt. 6:7). Because of them(?), ye shall not hate your enemies, and those who love you ye shall not love (Matt. 5:43, 44). But if ye love him who loves you, ye do no more than other gentiles (Matt. 5:46). But if your enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him drink (Rom. 12:20); and if he be naked, clothe him (Matt. 25:36); and if thou hast one garment, divide with him, and clothe him. And if thou doest this, thou shalt gather and pour coals of fire upon his head. And when thou seest thy neighbor's property thou shalt not spend it upon thyself, and thou shalt not covet it (Exod. 20:17), and thou shalt not say, If I live I will gain all this; for thou dost not know when³ thou prayest, that when a house is full of gold and silver, the thief comes and robs it, and leaves it bare (Matt. 6:19). Thus therefore ye men also know not the time when judgment will come from God

¹ Or "comfort," "encourage;" if we are to assume a Greek original, it probably had παρακαλέουσιν.

² Or become reconciled one with another.

³ MSS., "where." It is suggested that in the Greek text lying more or less remotely back of the *Book* *δπου* and *ετι* may have been confused.

and he will take your soul away (Luke 12:20), and ye shall be naked, without provision¹ before God; and your glory and your soul also shall perish in Gehenna. And now reflect and take heed unto yourselves, I entreat you and beseech you in the name of God our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be heedful of the admonition we have given you and accept *it*. This, therefore, is the will of God, that ye do what ye have heard and seen and learned, and that the law of God be not a lie.² But the people who received the law of God became alien. And now also, my brethren, love one another (John 15:12; 1 John 4:7). Why do I write to you? Because of his love ye are admonished and taught of God³ (1 Thes. 4:9) in the holy gospel. And ye have heard our Lord Jesus Christ speak, who laid down his life (John 10:15, 17) for our sake⁴ and for the sake of those who believe in the shedding of his blood, which he shed⁵ for our sake that we also who believe in him might be saved from our sins (Matt. 1:21).

And he says to us in the word of the gospel: But do ye, O men, love one another, because thus God loved us (John 3:16). And he said, If ye love God, love one another (John 15:12). But there is none that has seen God (John 1:18) except the Son of man who came down from thence (John 3:13). But if ye love God, love one another (John 15:12), and love your neighbor as yourself (Matt. 19:19). And what ye will not that men should do to you, ye also shall not do to another (Matt. 7:12). And our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ spoke all this commandment.

And now further ye shall not marry anyone whom ye find and ye shall not covet another's wife (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21). But if her husband be dead, she shall dwell by herself: she shall not marry (1 Cor. 7:39, 40). But if she is not able to refrain without a husband, she shall marry one, for it is better to marry than to commit fornication (1 Cor. 7:9). And how will ye commit fornication when ye are the body of God, and your body the body of God? Now, also, do not make the body of God the body of a harlot (1 Cor. 6:15), for when a man has intercourse with a woman⁶ they become one flesh (1 Cor. 6:16). Do not, therefore, have intercourse with a harlot; and as for one who marries a harlot, his judgment is death in Gehenna. Commit your soul to Jesus Christ, the son of God, for everyone who commits his soul before God shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.⁴

¹ *Lit.*, the *viaticum*.

² In spite of the violence this translation does the verb, it seems the only possible rendering.

³ by the word of God *add.* B.

⁴ who shed his blood, A.

⁵ and for the sake of our sins *add.* B.

⁶ the wife of a man, A.

⁴ The extreme length of Paul's discourse—about one-fourth of the Ethiopic—finds no parallel in the Greek, Syriac, Armenian, or Latin. In the Ethiopic, as in the others, the inculcation of the virginity doctrine is framed in a series of beatitudes, but the Ethiopic has also made large use of the language of the gospel and epistles of John.

And while Paul was proclaiming all this and preaching, Thekla heard. And she was the beloved of Tāmerēnōs, and the window of her house and the court of the house of the dwelling of Paul were opposite each other. But now she followed, and she thirsted for all this which delighted her, and kept *it* in her heart. And she staid three days without going down from the window of her house. And her mother spoke to her and said to her, My child, wilt thou not come down from the window, and eat food, and drink¹? Art thou not the betrothed of Tāmerēnōs? And the more she spoke to Thekla, the more she was unable to endure in her heart, and she came down from the window² and desired to go unto Paul. And Thekla took her golden tire and she bribed the doorkeeper of their house and said, Put *this* on, and do not tell that I am going forth by myself.* And the doorkeeper took her golden tire, and let her go unto Paul. And when she came she began to roll herself beneath his feet and she licked the dust of his feet³ and his footstool, and she said to Paul, Blessed is he that hears your exhortation, and is able to observe it. And now, my lord, teach me also it all, that I may not lose the kingdom of heaven. For blessed is the man that does the commandment of God, and believes that Christ is Son of God. And he said to her, Blessed art thou, Thekla, while thou art young, to love this and seek *it*, for blessed is the man that seeks God and Jesus Christ, and that is persecuted for his sake and is cast out and is thirsty and hungry⁴ and naked and dies; who possesses it all in life in this world, and lays down his life like sheep that are led to the slaughter⁵ (Isa. 53:7). And I trust and believe in the name of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, that everyone that gives himself up for his name's sake conquers all this, because he loved us. And in his name (and) we also will do his will, because it is certain that neither death nor life nor judgment nor that which now is nor that which is to come nor might nor height nor angels nor any other creature is able to separate us from the love of⁶ Christ our Lord (Rom. 8:38, 39).

And after that time for many days Thekla continued to go and return. So when her mother perceived it, she sought her and did not

¹ water *add.* B.

⁴ and is afflicted *add.* B.

² of her house *add.* B.

⁵ slaughter-knife, B.

³ footstool, B.

⁶ Jesus *add.* B.

* The visit of Thamyris to Thekla and Theokleia's protest against her conduct, which precede Thekla's visits to Paul in the Greek and the versions, fall after her visits in the Ethiopic, and the account of Paul's imprisonment at the instance of Thamyris is omitted. Thekla's visit to Paul thus becomes in the Ethiopic a visit to the house of his host, Tamerēnos, not, as in the Greek, Syriac, etc., a visit to his prison, and her behavior on that visit loses its original significance. The necessity for bribing the jailer with a silver mirror (Greek, Syr., Arm.) thus disappears. The single visit of the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian is seven times repeated in the Ethiopic, before Theokleia discovers what is going on. Then Paul is arrested for the first time, in the Ethiopic; while according to the Greek and the versions it is then that he is scourged and set at liberty, while Thekla is brought before the governor, and sentenced to the flames.

find her. And while she sought her, she asked the doorkeeper, and as he was afraid, he told her. And her mother went to the house of Paul and found her. And she brought her back to her house and said, Summon Tāmerēnes to me. And they summoned Tāmerēnes. And she said to him, Hear about this thy wife. Today is the seventh day since a man whom they call Paul came, and she has learned his teaching and has received it, and behold¹ she goes forth at night and goes unto him. And Tāmerēnes heard what she said, and he went unto her and said to her, My lady, what dost thou say of the thing that I have heard, even the story of thy mother?² Tell me³ what it is, and do not hide it from me. But if⁴ thou wilt not marry me, tell me. And she said to him, Go your way; but my marriage is another one. And Tāmerēnes said to her, Do not listen to this man; he deceives thee, and thou wilt lose this world for idle talk; and the gold and silver and costly raiment and purple and samite⁵ of your house are so much. And Thekla said to him, Let thy gold and thy silver be thine, and thy raiment and thy purple be thine; but as for me, my gold and my silver and my raiment and my purple and my nuptials are the kingdom of heaven. But let your nuptials be yours, and do not mention this matter to me. But Tāmerēnōs was angry at her and went forth and went to the house of the governor and told him and said to him, This man who has come into our country corrupts our wives, and many women hearing his teaching have left their husbands, and men moreover have left their wives, and virgins also follow his teaching and refuse to marry. And the governor said, Go, bring him. And they brought⁶ Paul. And the governor said to Paul, But who art thou? And what is this teaching that thou hast brought upon us in our city, to our wives that they should leave their husbands, and the husband also should leave his wife? And the virgins refuse to marry. What is it that thou sayest, therefore? And Paul said, Which is better, marrying or the commandment of God and of the Holy Spirit? And the governor said to him, See, moreover, that he disputes me! And he said, Seize him, bind him downward and put a circlet of brass upon his head and burn him with pitch and sulphur and with chaff of the floor. And they did so.⁷ And they were not able to burn Paul with their fire because the Holy Spirit was upon him. And the governor was amazed.⁷ And he said, This thing is wonderful, that the fire is not able to burn him. Cast him out of our city, take the burning of his ashes, and bear them forth, saying, Behold the burning of Paul whom we have burned, and have utterly cast forth. And they did so.

¹ by myself *add.* A.

² Tell me *om.* B.

³ which she has told me *add.* B.

⁴ But if *om.* B.

⁵ The readings of the manuscripts here are, as Professor Charles suggests, perhaps corruptions for *ἡμέρας*.

⁶ *Lit.*, met.

⁷ Or wondered.

⁷ The attempted execution of Paul does not appear in the Greek or the versions.

And the mother of Thekla heard, and she said to Thekla, Behold, see that he was quite unable to save himself; wilt thou, therefore, marry? And she said to her, Let thy marriage be thine own; I have a husband, even Jesus Christ the faithful, Lord of heaven and earth, in whose name Paul preaches, who is preparing the passover for me in heaven. But if thou sayest it, my mother, take all this that thou hast cooked, the wine¹ also and the fatlings and the bullocks, *and* give them to the poor and needy.² But as for me, in my marriage great nuptials are mine, and honorable to my mother, even to thee, in this world, and to me thy child also.³ And then her mother was angry, and she went to the governor and said to the governor, Although thou thyself also art with me, I am wronged by my child, who refuses to marry. Burn her, therefore, as ye burned Paul, because I prefer⁴ that she should die than that I should see her as I do not desire. And the governor said to her, Let them cast Thekla forth, and let them stone her. And her mother said, Wherever there are virgins also, therefore, command that the children of the good and great bring down fagots and see that they burn one who refuses to marry. And they did so. And the virgins of that city, the children of the great and good, brought fagots, and Thekla came down wonderfully adorned and beautiful, and her hair reached even to her heel and toes, and her color was like ivory. But the governor said, Snatch her adornment from off her, and take away her garments, and gird sackcloth upon her. And they did so. And they said to Thekla, Wilt thou marry? or wilt thou not marry and⁵ shall they cast thee in? And Thekla said, Why will ye cast me in? I will go in myself; and I will not marry. And they kindled the terrible and dreadful fire. And Thekla came⁶ to go in, *and* she stretched forth her hands, and signing⁶ her forehead she said, With the sign of Christ the Son of God, whom Paul proclaims to be the Son of God, and since I believe him, I will go in, she said. And making the sign she went into the fire with the sign of Christ, and straightway the fire fled from before her, and there rained rain from heaven and extinguished the fire, and there came a crash of thunder and deafened the ear of the governor, because he had devised evil against the servants of God; and his ear festered and putrefied and was deaf.⁷ And Thekla came forth from the midst of the fire, while

¹ MSS., its wine.² and needy *om.* A.³ Reading **ΑΝΕΓΓΕΙΛΕ**: with B; A, she prefers.⁴ *Lit.*, or.⁵ and said *add.* A.⁶ Or sealing.

⁷ For this conversation between Thekla and Theokleia there is naturally no place in the Greek or the versions, as in them Thekla is hurried from her visit to Paul's prison immediately to trial and execution. The Ethiopic thus stands alone in ascribing the arrest of Thekla to the instance of her mother.

⁸ The deafening of Thekla's judge by the thunder is peculiar to the Ethiopic, as is the episode of the debt forgiven.

there was naught that detained her. And her mother cast her off, and said to her, Thou shalt not enter into my house nor approach me. From this day thou art a stranger to me.

And Thekla tarried in a tomb (?) in the city,¹ and² while she was tarrying *there* she found a woman who owed her one thousand dinars. And Thekla said to her, Is it not one thousand dinars that thou owest me? And the woman said, Yes,³ my lady. And Thekla said,⁴ I forgive thee all of it. Give me three⁵ dinars. And she gave her *them*. And she forgave her all that she owed. For thus says the Scripture, If you forgive your brethren their fault, your heavenly Father will forgive you your sins (Matt. 6:14). And because she remembered this, she forgave what she owed her. And then she saw the attendant of Paul, and she followed him and said to him, Where is my lord Paul? And because he was afraid, he said to her, I do not know the man, and I have not seen him.¹ Now this young man was carrying the inner garment of Paul. For they were persecuting him. And many men¹ followed him, and the men said to him, Alas, our master, behold we have followed thee in the enjoyment of thy discourse and we have not brought anything to eat. And now moreover we are hungry, and we will go *and* bring food for us all. And he said to them, Enough.⁶ Behold now I will bring *it*. And on this account he had sent his tunic by⁷ his servant, that the servant might sell Paul's garment and get bread.⁸ And Thekla gave him two dinars⁹ and she took up the garment and followed the attendant of Paul to where Paul was dwelling with him. And she said to him,¹⁰ O¹⁰ my lord

¹ a city, B.

⁶ eight, B.

² *Om.* B.

⁶ Are ye hungry? B.

³ Yes, yes, B.

⁷ *Lit.*, to; *om.* A.

⁴ And Thekla said *om.* A.

⁵ The coördination of an inf. and impf. in an expression of purpose is bad Ethiopic and, as Professor Charles points out, may be due to a lapse on the part of the writer into the idiom of his Greek original, whether directly used or known through an Arabic version.

⁹ a dinar, B.

¹⁰ *Or* Very well.

¹ By its departure from the older form of the story the Ethiopic is here betrayed into some inconsistency. Paul's attendant, afraid of further persecution, denies any knowledge of Paul, but seems immediately to conduct Thekla to Paul's abode. In the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Armenian this attendant first accosts Thekla and offers his guidance to Paul, upon which their going to Paul's abode follows with all smoothness.

¹ *Many men*: In the Greek and the versions these are Onesiphorus and his wife and children; and it is the children who become hungry.

¹ For the responsive prayer with which Thekla's appearance before Paul is so dramatically accompanied in the Greek and the versions, the Ethiopic substitutes Thekla's brief account of her deliverance, and, omitting the (eucharistic?) meal, proceeds with Thekla's request that Paul cut her hair. In the Ethiopic he does this, though with reluctance; but in the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian the hair-cutting seems to be postponed. Of the "seal of baptism" the Ethiopic has no trace.

Paul, verily the Lord whom thou dost worship is great, and I have seen that heaven obeys him. Verily he puts out the fire and judges him who oppresses the servants of God. And now also they laid hold of me and cast me into the fire for not marrying, because I am wedded¹ to God and do not desire this world. For he that marries is of this world, and² the word of the Scriptures which thou dost preach proclaims it. And now, therefore, do thou rise up and cut off my hair and gird me, and I will follow thee, and I will be the handmaid of God.³ And Paul answered her and said to her, Truly I have heard of thy faith. God will preserve thee because all thy kinsfolk rejoice. But now I am not able to cut off thy hair and gird thee. And it is thy⁴ beauty on account of which it is impossible. Thou art very exceedingly beautiful, and thou art young, who hast not been proved; and if perchance thou dost err in the manner of the young who do not know⁵ even a very little, thou wilt go on and this thy faith then will be destroyed after the manner of the error that has been committed. Now therefore wait a little. And Thekla laughed and said to him, He who preaches does not doubt himself. See, and do not thou also be unbelieving. And⁶ know certainly that the Holy Spirit will help me. And then Paul wondered and said to her, Thou speakest truly, my child. And he rose up and cut off her hair and girded her; and they went to Thessalonica.¹

And when her mother heard that she had cut off her hair and girded herself, she wept and went unto another governor, the minister of the

¹ Reading **λ-ΠΟΛ**: "I am rich" or "I am wedded." Possibly a form of **ΠΟΛΛ**: "to be separate" is meant; cf. **σπ-ΠΛΤ**: "deaconess," 1 Tim. 5:11.

² from *add. A.*

³ and will do the will of God *add. B.*

⁴ *Om. A.*

⁵ *Lit.*, have not seen. The text in this sentence is very obscure.

⁶ Do thou also *add. B.*

¹ *Thessalonica*: For this the Greek and the versions have Antioch, and they proceed to recount the story of Thekla's persecutions in that city, through the love and jealousy of Alexander, how she was repeatedly saved from death by a lioness—no doubt Jerome's *baptizati leonis fabulam*—baptized herself in the seal-tank of the arena, and was adopted by Tryphæna. Finally the older form of the Acts concludes with her visit to Iconium after the death of Thamyris, and her ultimate residence and evangelizing activity at Seleucia. With all this the Ethiopic has few points of contact. The loss is the more conspicuous since in this part of the early Acts stood Thekla's admitted claim to teach and to baptize, which gave the Acts of Paul and Thekla their chief interest and importance in the ancient church. It is enough to cite the *locus classicus* in Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 17 (ca. 190 A. D.): *Quodsi qui Pauli perperam inscripta legunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, actant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confesum se id amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse.* With the omission of two sayings—Thekla's answer to Paul, "He who commanded thee to preach, the same commanded me also to baptize," and Paul's charge to her, "Go [to the city of Iconium], teach there the commands and words of God"—the writer of the Ethiopic Thekla has lost quite half the point of his original. What he has left is a discourse inculcating virginity, and a somewhat elaborate though unconsummated martyrdom.

one whose ear the thunder deafened. And she said to him, Is Thekla stronger than all the governors of the land? She has cut off her hair and girded herself, and she refuses to marry, and she governs herself while her mother is still alive. Will ye not help me¹ to judge² her? And the minister of him whom the thunder deafened said to her, Thekla is hard to deal with; she is stronger than all; go, bring her, and take her. And they found her in Thessalonica. And they laid hold of her and brought her to the governor. And he said to her,³ Art thou stronger than all? Thou dost cut off thy hair and gird thyself, and dost thou refuse⁴ to marry? What sayest thou? And Thekla answered him and said to him, I am thine, I am not strong.⁵ My defender is great, and unto him I commit my soul. He will deliver me from the hand of the governors and from everything that I fear. Now, therefore, what sayest thou? And the governor said to her, Let me see then that thou art safe. And she said⁶ to him, As those of old saw, thou shalt see. And the governor said to her, Moreover therefore let me see what⁷ will save her. Go, cast her into the den of lions and bears. And they took her and cast her into the den of bears and lions.⁸ And when they came to the door of the den of bears and lions, she spread out her hands again according to her custom and signed⁹ herself with the sign of the cross, and at its door she signed⁹ in the name of Jesus, Son of God, and *she said*, Now I will go in, since the Holy Spirit helps me. And on account of this she rejoiced. And it seemed to those who brought her that the beasts would devour her. But when the beasts saw her, they rose up and worshiped her, and they began to lick her and to roll at her feet. But she spread out her hands and began to pray. And she said,

My soul praises¹⁰ God who was about the doing of his mercy before the world,¹¹ and who is forever and ever God; who dies not; who made heaven and earth and all that is in them, with a word; who made the sea and all that is in it (Exod. 20:11); who made man in his image and in his likeness (Gen. 1:26). He made me, who believe in his name and in his might and in his wisdom and in his understanding; at whose word it was done; he who commanded and everything was; and he was pleased and everything was created. Although he was God, he became like man, and he was man and was manifested. And although *he was* God, he died, and on the third day he arose that he might make the dead to live and save those who believe on his name; who likewise bowed the heavens¹² and came down (2 Sam. 22:10; Ps. 18:9), and ascended and sat down on the right hand of his Father, having sat *there* before; and

¹ *Lit.*, Have ye none who will help me.

⁷ Or who.

² Or control.

⁸ And they . . . lions *om.* B.

³ Thekla *add.* A.

⁹ Or sealed.

⁴ and thou dost refuse, B.

¹⁰ Or thanks.

⁵ B; A, I have not sung (*or* mocked).

¹¹ Or from eternity.

⁶ He said, A.

¹² *Om.* A.

he is forever Father and Son and Holy Spirit. He is one, loving man, and he is patient, he is compassionate; who does not make our enemies to rejoice over us. And he has destroyed the flame of fire and blunted the teeth of the lions. To thee belong glory and praise, and to thee *belongs* holiness, to Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

And while Thekla prayed thus, there came one to see whether the beasts had devoured her or she was alive. *For* because they had put her in,¹ this latter governor, the minister of him whom the thunder deafened, was tormented all night and did not know what tormented him. And he said, Go therefore, look for² the bones³ of Thekla; if you can find *them*, we will bury them and be safe from this torment. And when they went to see her, they found her⁴ alive. And they returned to the governor and told him that she was alive. And the governor said to them, Let us go. And when they were come, they said, Praised be God who has saved thee, thy Lord whom thou dost worship, and hast chosen and loved;⁵ for from the time that I sent thee among the lions, behold I have been tormented until now. Come, come forth and pray for me and for the governor⁶ whose ear has been putrefying until now.

And Thekla said to him, Therefore I cannot pray for thee and for the governor, unless ye bring Paul; he shall pray for you. And he said to her, Is he then alive? Have I not heard that they have burned him and cast forth his bones? And she said to him, Yes, me also ye both burned,⁷ and ye cast forth my bones. And they believed and sent to call Paul. And Paul came and prayed for the governor whose ears the thunder deafened, and for the other also, his nearest minister, who was tormented. And both of them lived, by the might of Jesus Christ⁸ forever and ever. Amen and amen.⁹

¹ he had put her in, B.

⁴ they saw her and found her, B.

² *Lit.*, see.

⁵ who has chosen and loved thee, B.

³ *Lit.*, bone.

⁶ also *add.* B.

⁷ *Om.* B.

⁸ And they both believed on the name of Jesus Christ. So, Lord, heal of disease of soul and body thy servant, Walda Giyörgis, *add.* B; for ever and ever *om.*^m

⁹ And me also, who have written it, thy servant, a sinner and wrongdoer, forgive my sin and bless *add.* B.

^m By Walda Giyörgis (the son of George) the British Museum Catalogue understands the owner of the manuscript.

THE BLESSING OF MOSES: ITS GENESIS AND STRUCTURE.

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It will be best, in deference to certain controversial influences, dominant with many readers, to regard the auto-Mosaic character of Deut., chap. 33, as undecided either way, *pro* or *con*. Thus we may best examine the facts without prepossession. I call attention, therefore, at starting, to the outline of what I am about to argue; distinguishing what are obvious, but overlooked, facts from any inferences or theories regarding them.

1. The form in which this section, the last of Deuteronomy, containing the blessing, is presented, corresponds with the form of presentment in the earlier sections of the book. Thus we read in 33:1, "And this is the blessing," matching "These are the words," in 1:1; "And this is the law," in 4:44, and "These are the words of," etc., in 29:1 (Heb. 28:69).¹ This fact of formulaic commonplace puts it on a level with those earlier sections.

I take, then, vs. 1, "And this is the blessing wherewith Moses . . . blessed the b'ne Israel before his death," as formulaic and titular; and I notice that in this title the blessing is given, not as on the tribes individually, but on "the b'ne Israel" as a collective total. Next, detach for the moment this titular vs. 1, and omit for the present the *dicta* on the individual tribes, which occupy from vs. 6 to vs. 25, so as to read in connection vss. 2-5 and vss. 26-29. It will be seen that these eight verses, read thus, form a well-articulated whole. I shall show, further, *inf.*, reasons for regarding the actual close in vs. 29b, "And thine enemies . . . ; and thou shalt tread upon their high places," as one of the many short, later insertions, no doubt made under adequate authority, which the Pentateuch seems to contain, which also mark it as a living and growing entity—growing, *i. e.*, up to a comparatively late date, when it stood stereotyped.

¹ אֵלֶּה דְּבָרֵי, הָזֶאת הַתּוֹרָה, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, הָזֶאת הַבְּרָכָה are the respective Hebrew phrases here.

2. Further, vss. 2-5, in their number of Hebrew words (41), all but exactly equal vss. 26-29, which, when the last (supposed adventitious) clauses have been removed from vs. 29b, yield 42.² Supposing Deuteronomy at first inscribed on tablets of clay, similar to those of Tel-el-Amarna, these equal portions would have filled two faces of one tablet of moderate size; the former, vss. 2-5, forming a prelude or introduction of exalted narrative, relating to Yahweh and Moses; and the latter, vss. 26-29, containing the blessing proper. Between these, formerly one coherent whole, the *dicta* on the several tribes appear to have been inserted, perhaps long subsequently to the date or dates of origin of the inserted *dicta*, and to that of the whole, between the parts of which they stand, and which now forms their setting.

3. An important subordinate question relates to the order in which the tribes are arranged. I shall endeavor to show that several distinct lines of evidence concur in pointing to the reign of King Hezekiah as that in which this insertion of the tribal *dicta* between the two halves of the blessing on Israel took place. That reign will be shown to suit the order of the tribes as given here, to square with the most curious fact of all, viz., the omission of Simeon, to be consistent with the doubtful *dictum* on Reuben, and with the very singular prayer on behalf of Judah.

4. It will be observed that the *dictum* on each tribe, except Reuben, the first, is connected with its previous context by some phrase of incorporation; e. g., vs. 7, "And this of Judah, and he said" (where both A. V. and R. V. insert "is the blessing" after "this"); and again, vs. 8, "and of Levi he said," which latter form is then retained to introduce the succeeding several *dicta*, each in turn. The omission of such incorporative phrase before "Reuben," vs. 6, is probably meant to suggest that the whole body of *dicta* which it leads was an *original*, not additional, portion of the blessing on all Israel. By that omission it became possible to read the two in continuity.

5. The duplication of the introductory phrase in vs. 7 for "Judah" is at least as unique and remarkable as the changed standpoint regarding that royal tribe, implied in the total absence of its usual attributes in prophecy, and the tone of humble intercession adopted on its behalf; implying some utter reverse and almost prostration of its fortunes. I shall further attempt to account for *both* of these.

² In this reckoning words connected by the *maqṣeph* count as one.

6. The assumption on which all the *dicta* proceed, whether actual or ideal, is as though all the tribes had passed in review before the eyes of the departing lawgiver, to receive each a last word at his lips.

I proceed to deal first with the startling fact of the disappearance of Simeon from the tribal array. That tribe some time in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chron. 4:39-43) made an important conquest in the southern region, and, pushing thence eastward to "Seir," destroyed "the rest of the Amalekites." The standpoint of the blessing (as also of the song in Deut., chap. 32) appears to be that of an Israel whole and unbroken, alike in polity and in worship, and still enjoying an ascendancy, save in the case of Judah, unimpaired, if not wholly unassailed; see the reference to "enemies" in vs. 7, 11, 27. Especially is this standpoint conspicuous in the closing strophe, vs. 26-29. Such a cornucopia of unstinted blessings on Israel as a whole seems inconsistent with the actually checkered fortunes of both branches of the divided monarchy—not to say that that division itself seems inconsistent with the standpoint assumed.

The northern kingdom, as such, was extinguished in the sixth year of Hezekiah, leaving, of course, some scattered local remnants. Previous to that took place the departure of the Simeon tribe (which, we learn, had in part an early territorial incorporation with Judah, Josh. 19:9), to conquer in the southeastern region (1 Chron. 4:34-43). That region lay outside Israel's tribal heritage. We may, without straining the known facts, assume that Simeon had, by that incorporation, been partly absorbed by Judah in the southern kingdom; and that, the remnant of Simeon disappearing into a region forbidden to Israelite occupation (Deut. 2:5), that tribe disappeared from the tribal total, and that the *dictum*, Mosaic or quasi-Mosaic, on the tribe disappeared with it. Thus some early year of Hezekiah's reign alone fits and explains this singular feature. There had been, we may assume, an oracle upon Simeon; but, when these oracles on the several tribes were incorporated in the blessing on the whole, it had vanished, and was irrecoverable. The notices of 2 Chron. 15:9; 34:6 associate some more remote portions of Simeon with Ephraim and Manasseh, as though the former had cast in their lot with the northern kingdom. This further illustrates the non-coherence of the tribe, and shows the note of dispersion as resting upon it throughout.

I proceed to the difficulty in the grouping and sequence of the tribes. And here I refer to the only other marshaling of the tribal units which Deuteronomy contains. In 27:12 sq. we find them in two groups. The group of privilege, chosen to "stand on Gerizim to bless," contains Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, *i. e.* (rejecting Reuben), the other four elder sons by Leah, and then the two by Rachel; see Gen. 29:32-35; 30:17, 18, 22-25; 35:16-18. The opposite group, appointed "to curse," consists of Leah's first and last sons, Reuben and Zebulun, together with the four by the two handmaids, Zebulun being there interposed between their respective pairs. This can be best shown tabularly thus, comparing both the deuteronomic passages with Gen., chap. 49:

	DEUT. 27:12, 13.		DEUT., CHAP. 33.		GEN., CHAP. 49.
Group for blessing on Gerizim	{ Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Joseph Benjamin }	Leah's	Reuben, vs. 6		Reuben
			Judah, vs. 7		Simeon
			Levi, vss. 8-11		Levi
	{ Joseph Benjamin }	Rachel's	Benjamin, vs. 12		Judah
			Joseph, vss. 13-17		Zebulun
					Issachar
Group for cursing on Ebal	{ Reuben Gad Asher Zebulun Dan Naphtali }	Leah's	Zebulun, {	vss. 18, 19	Dan
			Issachar, }		Gad
			Gad, vss. 20, 21		Asher
	{ Zebulun Dan Naphtali }	Leah's	Dan, vs. 22		Naphtali
			Naphtali, vs. 23		Joseph
			Asher, vss. 24, 25		Benjamin

In Deut., chap. 33, the first five members include Reuben in the place of primogeniture, while the other four are in the group for blessing of chap. 27. Simeon, one of this favored group, drops out, as we have seen; and the remaining six have the appearance of following roughly an order founded on their territorial distribution around the Sea of Galilee—a northern and a farther-northern group. As regards the first two of these six, although forming a pair, the first-named (departing from the birth-order in Gen. 30:17-20) is, in Deut., chap. 33, Zebulun, even as he is in Gen. 49:13-15. It should be remembered that in Gen., chap. 49, Jacob allots no blessing to his collective progeny, but to each son separately, whereas in Deut., chap. 33, the primary idea is that of a collective blessing:

GEN. 49:28.

These are the twelve tribes . . . ,
and this is it that their father spake
. . . , and blessed them; everyone
according to his blessing he blessed
them.

DEUT. 33:1.

This is the blessing wherewith
Moses . . . blessed *the b'ne Israel*
before his death.

It is obviously possible that, the primary idea in Deut., chap. 33, being collective, the blessing, in that form, may have formed part of the text of Deuteronomy *before* the tribal separate blessings were inserted between its two parts. That those parts cohere is supported by the fact that "He was king in Jeshurun," vs. 5, leads on easily to the apostrophe to Jeshurun³ in vs. 26. Similarly, whenever the insertion, as supposed, was made, it found an easy point of attachment in the mention of the "tribes of Israel" in the same vs. 5. It seems then that whoever made the insertion and fixed the order in which the *dicta* on the tribes should be inserted had before him both Gen., chap. 49, and Deut., chap. 27. But the next feature to notice is the grouping, especially that of Levi, as placed between Judah and Benjamin. This surely points to a period when the southern kingdom should become the retreat of the Levitical priesthood, Levi here standing, with great stress laid on his duties, privileges, and zeal, and with an emphatic reference to his warlike prowess,⁴ between the two tribal constituents of that kingdom.⁵ Those who accept the statement of the chronicler (2 Chron. 29:5 sq.; 30:15-26), that Hezekiah largely restored that priesthood's functions, showed zeal for its purity, and was guardian of its worship, will see how naturally the grouping of Levi between Judah and Benjamin falls in with the tendencies of his reign. And, as the earlier historian of 2 Kings 18:6 and 4 gives a general confirmation to the chronicler by the statement that Hezekiah "kept the commandments which Yahweh commanded Moses," and in particular refers to his "breaking the brazen serpent that Moses had made," we may surely accept the chronicler here without scruple in respect of priesthood and worship.

The only other noteworthy features of the grouping in Deut., chap. 33, are: (1) That "Joseph" stands inclusively for Ephraim

³ So, I think, we may best render *אֵין כָּמוֹל יִשְׁרָאֵל*, "There is none like this God, O Jeshurun."

⁴ So we should, I think, understand the word rendered "substance" in the A. V. of vs. 11.

⁵ In 1 Chron. 12:24-29 a similar grouping of these tribes occurs; but there Simeon is included, next to Judah.

and Manasseh (vss. 13-17), although their distinction is not (vs. 17b) wholly merged. This corresponds closely with the attitude ascribed to Joshua toward these tribes (Josh., chap. 16; 17:7-18, especially vs. 10); the more remarkable as Joshua was himself an Ephraimite. Being so close of kin in origin, and occupying territories closely contiguous and not strictly defined (*ibid.*, vs. 9), they would be welded more closely into one by the influence of the northern monarchy; the founder of which, Jeroboam I., was himself of Ephraim, and had received from Solomon "the charge of the *house of Joseph*," i. e., both these central tribes (1 Kings 11:28). Of that monarchy's area "Joseph" thus formed the central block. Thus among the tribes which form that kingdom it naturally takes the first place, although a barren titular precedence is given to "Reuben" over all in Deut. 33:6. (2) That Zebulun and Issachar (vss. 18, 19) form a pair, with Zebulun taking, contrary to order of birth, the first place, reversing also the priority of Deut. 27:12, 13. A lack of energy is the note fixed on Issachar in Gen. 49:14, 15; cf. 30:18-20 for birth-order. Yet Issachar furnished a brief usurping dynasty in the person of Baasha (1 Kings 15:27), of whose vigor and warlike efforts we read (*ibid.*, vss. 16-22); and Jezreel, which has some pretensions to be the capital of the ten tribes, was within the Issachar territory. See also 1 Chron. 12:32, where the "b'ne Issachar" are singled out among the tribes for their political capacity.⁶ Thus the precedence between Zebulun and Issachar fluctuates. But, again, we find in Hezekiah's reign the clue to determine the precedence between them here. In 2 Chron. 30:11 Zebulun is one of the northern tribes which furnish recruits for Hezekiah's great Passover,⁷ solemnized after a strenuous appeal

⁶ "Men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do;" this seems certainly a gleaming from some ancient authority. Why should the chronicler (300-400 B. C.) go out of his way to compliment a tribe whose independence and distinct entity had long since perished?

⁷ It is worth noting that in that very ancient document, the "Song of Deborah," and in the prose narrative which precedes it, Zebulun is paired with Naphtali, as the leaders in patriotic effort and venture, against Jabin and Sisera (Judg. 4:6, 10; 5:18). Issachar also is there, but in a less prominent position (5:15); and to Zebulun seems assigned the chief organization of the whole. Whether we render (5:14b) with A. V., "who handle the pen of the writer," or with R. V., "who handle the marshal's staff," the result is nearly the same. The words there, מְשָׁכִים בַּשֵּׁבֶט מִשְׁכָּר, really mean, "who draw or draft (men) by the stick of the writer." The "stick" is that by which names or numbers levied were scratched on a clay tablet; for which compare the Latin *scribere exercitum*. Both versions miss the force of the preposition בַּ prefixed. "Men," not "stick," is the real object, but understood. Cf. Exod. 12:21, "Draw (מִשְׁכָּר) same verb as here) and take for yourselves sheep," i. e., a smaller number picked from a larger, just as in *delectum habere*. The levied quotas of the

by the pious king; and which actually repair to Jerusalem for the purpose. On the contrary, others of the same tribes, and also of Issachar, are under a ceremonial disability, which relegates them to a lower grade (*ibid.*, vss. 18-20).

And here the subject-matter of the oracle comes in to illustrate the outward grouping. Zebulun is felicitated on its forwardness in enterprise, and Issachar on its stay-at-home character—"Rejoice Zebulun in thy going out; and Issachar, in thy tents" (vs. 18). The prophet then, after distinguishing thus, seems to blend them both in one, somewhat as Ephraim and Manasseh in "Joseph;" and assumes the predictive character: "They shall call the peoples [or perhaps "their peoples"] to the mountain; there shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness;⁸ for they shall suck the plenty of the seas and hidden treasures of the shore." The association of the "mountain" with "sacrifices of righteousness," *i. e.*, such as the law required, seems to point, especially in Deuteronomy, to the one mountain on which sacrifices were acceptable (Deut. 16:5, 6). The seaward outlook, as to a source of wealth, wherewith presumably to furnish the sacrifices, is very remarkable. Josephus speaks of the territory of Issachar as reaching from Carmel to the Jordan (*Antiquities*, V, 1, § 22); but the earlier notices seem rather to indicate that the tribe of Asher overlapped these two tribes shoreward (*Dict. of Bible*, s. v. Asher). Zebulun, however, was to "dwell at the haven of the sea, and be an haven for ships with a border unto Zidon" (Gen. 49:13); and as Asher tended to lose itself in amalgamation with its Zidonian neighbors, the superior enterprise of Zebulun, so closely adjacent, may easily have overflowed into its area. But, to return to the subject of "sacrifices;" the great Passover of Hezekiah offers the only point of contact in history with any of the northern tribes, from the time of their lapse into idolatry, at which such "righteousness" could be realized. And thus, by another thread of connection, we are led back to that memorable reign. When, in a matter of such antiquity and obscurity, lines of evidence thus converge, we can hardly expect more decisive criteria than they furnish. That evidence, however, is not yet exhausted.

tribes concerned are here intended; such as in Judg. 4:6 are actually given; cf. also 5:8. It is worth while again referring to the chronicler, according to whom (1 Chron. 12:38) the levy of Zebulun for David was 50,000, a number actually dwarfing the united contingents of Ephraim and Manasseh (vss. 30, 31).

⁸ Only in Ps. 4:6; 51:21 is this phrase elsewhere found.

Unquestionably the disrating of Judah implied in the deploring intercession of vs. 7, 8, is the greatest difficulty in the whole series of *dicta*; although I think it is not greater on the theory of a Mosaic authorship than on that of any later, except that which I am about to suggest. In order to explain it, I turn to the history of Israel-Judah about a century before the accession of Hezekiah. The last recorded event of Amaziah's reign in Judah was the capture and desolation of Jerusalem, including the plundering of the sanctuary itself, by Jehoash of Israel (2 Kings 14:13, 14). All records, sacred and other, must have been for the time at the mercy of the conqueror. He had been provoked by an arrogant challenge shortly before. If he found anything of record extolling Judah's royal claims in the style of Gen. 49:8-12, what more likely than that, exercising a victor's right over the spoils, he should have indignantly destroyed it, as furnishing the motive to the insolence which had defied him? Thus the record of an original *dictum* on Judah may easily have perished, *temp.* Amaziah. What then have we?—A prayer for Judah's rescue in some great stress of calamity. And here the reign of Hezekiah again suggests a clue. Sennacherib on an Assyrian tablet boasts that he shut up Hezekiah of Judah in Jerusalem, "like a bird in a cage." All the outlying dependencies had been lost, and the capital was the forlorn hope of the realm. This was exactly such a crisis as would justify such a humiliating petition. Regarding "Judah" as concentrated in the house of David and in the person of Hezekiah, the prayer, "bring him again to his people," tallies exactly with the facts of isolation, and "let his hands be ample⁹ for him," with those of restraint and dependence. Indeed, the whole petition answers very closely to Hezekiah's own appeal to Isaiah, "Lift up thy prayer for the remnant that is left" (Isa. 37:4), and may probably have been the prophet's actual response to it. The words of so great a prophet in so grave a crisis would naturally be treasured up by king and priest and people.

And here I may notice that there is something which seems to point to a *lacuna* or displacement in the curiously iterative form, "And this of Judah, and he said," found only here. If "this" which once had belonged to "Judah" had really been

⁹ The A. V. "be sufficient" hardly expresses the force of כִּי here. The R. V. seems to follow the LXX, which had, I think, a false text here.

lost, and then a great and popular prophet had uttered publicly a memorable petition for deliverance, memorably vouchsafed, in the greatest moment of crisis in all Judah's history up to that period, we may well accept the probability that what "he said" might easily, under the plenary authority of Isaiah, take the place of what had perished. I therefore prefer to indicate the loss thus: "And this of Judah, . . . , and he said," Isaiah stepping into the place, as believed, of Moses.

The curt and disparaging treatment of Reuben would suit equally well any period of the monarchy from the Jehu-Hazael time (2 Kings 10:32, 33) onward—that is, if the "fewness" of Reuben be taken as representing a contemporaneous fact. The final numbering in Numb., chap. 26, presents no special fewness in Reuben; he is there more numerous than Simeon, or Gad, or even Ephraim (see vs. 7, 14, 18, 37). In 1 Chron. 12:37 the total quota of the trans-Jordanic tribes is 120,000, yielding the very respectable average of 40,000 for each tribe, including Reuben. But the rendering of the text must in our vs. 5, I think, be, "Let Reuben live and not die, *although*¹⁰ his men be few." This would therefore suit the time of Hezekiah, when, after the deportation by Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings 15:29), a mere remnant of Reuben would probably be left. Even earlier yet, the havoc wrought by Hazael (*ibid.*, 13:7) would probably have afflicted Reuben most severely, as the nearest to the Syrian border.

I do not know any commentator or critic who has given due weight to (1) the distinct severalty of every item uttered upon each tribe, and (2) the complete distinctness of separation of these and each of them from the blessing proper on Israel collectively, to which they now are made to lead up. All is rather regarded by recent writers as a continuous blessing, as it were, *en bloc*. It seems far more likely that their severalty is to be viewed as an essential feature, giving us a real clue to the genesis and structure of the whole and of its parts. I see not how it is possible otherwise to account for the absence of Simeon. But suppose them all so many several *dicta*, each in the keeping of the tribe referred to, and that upon Simeon, lost in the loss of that tribe, before the incorporating process, "by the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah," had come to pass; and the explanation is

¹⁰ For ׀ with jussive, or, as here, concessive sense, rendered "though" or "yet" by R. V. or A. V., see Job 3:7; Ps. 99:8; Job 21:14; Pss. 2:6; 37:24; 78:17, 56; 90:10. The usage is chiefly poetical; but cf. Deut. 23:6; Ruth 2:13.

natural and easy. For we know from Prov. 25:1 (that brief but precious record) that the age of Hezekiah was a literary age, the first in the divided monarchy to whose character we have that attestation. His *literati* "copied out" (נִפְּדָה), lit. "transferred" (i. e., probably from the older tablet record to the scroll form), the remains, or some of them, ascribed to Solomon. Why may they not have been equally sedulous with those ascribed to Moses? A great crash of wreck had then newly come upon the northern kingdom. To rescue a salvage from that wreck, and gather from the dismembered fragments whatever could be saved, was a foremost duty. What so precious as these, believed to be Mosaic, *deposita*—each, we may suppose, in the custody of the patriarchs or elders of its tribe? And what place so fitted to enshrine them in record could be found as that venerable mixture of law-book, exhortation, and history which closed with the blessing of Moses upon Israel?

And one may note here that, although Judah appears thus discrowned, and, on the contrary, "Joseph" is extolled and glorified, yet there is no direct ascription of royalty to any tribe. The words in the prelude (vs. 5), "He" (whether Jehovah or Moses) "was king in Jeshurun," seem rather to exclude the idea of royalty from Israel viewed as a whole. This feature seems against our dating the blessing from any period of the monarchy; although I do not regard it as conclusive on the question. I would also note that whether the predictive portions be viewed as genuinely forecasting the future, or as *vaticinia post eventum*, does not affect any of the conclusions pointed at. And further, if the several tribes or their remnants in the days of Hezekiah really believed that they possessed ancient oracles and ascribed them to Moses, whether auto-Mosaic or not, that is sufficient for the above argument. On the other hand, to regard the whole as one connected effusion of a single poet, whether of the tenth, or ninth, or eighth century B. C., seems to me to present insuperable difficulties. The omission of Simeon, for instance, is unaccountable. It could not have been omitted, where Reuben, although contemptuously spoken of, yet finds a place; nor could it, if originally an integral portion, have been subsequently lost.

It only remains to show why the *finale* of the blessing itself in vs. 29 is probably no original part of the composition. This consists of two triads:

And thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee :
And thou shalt tread upon their high places,

is the A. V. here—as good as any. Here I would first notice that in this, which I call *the blessing proper*, there is from vs. 26 onward no clause which ends on a verb.¹¹ The clauses succeed each other in a crowded, massive style in which substantives predominate; and to string on two clauses which have a weaker structure enfeebles the close. Next, “the enemy” is already effectively disposed of in vs. 27; and to recur to “enemies,” as in vs. 29b, looks like a rather tame resumption of a finished theme. By concluding with “the sword of thy excellency” we obtain an impressive, if abrupt, close. Jehovah is represented as the “shield” of his people’s defense and their “sword” of supremacy, and we leave off on a thought analogous to that on which in vs. 2 we preluded. The sycophantic homage of cringing enemies (which the phrase “found liars unto thee” conveys) occurs several times in the Psalms (Pss. 18:45; 66:3; 81:16); while Micah and Habakkuk (Mic. 1:3; Hab. 3:19) have each the phrase, “tread upon high places of the earth;” cf. also Deut. 32:13, “Ride upon the high places of the earth.” The spirited and even sublime character of the close is made tame by this padding of commonplaces. But that Hezekian or other editors, deficient in poetic feeling, should have culled one phrase from Ps. 66 and another from Micah, and tagged them on, to swell in quantity what they disparage in quality, is a supposition presenting no difficulty whatever.¹² And thus, the proem and the conclusion correspond in length with a curious exactness. They stand thus like the severed brows of a cloven mountain, with the isolated utterances on the several tribes strung, like the links of a suspension bridge, between them.

There are not a few textual corruptions and probable emendations of much interest, especially in the proem, vss. 2–5, which I should like to have added, if space had allowed them. But it must suffice at present to have dwelt on the broader features, and to postpone for the present all verbal *minutiae*.

¹¹ The only clause which seems to end on a verb is the close of vs. 27; but the word הַשִּׁמְרֵם there is really an infinitive used as a noun, as in Isa. 14:23, for “havoc” or “destruction,” and so here.

¹² Other critics have noted these closing triads as probably later additions. Indeed, Dillmann, *ad loc.*, following Graf, includes in this censure the previous triad also.

CRAIG'S ASTROLOGICAL-ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS.¹

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON,
The British Museum.

The present volume is one of the series edited by Professors Delitzsch and Haupt which by reason of the excellence of some of the earlier volumes has gained considerable reputation in the Assyriological world. It will be remembered that the first instalment of the series was the *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, edited in four fascicules by Professor Haupt as far back as 1882. This was followed by Dr. Bezold's work on the Achæmenian inscriptions, and another volume by Professor Haupt on the great Nimrod-Epic (Gilgamesh epic) of the Babylonians. In these volumes a number of new texts were given, but Assyriologists were familiar with the great bulk of their contents from the works of Sir Henry Rawlinson and others. The first truly original contribution to the series was the *Alphabetische Verzeichniss* of Assyrian and Akkadian words by Rev. Dr. Strassmaier, which appeared in 1886, and it is only too much to be regretted that the example set by this indefatigable scholar was not followed by the authors and editors of subsequent parts of the series. As an edition of texts carefully edited and translated the excellent work of Professor Zimmern on the Shurpu series deserves special mention. Among the remaining volumes must, of course, be noticed the *Assyrische Wörterbuch* by the principal editor of the series, Professor Delitzsch; of this work only three parts have appeared. This undertaking showed a curious misunderstanding of the position of Assyriology by its author at the time when the publication began (1886), for he did not seem to realize that it was impossible for him to make a complete Assyrian dictionary until either he himself had read all the texts in the British Museum and other institutions, or until other scholars had published them. Owing to his professorial duties at Leipzig he was unable to copy all the texts which he should have consulted, and besides this he had never exhibited any facility in copying or editing texts for the first time. We must, however, give Professor Delitzsch the credit of abandoning his undertaking in 1889, in favor of the more modest and reasonable *Handwörterbuch*, which he has since issued, and which claims

¹ ASTROLOGICAL-ASTRONOMICAL TEXTS, copied from the original tablets in the British Museum and autographed by James A. Craig, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Michigan. Being the XIVth volume of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. ix + 95 pp.; 4to. M. 30.

only the position of a vocabulary. From first to last the volumes of the series generally show that the connection of the editors with them is of a peculiarly perfunctory character, and that beyond placing their names on the title-pages they have done little or nothing to direct or control their contributors. Indeed, the evidence derived from the volume before us proves that neither Professor Haupt nor Professor Delitzsch is, by reason of their absence from London, in the position of being able to control the texts of their contributors; but it must be said on their behalf that no previous contributor has done so much to discredit his editors as Professor Craig. The latitude which they complacently allowed him has been very seriously abused. We have no wish to be ungenerous to them or to demand an impossibility, but we cannot entirely remove from the shoulders of the editors the blame for the responsibility of the publication of Professor Craig's volume as a part of the series, because they received very definite warning concerning Professor Craig's want of care and scholarship both from Professor Zimmern and Professor Jensen soon after the publication of his *Religious Texts*.

The names of Professors Delitzsch and Haupt have been before the world for many years, and the sole object of placing Assyriological works in a series edited by them is to give the learned public a guarantee that the works that appear under their editorship are as accurate, both as regards text and translation, as at the time of publication they can reasonably be expected to be. An editor should not only choose his contributors, but he should assist in the selection of the subjects, and the materials, and the method in which they are treated. Professor Craig gives abundant evidence in his volume that he is a beginner in the science of editing texts, but Professors Delitzsch and Haupt, his editors, should, we think, have taken care that he did not make himself an object of distrust to the Assyriological world.

The collection of cuneiform texts which Professor Craig has edited, when complete, consisted of at least seventy tablets, and has for many years past been known to Assyriologists by the name "Illumination of Bel." Now, to the ordinary reader this title suggests nothing, and, beyond telling him that the contents are "astrological-astronomical," Professor Craig supplies no information. In the present stage of Assyriology a great deal more might have been said, and we think that summaries at least of all or part of the tablets of the series ought to have been given. To throw upon the waters a collection of cuneiform texts, as is done in the volume before us, can at most benefit only the few experts who are able to examine Professor Craig's copies with the tablets. But this is not all. We are told in the preface that the series is given "so far as it is certainly known and contained in the British Museum collections;" but this statement betrays gross carelessness on the part of Professor Craig. For, although he has published copies of 146 tablets

and fragments, there still remain in the British Museum no less than 124 tablets and fragments which Dr. Bezold in his *Catalogue* definitely assigns to the series, and beyond doubt in the majority of cases he does so correctly. In the note below¹ we append a list of the documents omitted, chiefly because Professor Craig in his preface asks his critics to "point out any errors they may discover." It will be admitted on all hands that a complete edition of the texts which Professor Craig undertook to publish would have been of the greatest value to students of astrology and astronomy throughout the world, but as the case now stands he has published a very incomplete edition which will block the way of a complete edition for several years. It is a great pity that Professor Craig has missed such a fine opportunity. But, in addition to the fact that his edition of the series is incomplete, the texts which he gives are extremely inaccurately copied. A number of them were published by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson in his *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, and, considering the time when Sir Henry made his copies, it is not surprising that a few mistakes are to be found in them. Now, these Professor Craig should have corrected, but he has not only not done so, but has reprinted the mistakes and added others of his own to them. As a proof of this we cite the following passages: Rawlinson (Vol. III, pl. 53, No. 1, obv. l. 6) and Professor Craig (pl. 36) both give na, but we should clearly read ina ud; and in l. 8 both read na for ina tmi. As proof that Professor Craig makes mistakes where Rawlinson did not we quote the following passages: Rawlinson, Vol. III, pl. 53, obv. l. 8, correctly gives gil, but Craig (pl. 36) wrongly za-kan; l. 18, Rawlinson correctly gives mesh ma, but Craig wrongly me la; l. 20, Rawlinson correctly gives gal, but Craig has invented a character; l. 26, Rawlinson correctly gives mul nim, but Craig wrongly mul an nim; rev., ll. 50, 51, 54, and 55, Rawlinson correctly gives kur, which is on the edge of the tablet, but Craig omits it entirely; l. 50, Craig omits the first ar, which is correctly given by Rawlinson. All the above mistakes occur in a single text, which is very clearly written. Taking another text (Rawlinson, *ibid.*, pl. 52, No. 2), Craig in obv. l. 14 incorporates the gloss SI into his text! In l. 14 the last character is ig, as given by Rawlinson, but Craig reads KHU; in l. 16 Craig entirely omits the words i-ziz ša ma šš am mu, which Rawlinson correctly gives, etc. These mistakes are due either to gross carelessness or entire inability to read the most clearly written tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, and











¹ KK. 50, 137, 210, 1348 (an important text of moon forecasts), 1494a, 1494b, 1522, 2118, 2223, 2323, 2345, 2346, 2706, 2903, 2914, 3095, 3099, 3103, 3104, 3577, 3908, 3914, 5277, 6062, 6103, 6105, 6174, 7254, 7839, 8611, 8633, 8659, 8688, 8695, 8735, 8744, 8747, 8749, 8864, 8876, 8885, 8901, 9225, 9434, 9519, 9520, 9573, 9632, 9634, 9638, 9645, 9695, 10145, 10169, 10215, 10491, 10539, 10543, 10597, 10616, 10694, 10714, 10719, 10731, 11001, 11028, 11051, 11084, 11129, 11257, 11547, 11740, 11834, 11885, 11905, 11911, 12080, 12128, 12136, 12157, 12168, 12242, 12245, 12304, 12453, 12520, 12583, 12589, 12602, 12605, 12674, 12675, 12800; SS. 751, 844, 1070, 1088, 1130, 1354, 1531, 1916, 1925, 1929, 1963, 1976, 2078; DT. 47; Rmm. 92, 151, 232, 546; Rm. 2, 401, 517; 79-7-8, 271; 81-2-4, 226, 234, 238, 322, 387; 81-7-27, 60, 67, 137, 142, 238.

would have been avoided if Professor Craig had merely reproduced Rawlinson's copies without alteration. In cases where Professor Craig publishes a text for the first time, the mistakes which he makes are both numerous and of a most serious character. It is not our intention to weary the reader here with a complete list of his inaccuracies, but the misreadings of the single text K. 2068 will serve as an example of his inability to copy correctly; a selected list of these and other mistakes noted in a collation of less than one-half of the tablets which he publishes will be found at the end of this article. Sometimes Professor Craig has failed to recognize the character of the text which he publishes; thus K. 1551 is undoubtedly a letter, but because Dr. Bezold accidentally miscalled it an astrological forecast in his *Catalogue*, Professor Craig repeats the mistake. In tablet 79-7-8, 179 he has not recognized which side of the tablet is the obverse and which the reverse; thus "col. d" is really col. i, "col. c" is really col. ii, "col. b" is really col. iii, and "col. a" is really col. iv. He has made the same mistake in K. 7838. One of the commonest expressions in tablets of omens and forecasts is IG-MEŠ, i. e., "(they) will be;" sometimes Professor Craig copies this common expression correctly (e. g., K. 2246, obv. ll. 8-10), but elsewhere he invents other expressions, e. g., K. 3547, obv. ll. 8-10, PAL-MEŠ, and Rm. 2. 116, obv. ll. 7-9, KAB-MEŠ, which entirely alter the meaning of the passage. It is interesting to note that all three tablets contain copies of the same text! At times Professor Craig gives remarkable examples of his mechanical copying; thus in K. 2169, from ll. 1-24, the sign ru occurs in every line. In l. 8, in the place where ru would ordinarily come, the scribe for want of space has been obliged to write the sign tir; in ll. 9-24 on the tablet the scribe was able to write ru in its ordinary place, but Professor Craig, having once written tir in l. 8, continues to write tir, instead of ru, in every line from 9-24! Thus Professor Craig's copy of this tablet is entirely unintelligible, and is worthless. The above collection of facts, taken as a whole, proves that Professor Craig did not understand the texts which he attempted to publish, and also that his editors, Professors Delitzsch and Haupt, either did not read his work before it was printed, or, if they did, had not sufficient expert knowledge to suspect the worthlessness of the copies put before them. In conclusion, we cannot help mentioning that Professor Craig's preface is in the worst possible taste. It fills a little over three pages, but of these more than two are devoted to attacks upon Professor Jensen and Father Scheil, S. J. Both these scholars are quite able to defend themselves and need no champion, but it is surely time to protest when the preface to a volume in what professes to be a scientific series is made the vehicle for attacks upon colleagues and for personal recriminations. That Professors Delitzsch and Haupt omitted to do their duty in



















editing the texts in the volume might be excused, but that they should approve Professor Craig's preface, in the form in which it is here printed, is altogether reprehensible.

The following is a list of some of the most necessary corrections to be made in Plates 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 27-33, 36-40, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51, 54-58a, 60, 63, 64, 69, 70-72, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94 of Professor Craig's *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*:













K. 6051.

- l. 10 for   read  
 l. 12 "  " 
 l. 15 "  " 
 l. 20 "  " 






K. 2068. Obverse.

- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 13 "  " 
 l. 19 "  " 
 l. 29 "  " 
 l. 38 "   "  
 l. 41 "   "  
 l. 42 "  " 

Reverse.

- l. 16 for  read  
 l. 18 "  "  
 l. 20 "  "  
 l. 36 "  "  





K. 2066. Obverse.

- l. 32 for    read  

K. 11094.

- l. 17 for  read  
















K. 158. Reverse.

- l. 9 for second  read 
 l. 11 "  " 

81-2-4, 206. Obverse.

- l. 5   is a gloss.

K. 2236. Obverse.

- l. 2 for    read  
 
 l. 6    is not now visible:
 only  is there.
 l. 9 for   read  











Reverse.

- l. 9 for  read 
 l. 10 "  " 
 l. 12 "  " 







K. 2686. Obverse.

- l. 6 for  read 





























Rm. 599. Obverse.

- l. 18 for  read 
 l. 18 "  " 
 l. 19 "  " 
 l. 23 "  " 
 l. 30 "  " 



















K. 6490. Obverse.

- l. 2 for  read 
 l. 4 "  " 
 l. 6 "  " 

K. 2874. Obverse.

- l. 4 for   read   
 l. 5 "   "  
 l. 6 "    "  
 l. 12 "   "  
 l. 13 "    "  
 l. 14 "  " 
 l. 17 "   " 

K. 4292. Obverse.

- l. 3A for  read  
 l. 8 "   "  
 l. 11 "  " 
 l. 11 "   "  
 l. 19 "  "  
 l. 20 "  " 

Rm. 105. Reverse.

- l. 1 for  read  

l. 7 for $\neg \text{III}$ read $\text{III} \nabla \nabla$

l. 7 " E " E

l. 9 " $\neg \text{III}$ " $\neg \text{II}$

l. 14 " \neg " \neg

K. 1551. Reverse.

l. 2 for $\neg \text{II}$ read EII

K. 3547. Obverse.

l. 5 for E read E

ll. 8-10 for $\neg \text{II}$ read $\neg \text{II}$ in all three cases.

l. 18 for III read III

l. 21 " ∇ " ∇

l. 24 " E " E

l. 28 " III " $\text{III} \lll$

K. 2330. Obverse.

ll. 5-14 no brackets necessary.

l. 14 EII is a gloss.

l. 14 for $\neg \text{II}$ read traces of $\neg \text{II}$

l. 25 " E read E

K. 2169. Obverse.

ll. 9-20 for EIII read EIII in all cases.

K. 2321. Obverse.

l. 3 for EIII read EIII

l. 7 " $\neg \text{II}$ " $\neg \text{II}$

Reverse.

l. 6 for ∇ read ∇

l. 10 " E " E

K. 2326. Obverse.

l. 13 for II read II ; why "sic" to EII ?

Reverse.

l. 3 for EII read EII

l. 4 " E " E

l. 5 " EIII " EIII

l. 7 " EIII " EIII

l. 10 " EII " EII

l. 10 " E " E

l. 16 " EII " EII

l. 16 " EIII " EIII

l. 17 " EII " EII

Rm. 2, 116. Obverse.

l. 6 for $\neg \text{II}$ read $\neg \text{II}$

" E " E i.e., E

ll. 7-9 for $\neg \text{II}$ read $\neg \text{II}$

l. 11 for the group between \neg and $\neg \text{II}$ read EII EII (fairly plain).

l. 12 for \neg read \neg

Reverse.

l. 4 for $\neg \text{II}$ read $\neg \text{II}$

l. 7 " EII " EII

l. 8 " the first group as far as E read E \neg \neg

l. 9 for EII read EII

l. 12 " EII " EII

l. 12 " EII " EII

l. 12 " EII " EII

l. 15 " \neg " \neg

S. 2189. Obverse.

l. 4 for EIII read EIII

l. 8 " $\neg \text{II}$ " $\neg \text{II}$

l. 15 " EII " EII

Reverse.

l. 4 for $\neg \text{II}$ read most probably \neg

l. 7 " \neg read \neg

l. 14 " E " E

l. 18 " for the group between $\neg \text{II}$ and E read $\neg \text{II}$ \neg

K. 68. Obverse.

ll. 4, 5 for EII read EII

l. 12 " EII " EII

K. 129. Obverse.

l. 1 for $\neg \text{II}$ read $\neg \text{II}$

l. 6 " \neg " \neg

K. 2227. Obverse.

l. 2 for EII read EII

l. 19 " EII " EII










l. 22 " EII EII read EII EII

Reverse.











l. 1 for EII read EII

l. 13 " EII " EII











K. 3002. Obverse.

- l. 9 for  read 
 l. 10 "  " 
 l. 17 for    read  







Reverse.

- l. 4 for  read 
 79-7-8, 179, "B."
 l. 1 for  read 
 l. 21 "  " 
 l. 22 "  " 
 l. 25 "  " 













"C."

- l. 2 for  read 
 l. 2 "  " 
 l. 5 for  "  and
passim.
 l. 12 for  read 
 l. 14 "  " 





"D."

- l. 11 for  read 
 l. 14 "  " 
 l. 15 "  " 





K. 2207. Obverse.

- l. 8 for  read 
 l. 11 "  " 
 l. 12 "  " 
 l. 18 "  " 
 l. 21 "  " 
 l. 25 "  " 



K. 3609. Obverse.

- l. 7 for  read 
 l. 14 "  " 





Reverse.

- l. 15 for  read 
 ll. 17, 18 for  " 









K. 3601. Obverse.

- l. 13 for  read 



Reverse.

- l. 7 for  read 
 l. 13 "  " 





K. 6982. Obverse.

- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 6 "  " 
 l. 8 "  " 
 l. 9 "  " 







Reverse.

- l. 9 for second  read 











Rm. 146, Col. III.

- l. 13 for  read traces of 
 l. 16 "  read 
















Col. IV.

- l. 5 for  read 
 l. 5 "  " 
 l. 14 "  " 












K. 1350.

- l. 9 for  read 
 l. 15 "  " 
 l. 28 "  " 
 l. 29 "  " 
 l. 30 "  " 











Rm. 103. Obverse.

- l. 2 for  read 
 l. 6 "  " 
 l. 7 "  " 
 l. 16 "  " 
 l. 21 "    read
   

Rm. 103. Reverse.











- l. 12, 13 for   read 
 l. 14 for  " 
 l. 14 "  " 
 l. 38 "  " 
 l. 41 " the sign after  read 

K. 2907. Obverse.

- l. 1 for  read 
 l. 4 "  " 
 l. 10 two lines have been fused together.
 l. 17 for  read 
 l. 18 "  " 
 l. 20 "  " 

l. 21 for   etc., read      

Reverse.

l. 1 for  read 
 l. 4 „  „ 
 l. 6 „ the second  read 
 l. 6 „  „ 
 l. 36 „  „ 

K. 7838. Col. I. Obverse.





l. 6 for  read 
 l. 8 „  „ 

Col. II.







l. 10 for  read 
 l. 11 „  „ 

Characters wrongly divided.











K. 2066. Obverse.

l. 30 for   read  







K. 2874. Reverse.

l. 7 for   read  
 l. 9 „  „ 

K. 4292. Obverse.

l. 6 for   read  
 l. 8 „  „ 
 l. 18 „   „  





K. 2326. Obverse.

l. 24 for   read  
 In several places of the reverse
 read  for 

K. 68. Obverse.

l. 13 for   read  

K. 129. Obverse.







l. 13 for   read  
 79-7-8, 179, "D."

l. 9 for   read  





K. 3609. Reverse.

l. 9 for   read  

K. 6982. Obverse.

l. 7 for   read  
 l. 14 „  „ 





Rm. 146. Col. III.

l. 16 for   read  





K. 2907. Reverse.

l. 6 for   read  





K. 7838. Col. I.




l. 16 for   read  




Omissions.






K. 2068. Reverse.—l. 3 omission
 of   between  and






81-2-4, 206. Obverse.—l. 1 no
 break represented at beginning,
 doubtless to be restored |





Reverse.—l. 19 omission of  
 between  and 





K. 2686. Obverse.—l. 7 omission
 of  between  and 




Rm. 599. Obverse.—l. 23 omission
 of  between  and 





l. 30 omission of   be-
 tween   and 


Reverse.—l. 5 omission of  
 between  and 





K. 6490. Reverse.—l. 9 omission
 of   between  and





K. 2874. Obverse. — ll. 2, 3
 omission of    
 in blank gaps.




l. 10 omission of  between
 and 





l. 18 omission of   between
 and 









K. 4292. Reverse.—ll. 9, 10, 13,
 14 small  omitted at beginning
 of line.

l. 9 omission of   be-
 tween  and 

K. 1551. Reverse.—l. 6 omission
 of  between  and 

K. 3547. Obverse.—l. 7 omission
 of  between  and 

l. 11 omission of   between
 and 

K. 2330. Obverse.—l. 17 omission
 of       be-
 tween  and 

- K. 2169. Reverse.—l. 5 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow$ between \uparrow and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 2321. Obverse.—l. 11 omission of \angle between \uparrow and $\uparrow\uparrow$
Reverse.—l. 18 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ before $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 2326. Obverse.—l. 2 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and Δ
Reverse.—l. 17 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- S. 2189. Reverse.—l. 18 omission of \square between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 18 omission of \rightarrow between Δ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 68. Obverse.—l. 12 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between Δ and Δ
- K. 2227. Obverse.—l. 2 omission of \uparrow between Δ and Δ
l. 11 omission of Δ between Δ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
Reverse.—l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between Δ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 7 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- 79-7-8, 179. Col. "B." Top line omitted $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 29 omission of $\Delta\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between \rightarrow and Δ
- 79-7-8, 179. Col. "C."—l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
Col. "D."—l. 7 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and first $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 2207. Obverse.—l. 7 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 3601. Reverse. l. 6 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ at end of line.
l. 16 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 1350.—l. 10 omission of \uparrow between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- Rm. 103. Obverse.—l. 19 omission of $\uparrow\uparrow$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 2907. Reverse.—l. 11 has been left out entirely.
- K. 7838. Obverse. Col. I.—l. 8 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between Δ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 8 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 11 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 17 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
Col. II.—l. 5 omission of Δ between Δ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 13 omission of $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and Δ
Reverse. Col. IV.—l. 7 omission of Δ between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and Δ
l. 10 omission of \rightarrow between \rightarrow and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
l. 18 omission of \rightarrow between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and \rightarrow
- Redundancies.**
- K. 2236. Obverse.—l. 15 \angle not on tablet.
Reverse.—l. 7 second $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
- K. 2874. Reverse.—l. 10 second $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
- K. 4292. Obverse.—l. 26 first $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
- K. 3547. Obverse.—ll. 17, 18 first \rightarrow not on tablet.
- K. 2207. Obverse.—l. 17 $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
- K. 7838. Obverse. Col. I.—l. 6 $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
Col. II.—l. 20 second $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ not on tablet.
- Breaks not represented.**
- K. 158. Obverse.—No break at top of tablet.
- 81-2-4, 206. Obverse.—No break represented at beginning of l. 1, doubtless to be restored [\uparrow].
- Rm. 105. Reverse.—No break at top.
- K. 2321. Reverse, l. 18.—No break between $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$ and $\rightarrow\uparrow\Delta$
- K. 6982. Obverse, 1-6.—No break at beginning of line.

Book Notices.

SOCIN'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.¹

Socin's grammar has been steadily enlarged and improved in successive issues, so that it is now an admirable introduction to the study of Arabic, and is pleasant reading also for the advanced student. The present edition does not differ materially from the third; only such changes have been introduced as were needed to adapt it to the reading of Brünnow's *Chrestomathy* (except the Ajurrumiya). The work fills a gap in our grammatical literature, and has been received with great favor, as the number of editions shows. Perhaps the author, in his effort to be brief, sometimes compresses into a sentence more than is desirable; the beginner needs simple and easily grasped statements. In this respect the Syntax is better than the Morphology; the substance of the latest editions of Caspari (Müller's or Wright's) is brought into agreeably small compass, and Caspari's portentous sentences are reduced to intelligible form. The large apparatus for translation into Arabic is retained; and for the benefit of pupils and teachers in such translation a key to the exercises has been prepared (*Schlüssel zum Übersetzen der in A. Socins Arabischer Grammatik enthaltenen deutschen Übungsstücke*, published separately by Reuther & Reichard, at M. 1.50).

The author very properly declines to reproduce the Arabic grammatical terminology; this may be done in large grammars, but would be out of place in an elementary book. Even in the great grammars it would be better to adopt the modern terminology (retaining, of course, the Arabic conceptions in accordance with the genius of the language), and to explain the native terms in notes or in an appendix. It is not easy to make these terms real for a beginner; thus, Socin seems not to make clear the syntactical significance of the distinction between verbal and nominal sentences, and the student might understand it better if it were put differently. In a few smaller points I should prefer statements different from those made by Socin: *wa* (وَ) in the sense of "with" (p. 97) should be treated as a preposition, and this meaning should be referred to the primary signification of the stem; the logical force of *fa* (فَ) should be mentioned (p. 123); and, in passing, the use of *siwā* (سِوَا), as = "other," should be added on p. 111. There is, however,

¹ PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIVM, edidit Herm. L. Strack. Pars IV, Arabische Grammatik—Paradigmen, Litteratur, Übungsstücke und Glossar. Von Dr. A. Socin, Ord. Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1899. xiii + 109, 156* pp.; small 16mo. M. 6; bound, 6.80.

another usage, common in our Arabic grammars (and adopted by Socin), which is more serious; I mean the employment of the terms "tense" and "mode" (or "mood"). Every teacher knows how hard it is to make beginners comprehend that the element of time does not enter into old Semitic verb-forms; and the task is made harder by the use of the word "tense," which, to the man trained in Latin and Greek, inevitably conveys the notion of time. A number of terms have been proposed as substitutes for "tense;" whether or not we adopt some one of these, it is well to avoid "tense." The trouble with "mode" is even greater. Socin calls the imperfect in *u* "indicative" (p. 89), yet a few lines farther on gives an example in which this form is used in the expression of purpose—a use that the Aryan student will find it hard to reconcile with his notion of the "indicative mood." The imperfect in *a* is called "subjunctive" (p. 90), that is, the form which expresses a mere conception, but it appears (p. 91) that after the negative *lan* it is a pure indicative. The imperfect in *jezma*, called the "apocopated mood" (p. 91), is used to express a command, but, after the negative *lam*, it is suddenly transformed into a simple aorist of the past. We have the same sort of incongruity here that used to exist in the Semitic grammars when they called the perfect the "preterite" and the imperfect the "future." It is better to say at the beginning that Arabic grammar does not know our idea of "mood."

C. H. TOY.

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KERN ON AN ARABIC TRANSLATION OF MOLIÈRE'S FEMMES SAVANTES.¹

Some little time ago I wrote a notice in this JOURNAL² of an edition of Muḥammad 'Osmān Galāl's *Madrasat el-azwāg*—a free rendering into Egyptian Arabic of Molière's *L'école des maris*—in transcription and translation by Dr. Sobernheim, a graduate of the Berlin Oriental Seminary. The excellent traditions of that institution are carried on in the present book. Dr. Kern's work is even more thorough and conscientious than was that of his predecessor and may safely be commended to those who are studying modern Arabic.

It is needless to repeat what I said before, in reviewing Dr. Sobernheim's book, on this new movement in Arabic literature. As Dr. Kern puts it, the merit of Muḥammad 'Osmān Galāl consists in his being the first to use the written colloquial speech—not classical Arabic in any of its shades of perfection and popular unintelligibility—to bring the products of European civilization and literature home to the common people. Others had for long written poetry in the colloquial idioms; one of the first to do so had been Ibn Guzmān, the wandering Spanish

¹ INNISA'U-L-'ALIMĀT VON MUḤAMMAD BEY 'OSMĀN GALĀL. Neuarabische Bearbeitung von Molière's *Femmes Savantes*, transcribiert, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit einem Glossar versehen. Von Friedrich Kern, Dr. phil. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1898. 154 pp.

² Vol. XIII, pp. 313-15.

singer, who died in the middle of the sixth century of the Hijra; but M. O. G., for so he chooses to call himself, first applied it to translations and plays. It is with regret that we learn from Dr. Kern that the author has not met with the success that he deserves. Sentimental tragedy in classical garb holds the Egyptian stage against the humor of Molière.

A word on Dr. Kern's method. He is fuller and more complete than Dr. Sobernheim. His treatment of the principles underlying his transcription, of the meter, of pronunciation, and of the different methods of recitation is detailed and careful. His vocabulary and notes are also fuller. The Hebraist will find in them points worth his notice. See, for example, *dtn* and its bearing on Socin's explanation of *yādhōn* in Gen. 6:3. Generally, the book gives the impression of ripe scholarship. But it must not be thought that it has interest only for the Arabic scholar or for the student of modern Egyptian. That Molière can be adapted to Egyptian life shows how great a dramatist he was, bounded by no horizon—which everyone knew. But how it has been done is a study to be commended to the student of comparative literature; such will find material here.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

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STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.¹

In these days, which have furnished so much work of a thoroughly scientific character in the field of Hebrew grammar, it is surprising that a book so lacking in scientific character, even though intended for beginners, can find publication or adoption. This book exhibits the same lack of scientific spirit which is to be found in nine out of ten Hebrew grammars prepared by Jewish rabbis for teaching Hebrew. It is not a sufficient excuse that such books are intended for practical use. Experience in the teaching of Latin and Greek grammar is surely enough to warrant the assertion that a grammar may be at the same time practical and scientific. Here the distinction must be made between that which is technical and that which is scientific. It is not necessary to be technical in order to be scientific. The grammar under consideration is neither technical nor scientific. It is equally clear that it is not practical.

The author (p. 4) makes no account of the distinction between vowels naturally long (*i. e.*, by contraction, or for nominal formation) and vowels tone-long (*i. e.*, long on account of proximity to the tone). This distinction lies at the basis of any practical or scientific treatment of vowel-changes. And consequently the article on changes in vowels (p. 13) is utterly devoid of any really true philological principles. The old statement of *hireq* arising out of two *š̄wās* at the beginning of a word is a fair example. The general word "altered" is the only word used to designate

¹ STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR, with Exercises and Vocabularies. By Michael Adler, B.A., Minister of the Hammersmith and West Kensington Synagogue, and Senior Hebrew Master at the Jews' Free School, London. London: David Nutt, 1900. viii + 196 pp.; 12mo.

vowel-changes, the ordinary word "shortening" being absent, not to speak of such words as "deflection," "obscuration," "heightening," which have now become common words in grammatical vocabulary.

The relative pronoun $\cdot\text{שֶׁ}$, שֶׁ is given as a contraction of שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר , a view long since abandoned. The meager statement is made (p. 22) in connection with the pointing of the inseparable prepositions: "the vowel ־ is frequently used," without any explanation of the fact. The pointing of לִּי in לִּי אֲמַר is simply cited as peculiar, no light of any kind being suggested. This is not practical, for a beginner should be taught principles; nor is it scientific, since it furnishes no explanation.

The chief characteristic of the segholate is said to be "that the absolute state of the plural has the vowels ־ and ־ ." Could anything be more absurd? A fine example of logical arrangement is the treatment under one head (pp. 56, 57) of the הֵן interrogative, the הֵן־ directive, and the vocative use of the definite article $\cdot\text{הֵן}$. The ן of the Niph'al is said to be omitted in the future, etc., and a Dāghēsh added; the term "assimilation" does not appear to have been known. Likewise, in connection with the פֿ verb (p. 124) it is said: "Whenever this ן is omitted, a Doghesh is placed in the next letter." The Höph'al is said to have ־ , but no explanation of the fact is hinted at.

Most faulty, however, is the treatment accorded the עֵי and יֵי verbs. Instead of furnishing the pupil at least a modicum of information in the way of assistance, the space (twelve or fifteen lines) is occupied with such misleading statements as this: "The י added (!) in the Hiph. in other verbs is not found in this class" (p. 128). A strange and entirely erroneous distinction is made (p. 132) between פֿ guttural and נֿפֿ verbs by which עֵי , imperfect יֵי (also אֵי , אֵי), is treated as נֿפֿ . The pupil is taught that this is the typical נֿפֿ verb, while אֵי , imperfect יֵי , and the others like it, are special and exceptional. The time ought soon to come when, even in Jewish circles, such grammars would not be called for.

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SCHULTHESS' HOMONYME WURZELN IM SYRISCHEN.¹

This is a thoughtful and suggestive contribution toward the elucidation of some difficult questions of Semitic lexicography. Homonymous roots are especially common in such languages as have been compelled to denote more than one original, or current, sound by means of one alphabetic sign. Schulthess thinks that Syriac, because of the state and treatment of its sounds, is the best language to start from in the consideration of Semitic homonyms. The Edessan dialect of the Syriac especially, because of its fixed orthography, its freedom from foreign

¹ HOMONYME WURZELN IM SYRISCHEN. Ein Beitrag zur semitischen Lexicographie. Von Friedrich Schulthess. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1900. xii + 104 pp. M. 4.

On the analogy of the Arabic, we cannot see why there cannot be in Syriac three roots of corresponding meanings: **ف**, **ه**, and **هه**. (Compare **فجر**, **فجر**, and **فرج**.) **افنه** "glänzen" may be compared with **فرق** and **فرقان** "dawn," or by metathesis with **فجر**. **هه** "barley" may be from a root of the same meaning as **فرخ** "to sprout." **هه** "pullet" is apparently the same as the Arab. **فروج**, though **افنه** also means "the young one of a bird." In denying that **افنه** means "ergötzen" the author fails to note that **تفرج** in Arabic means "to amuse oneself." "Amusing stories" is a very good translation of **مَعْتَبَرَات**.

The Beirut dictionary makes **تكي** mean **وطى** "to trample." If this definition is correct, there is an evident equivalent in **محر** "to oppress, to injure." The **مُحَا** of Deut. 22:8 is a translation of the Hebr. **מַדְקָה**, which the LXX translated by **σπεράγγη**, in the sense of the Arab. **تاج** "breastwork." The author has given enough of examples (on pp. 15, 16, and 35) showing that *g* and *k* are frequently interchanged to justify the possible connection of **مُحَا** with **تاج**.

R. D. WILSON.

PRINCETON, N. J.

JENSEN'S ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN MYTHS AND EPIC POEMS.¹

It gives us great pleasure to call attention to Professor Jensen's excellent edition of the "Assyrio-Babylonian Myths and Epic Poems" in transliteration, translation, and commentary. The addition of the commentary is a most welcome change of the plan of the editor and the publishers of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. After a short preface of great interest to the Assyriologist, in which the author explains his method of work and defines his position toward his predecessors, he gives in twelve sections all the Babylonian myths and epic poems thus far known, viz.: the creation-account (pp. 2-43); the story of Bēl and LAB-bu² (pp. 44-7); of Zū, the storm-bird (pp. 47-57); the I(U)ra (or Dibbara)-myth (pp. 57-73); the legend of Nergal and Ereškigal.³

¹ ASSYRISCH-BABYLONISCHE MYTHEN UND EPIKEN. Von P. Jensen. 1. Hälfte (= *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. In Verbindung mit L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, H. Winckler herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. VI. Band: "Mythologische, religiöse und verwandte Texte." 1. Teil.) Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1900. xx+320 pp. M. 13.

² Read lab-bu by the author and explained as "lion." Others read kal-bu "dog," and again others, especially Zimmern, rib-bu = Hebr. **רִיבּוּ**. See labbu, I, in *Concise Dictionary*, p. 486, col. 2.

³ So read also in IV, 31 a 24 (the descent of Ištar), instead of Nin-ki-gal. See Jensen, p. 82, rm. 1.

(pp. 74-9); the descent of Ištar to the nether-world (pp. 80-91); Adapa and the south wind (pp. 92-100); the Etana-myth (pp. 101-15); the Gilgamesh (Nimrod)-epic (pp. 116-273); Ea and Atarḫasis(?) (pp. 274-90); the king of Kūthā (pp. 291-8); Appendix (pp. 298-301). With p. 302 begins the "Commentary," which will cover the whole of the second half of this Part I. A more extended review can, therefore, be published only after this commentary is published; our present aim is to call the attention, to this important publication, of all students of the Old Testament and comparative religion. The arrangement of the texts is much better than found in any previous collection of these myths and epic poems. The new translations proposed for some of the most difficult passages are striking and, in most cases, convincing even without further comment. Thus, to mention a few, p. 26, 92 (end), u-ša-'-lu šu-nu (iḡu) kakkē-šu[-un] "they 'charm' their weapons;" p. 118, col. ii, 1 (and p. 204, 16), šit-tin(ta)-šu ilu-ma šul-lul-ta-šu a-me-lu-ta "two(thirds) he is a god, and one-third he is human(ity)." Especially noteworthy is the author's translation of the account of the deluge, l. 135, ki-ma u-ri mit-ḡu-rat u-s(š)al-lu "As soon as daylight came, I prayed." It is rather a surprise to notice that Jensen returns to the old reading and translation in l. 13 of the deluge account: "This city la-bir (was old)," instead of Zimmern's lā bīr "was corrupt;" l. 141 he reads i-te-mid (instead of -ziz); l. 215 (cf. l. 229) he reads li(-)iḡ-ḡil-ta-a "es schrecke auf der Mensch" ("let the man start up with fright"), instead of the usual li-ik-rim ta-a. P. 258, col. ii, 20, ša sa-l-lat (instead of ḡal-mat); the p(b)u-ri š(s)ap-pa-ti and p(b)u-ur šik-ka-ti (*ibid.*, ll. 1 and 22) are translated: "die Schale einer Büchse," and "die Schale einer Dose;" p. 260, 29, ūma p(b)u-uk-ka "am Tage, da mich ein Fangnetz," instead of tam-bu-uk-ku, explained usually as a certain kind of flies (II R. 5 a-b 26, 27; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 708, col. 2); 262, 23, lu-man tak-ka-ab(p) "alsbald das Loch (der Erde)," instead of lu-niṣ tak-ka-ab or lu niṣ-tak-ka-ap(b); *ibid.*, iv, 8, kal ma-tu "the whole country," instead of kal-ma-tu.

Almost simultaneously with Jensen's book was published in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 277-92, an article by H. Zimmern, "Neue Stücke des Atrahasis-Mythus nachgewiesen," in which are given transliteration and translation of the same legend that is published by Jensen as "Ea(?) und Atarḫasis(?)" (pp. 274 *sqq.*). It is most interesting to note how closely both agree in transliteration and translation, aside from these few divergences: col. i, 39, J(ensen): ni-šu i-na šu-ut(-)k(ḡ)e-e[-zi], Z(immern): ni-šu i-na šu-par-ki[-e napišti]; ii, 59, J.: me-iṡ(ṡ); d-ra-tu(-) šu(-)p(b)aḡ(k, g)-rat, Z.: me-iṡ-ra-tu šu-ḡu-rat; iii, 32, J.: BĀR ṡi-šu, Z.: par-ṡi-šu "sein Gebot;" 35, ŠU-kat ra-ba-ma, Z.: -šu ḡit-ra-ba-ma; iv, 7 (end), J.: lu-te-ši, Z.: tap-te-ši (√petū); 8, J.: is]-si-ma er-še-ti mu-te-ti, "dann rief sie: Frauen, Gattinnen," Z.: eṡ-r]a-ma, etc. = "sie bildete weiblich und männlich." On iv, 6, i-na be-ru-šu-nu i-ta-di libittu (also l. 15), see Spiegelberg's important article, "On Exodus 1:16," in *ZA.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 269-76.

Proofreading, press-work, and printing are exceedingly well done. Only a few errors have been noticed; e. g., p. 26, l. 90, itt instead of it; 168, 38 (end), -sa for -ša; 171, 68, *meine* for *deine* (?); 176, 174, i-ḫi-ma for i-li-ma; 259, col. ii, 1, *eine* instead of *einer*; 260, col. iii, 14, imḫaṣ (for ḫaṣ).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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A NEW ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR.¹

Rosenberg's grammar is No. 66 of a large collection of language-primers, published by A. Hartleben's Verlag, for self-instruction, without the aid of a teacher. Its aim is "to furnish the beginner with all the materials which he will require in his earliest studies of the Assyrian language and the cuneiform inscriptions." It is an inadequate and very meager German presentation of King's *First Steps in Assyrian*,² with some material taken from Delitzsch's *Grammar*, and it abounds in inaccuracies and errors, which render its use by beginners and for self-instruction most dangerous.³ There is no other Assyrian grammar which contains such a number of hypothetical words—made for the occasion, so to speak—and yet they are presented without the slightest indication that they are hypothetical forms. A grammar for beginners who study without the assistance of an instructor should be very accurate and free from all proofreader's (?) errors.⁴ I will mention here only a few errors and omissions: P. 17, a-ni-ni "we;" but the more common ni-i-nu(-ni) and a-ni-nu are omitted; the same is the case in almost all instances where in Assyrian several equally well-attested synonymous forms occur. P. 19, ul-lu, pl. ul-lu-ti, should be ul-lu-u, ul-lu-u-ti (and -tu). Ma-nu "who? whom?" given as the usual spelling is a very rare form, the usual forms being man-nu and ma-an-nu; mi-nu should rather be mi-i-nu. Among the indefinite pronouns we find such

¹ ASSYRISCHE SPRACHLEHRE UND KEILSCHRIFTEUNDE FÜR DAS SELBSTSTUDIUM. Grammatik, Syllabar, Chrestomathie und Vocabular auf Grundlage der assyrischen Keilschriftzeichen für einfache Silben methodisch und leichtfasslich bearbeitet von J. Rosenberg, Professor für moderne und semitische Sprachen. Wien, Pest, Leipzig: A. Hartleben's Verlag [no date]. viii+180 pp.; 12mo. M. 2. [Die Kunst der Polyglottie, 66^{ster} Theil.]

² See this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, pp. 171, 172.

³ It is not true to say (p. 2) that the United States (or American) government ("die Regierung von Amerika") has sent expeditions to Assyria and Babylonia; the real facts might have been stated in two or three additional lines. Still, the author may be entirely ignorant of the true state of affairs as touching this country.—P. 13, the very first text quoted in transliteration and translation contains several mistakes; e. g., DIŠ is always ana, not enuma (see Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*); innamar should be read innamir; and l. 3, ina kakki šumḫututu should be read ina (iḡ) kakki šumḫu-ut, with a word of explanation concerning the nature of the "complement." Who can believe the statement that ru-ḫu is pronounced rūḫu, and ru-u-ḫu rūḫu? Rūḫu ("far, distant") is more often spelled ru-ḫu (etc.) than ru-u-ḫu (etc.); while ru-u-ḫu is a form like nuḫḫu (not nūḫu).

⁴ P. 14, l. 6 (from below), rūku, read rūḫu; p. 16, l. 22, read ṭi for ti and ṣa for sa; l. 26, ē(not e) rubma; l. 27, mandattu (not a); p. 45, l. 13, read alāku; l. 28, šalālu; l. 30, idū, etc. The author throughout his grammar uses the signs " and " promiscuously without a word of explanation; see, e. g., pp. 14, 16, and 45.

forms as *ma-nu-ma-an* (!), which is evidently copied from Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, p. 142, l. 1, *ma-nu-man*. If Rosenberg had examined the text (IV R.² 6, iv, 14), he might have seen that it clearly reads *ma-am-man*. Many more "Unformen" of like character are furnished by the author in his various paradigms.⁵

Pp. 59-69 contain ll. 8-27 and 81-175 of the "Account of the Deluge" in transliteration and translation. Here is a sample:

l. 8, *Ši-it-na-pi-iš-ti-im a-na ša-šu-ma i-za-ka-ra,*
a-na Gi-il-ga-me-eš.

12, *i-na ki-ša-ad na-a-ru Pu-ra-at-ti sa(sic!)-ak-nu.*

Of ll. 28-80 Rosenberg says: "diese Stelle der Inschrift ist jedoch verwischt und unleserlich." There is again not the slightest indication that this deluge-text transliteration is a reconstruction by Rosenberg—for practice sake—of our well-known deluge-text, which, by the way, is reproduced on pp. 138 *sqq.* with the correct cuneiform characters. Students of Rosenberg's grammar must needs come to the conclusion that we have two recensions of this same text, the one published on pp. 59 *sqq.*, and the other on pp. 138 *sqq.* What do Jensen, Zimmern, and others say to this fine, conclusive reading *Ši-it-na-pi-iš-ti-im*, etc.; or *u-ku-ur* (l. 24) as against *u-gur*; 92, *at-ta-ṭa-al*; 99, *Ra-am-ma-a-an* (common Assyriologists now read ¹¹ *Adad*); 100, *Na-bu-u u Ma-ar-du-uk*, etc.; 166, *lu-u* omitted before *u(a)ḥ-su-sa*, and l. 159 (end), *u ŠIM-GIR*? The translation added to the transliteration could be improved vastly, e. g., *abūbu* does not mean "Sündfluth;" ll. 24, 25, 26, "dein(en)" is added in the translation without mention that the cuneiform text omits the pronoun; 92, "I saw the approach of the storm;" ll. 158, 159, "Zu je sieben habe ich 'Fahrzeuge' (*sic!*) entlassen. Unter dieselben breitete ich Rohr aus und Zedernholz."—Pp. 73-108 give a "list of signs" by far inferior to that of King or Delitzsch. Pp. 109-36 contain a brief chrestomathy giving the cuneiform text and German translation (without transliteration) of ll. 1-17 of "the creation of the heavenly bodies and seasons," called by the author "Die Schöpfung der Welt;" ll. 176-205 of the deluge account, with a very faulty rendering of such lines as 196, 199, 200, 204, 205, etc. Sennacherib-Taylor, col. iii, 106-41, follows next. In the "Prayer to Ištar" (pp. 126-8;

⁵ Here are some instances taken *ad random*: The plural of *a-bu* is said to be *a-bu-uti*, c. *st.*, *a-bu-ut*; with suffix, e. g., of 1 sing. *a-bu-ut-ja*, if used as a nominative or accusative, and *a-bu-ut-ja*, if used as a genitive or dative (pp. 23, 27); p. 32, *ši-ma-at-šu* "seine Geschäfte" from a sing. *ši-im-tu*, pl. *ši-ma-ti*. Of numerals we find the cardinal numbers thus: *iš-te-en* (neither fem. nor any other masc. form is mentioned); *ši-na*; *ša-la-šu*, *ir-ba-u*, *xa-am-šu*, *si-iš-šu*, etc., 15 = *xa-am-šu eš-rit*, although our texts clearly state *xa-meš-eš-rit*; 20, 30, etc., are *eš-ra*, *ša-la-ša*, etc.; 1000 = *lim [al-pú?]*; why is not *li-im* quoted, which occurs quite often, and where does *al-pú* occur in the meaning of "1000"? There are no ordinal numbers given. The treatment of the verb is equally arbitrary and insufficient, hypothetical forms being pushed in at every possible instance, although the author nowhere indicates that he quotes any but actually occurring forms; thus, p. 146, l. 2, we find *na-da-a-nu*, pres. 2 sing. *ta-na-da-an*, "thou shalt give," quoted as the usual present of *nadanu*; p. 58, *pa-ar-ḡu-nu* "our laws" should certainly be *-ni*. Would any Assyriologist accept this: "ta-a-b-ra-at 'wonder,' c. *st.* of singular *ta-ab-ri-tu* from $\sqrt{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}}$? Where do we find such forms as *ma-a-ḡu-u* partic. of 𐎶𐎵𐎶 ? etc.

K 4931; see Haupt, *ASKT.*, pp. 116 sq.) several mistakes occur in the cuneiform text; and the Letter of Burnaburiaš, from the Tel-Amarna collection, is most arbitrarily changed textually; e. g., instead of Burna-bu-ri-ia-aš we have Bu-ur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš, etc. The vocabulary, pp. 159-80, contains many forms and spellings which Assyriologists classify as abnormal or not existing, as far as our literature is concerned.

Can such a book be recommended to students as a safe guide for self-instruction? Decidedly not!

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P. S.—Two months after the above-printed review had been set up there appeared in the London *Athenæum* of December 8, 1900, a notice of the same book by Dr. B(udge), which is herewith repeated:

"A RECLAMATION.

"May I call the attention of your readers to a piece of plagiarism which seems to me to deserve notice? There has recently appeared in Germany, in a series called 'Die Kunst der Polyglottie,' published by Hartleben, of Vienna, Pesth, and Leipzig, a little volume entitled 'Assyrische Sprachlehre und Keilschriftkunde für das Selbststudium,' by Prof. J. Rosenberg. This volume contains a list of syllables and signs, remarks on grammar, lists of prepositions, adverbs, etc., a syllabary, a chrestomathy, and a vocabulary, which are taken almost verbatim from Mr. L. W. King's 'First Steps in Assyrian.' The syllabary, the chrestomathy, and several other parts of the German book contain internal evidence of the borrowing which has been done, and done on a large scale, and without the smallest acknowledgment of the obligation incurred. Mr. King's book is mentioned once, it is true, but then it is only as fourth in a list of books the names of which appear under the heading 'Litteratur.' Imitation is, we know, the sincerest form of flattery; similarly, the abridgment and 'gutting' of one's book are perhaps a compliment; such a compliment, however, will not recoup the publisher of an expensive book for the loss which will be entailed by a reduction of the number of copies sold."

E. A. W. B.

DIETRICH'S DIE MASSORAH DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN SYRER.¹

The subject of the Syriac Massorah has been treated by Abbé Martin ("Tradition Karkaphienne ou la Massore chez les Syriens," *JA.*, 1869; 1875), Hoffmann (preface to his *Opuscula Nestoriana*, 1880), Wright ("Syriac Literature," 1887 [Vol. XXII of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*]; separate edition, 1894, pp. 20-25), and Merx (*Historia Artis Grammaticæ apud Syros*, 1889, pp. 28 sqq.). Gwilliam's paper in *Studia Biblica*, Vol. III (1891), pp. 47-104, is largely devoted to the same subject (compare especially a list of the larger Massoretic MSS. on pp. 57-9; also two specimens of the Syriac Massorah reprinted from British Museum

¹ DIE MASSORAH DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN SYRER in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaja nach fünf Handschriften des British Museum in Verbindung mit zwei Tractaten über Accente herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Gustav Diettrich. London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 134 + lvii pp.; 12mo. 8s. 6d.

MSS. and accompanied by a short exposition in which the marginal notes are explained, pp. 93-100). MS. Add. 12, 138 (cf. Wright, p. 23; Merx, pp. 30 sq.; Gwilliam, p. 57), to which the first specimen belongs, and which is of Nestorian origin, so far as the part dealing with the book of Isaiah is concerned, has now been published for the first time by Gustav Diettrich, pastor of the German Evangelical Congregation at Sydenham, London. Barring a few deviations due to typographical considerations, the original is faithfully and entirely reproduced. However, one must not expect the whole of our Isaiah. The Massoretic MSS. of the Syrians, differently from Jewish MSS. of the same character, contain only those words of a text which are liable to mispronunciation in regard to consonants, vowels, or accent. Hence the title in the MS.: ܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ. By ܡܫܠܬܐ "readings" the accentual points are meant; ܡܫܠܬܐ "vocables" refer to the vowel as well as to the *rukāḳ* and *kuṣāi* points (cf. Diettrich, p. xi; Merx, p. 29; Wright, pp. 22 sq.; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, s. vv.). The correct pronunciation of a consonant is safeguarded by special notes on the margin. Thus, . . . ܡܫܠܬܐ indicates that a certain consonant must not be given its usual sound, but should be sounded rather like some other consonant. ܡܫܠܬܐ order a certain consonant to be omitted in pronunciation, whether the cause be assimilation or simple suppression; the opposite is ܡܫܠܬܐ or ܡܫܠܬܐ, i. e., sound! with reference to consonants which a careless and less elegant pronunciation is apt to slur over. The vowels are marked according to a double system; that is to say, in addition to the elaborate Nestorian system (Duval, *Gramm.*, chap. xi) the simpler and older method, which consists in the use of a single diacritic point (*ibid.*, chap. x), is employed (see Martin, *J.A.*, 1875, pp. 98-110, 145-55; Diettrich is able to correct Martin in two points). ܡܫܠܬܐ on the margin calls attention to the presence of a vowel (usually a helping or half vowel); the opposite is indicated by ܡܫܠܬܐ and ܡܫܠܬܐ. According to Diettrich, the MS. contains traditional elements which contradict what we know of the Nestorian tradition and are apparently borrowed from elsewhere. Diettrich corroborates the opinion maintained by his predecessors that there is comparatively little to be gained from collectanea like the present MS. for purposes of textual criticism; but he justly points to what may be learned by the grammarian; quite a few grammatical observations are recorded which are not found in Nöldeke's book. The ܡܫܠܬܐ of the MS. are particularly valuable, inasmuch as they afford an opportunity of obtaining an insight into the history of the development of the Nestorian system of accentuation. For, in addition to the system current in the schools during the ninth century, Mār Bābī (the scribe) has incorporated that of Rām-Ishō (died 570) in red ink, as well as the still older system of the *maḳreḯānē* of Nisibis dating from the fifth century. The meaning of the accentuation given in the MS. becomes approximately clear from the two treatises printed by Diettrich in two appendices, one by Mār Bābī from the same MS., the other by

Elias of Tīrhān from Add. 25, 876 (published without vowels previously by Martin, *Traité sur l'accentuation chez les Syriens orientaux*, 1877). Mār Bābī's opinions do not always agree with the system which he has handed down in the Massoretic text. He may have succeeded only partially in interpreting the accentual system which he found before him and which he faithfully reproduced.

While the Nestorian tradition is thus presented in its fulness, variants are printed under the text exhibiting the tradition of the Jacobite schools as derived from four other MSS. belonging to the British Museum (Add. 12, 178; 7, 183; 14, 482; 14, 684; see Wright, p. 23; Gwilliam, p. 58). The MSS. differ in size, contents, and selection of their material. Yet positive evidences are brought forward by Dietrich according to which all four go back to the traditions of the ẖarḡaftā monastery (Wright, p. 24; Gwilliam, pp. 60 *sqq.*) as their common source. Add. 12, 178, according to Dietrich, exhibits the purest type of the Karkaphensian tradition. All four differ in several points from the tradition embodied in the scholia of Barhebraeus. The variations from the Nestorian text are classified by Dietrich in the introduction. Accordingly the variants consist in points of orthography both as regards the consonants and the vowels (with references to Nöldeke's grammar and to similar variations in the Targūm texts with superlinear vocalization); others are more important and touch exegetical differences of opinion (thus sixteen such variations, as conditioned by different vocalization, are specified; Dietrich informs us that he examined two large codices belonging to the British Museum [Add. 12, 168, and 12, 144] containing Syriac *catenae* on Isaiah, in order, if possible, to trace the exegetical variations to their sources; his efforts, however, were unsuccessful, because, as he tells us, the Syriac *catenae* contain primarily excerpts from Greek Fathers who, of course, were unacquainted with the Syriac text of the Bible, while the two Syriac Fathers quoted there indulge in *allegorical* interpretation, and cannot therefore have influenced the purely *grammatical* labors of the Massoretēs); still more important are consonantal differences involving a change of meaning; in other words, real textual variants; those the industrious editor has reserved for a critical edition of the Syriac text of Isaiah which is contemplated by him.

In three indices at the end are collected the marginal notes of MS. Add. 12, 138, alphabetically arranged, as well as the variants referred to above.

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STEIN'S HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SCHWEINFURT.¹

Jewish history is a modern branch of science. Jost and Graetz have prematurely attempted to write general works before the material was collected. This is now being done, and chiefly by rabbis who have access

¹GESCHICHTE DER JUDEN IN SCHWEINFURT. Zwei Vorträge, gehalten im Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur zu Schweinfurt. Von Dr. Salomon Stein, Districts-rabbiner. Frankfurt a. M., 1899. 56 pp.

to local archives and have the necessary published works within their reach. So has Solomon Stein done with the history of Schweinfurt, a small but ancient city of Bavaria. The material collected is, as in almost all these histories, rather dry: a promissory note, a receipt, an order of an emperor about Jew-taxes, and of course occasionally a riot and an expulsion, caused by the imprudence of the Jews in pounding a consecrated host which subsequently began to bleed profusely, and the like. We must, however, gratefully acknowledge the meritorious character of such works. In one instance we miss an explanation. What does "Marquard der Butigler von Nürnberg" mean? No dictionary that I have in my library contains the word. I suppose *Butigler* means a storekeeper: *Bude* = "booth" = *boutique*. Stein's German is not always of the best order. "Ohne Vorbewusstsein des Papstes" (p. 10) ought to be *Vorwissen*. "Verfertigten Wälle" (p. 41) is not correct, and the name of the author of the history of Frankfurt rabbis is *Horovitz*, not "Horwitz" (p. 23). The author might have known that *הַגְבִּיר* in mediæval Hebrew always means *bishop*, and not, as he translates, *Gebietler* (p. 41). His own source, speaking of the Hegemon of Würzburg and the Hegemon of Bamberg, might have taught him better.

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A NOTE ON GEN. 6:3.

In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XIV, pp. 349-56 (June, 1900), is an article by K. Vollers with the subject "Zur Erklärung von יָדֹן Gen. 6:3." The author makes no allusion to my brief article which had appeared some months before in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XVI, pp. 47-9 (October, 1899), presumably because he was not acquainted with it. It should be noted, however, that, while there are many differences in the treatment, some of the points which Vollers makes had already been anticipated in my article. One of these is the main conclusion, viz., that the root of יָדֹן is an ע"צ verb יָדָן, which is equivalent to the Assyrian verb *danānu*, "to be strong." Another is the opinion that the same root is to be found in the Hebrew proper name יִדְנָה, equivalent to the Assyrian word *dannatu*, "fortress." The general meaning thus afforded for Gen. 6:3 is naturally the same in both articles.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

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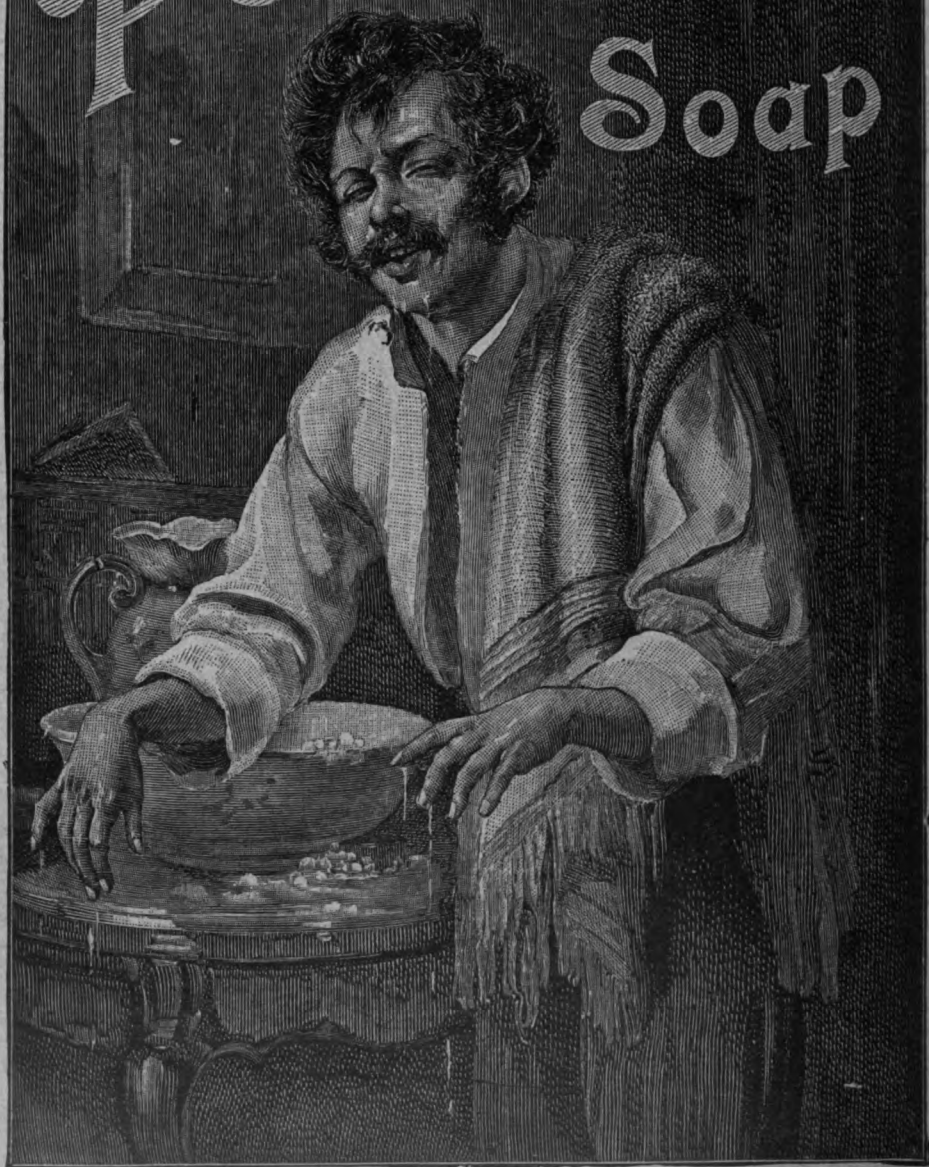
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Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., as second-class mail matter.

Pears' Soap



Where's that towel?

May 2 1901

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XVII

APRIL, 1901

NUMBER 3

A HYMN TO ŠAMAŠ.

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This hymn to Šamaš was published by R. E. Brünnow in *ZA.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, who had before him the following fragments: K. 3182 + K. 3312, K. 3187, K. 3474, K. 3650, K. 8232, K. 8233, and K. 9699. As a result of his work several joins were afterward made, and other fragments were discovered, viz.: K. 5459, K. 9356, K. 10587, S. 311, S. 372, and S. 1033. While working on the Šamaš texts this last summer in the British Museum, I discovered five new fragments belonging to K. 3182, viz.: K. 5121, K. 6823, K. 13430, K. 13794, and S. 1398; and also another duplicate, 83-1-18, 472. From a careful study of the formation and style of writing of K. 3650, K. 9356, and 83-1-18, 472, the following facts seem to be assured. K. 3650 and K. 3474 belong to the same tablet, the former being its upper portion and the latter its lower portion, the fragment connecting the two having not yet been found. K. 9356 is undoubtedly a part of the obverse of K. 3182, but on account of its thinness no join could be made. S. 1033 is a part of the same tablet as 83-1-18, 472.

There are, then, three copies of this hymn in the British Museum:

- A. K. 3182 + K. 3187 + K. 3312 + K. 5121 + K. 5459
+ K. 6823 + K. 8232 + K. 9699 + K. 10587
+ K. 13430 + K. 13794 + S. 311 + S. 1398.
K. 9356.
- B. K. 3474 + K. 8233 + S. 372.
K. 3650.
- C. S. 1033.
83-1-18, 472.

All of these texts, together with the other hymns and incantations to Šamaš as given by Dr. Bezold in his *Catalogue*, will be published later in book form. I have, therefore, in this article given the text of only one of the copies of this hymn, K. 3182, and also the transliteration and translation of the reconstructed text. The notes are confined almost entirely to the variants and to places where I have been obliged to differ from Brünnow's readings.

The following table will give the correspondences between the reconstructed text and the duplicates :

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A. | K. 3182, obv., col. i | = col. i, 1-16, 19-56 |
| | “ “ “ ii | = “ ii, 12-29, 45-56 |
| | “ rev., “ iii | = “ iii, 1-53 |
| | “ “ “ iv | = “ iv, 1-20, 29-34, and colophon |
| | K. 9356 | = “ ii, 33-39 |
| B. | K. 3474, obv., col. i | = col. i, 17-56; col. ii, 1, 2 |
| | “ “ “ ii | = “ ii, 26-52 |
| | “ rev., “ iii | = “ iii, 29-38 |
| | “ “ “ iv | = “ iv, 12-33 |
| | K. 3650, obv., “ i | = “ i, 1-9 |
| | “ “ “ ii | = “ ii, 3-14 |
| | “ rev., “ iii | = “ iii, 47-56; col. iv, 1, 2 |
| | “ “ “ iv | = “ iv, colophon (ends of two lines) |
| C. | S. 1033, obv., col. i | = col. i, 17-34 |
| | “ “ “ ii | = “ ii, 32-37 |
| | 83-1-18, 472, “ “ ii | = “ ii, 52-56; col. iii, 1-7 |
| | “ rev., “ iii | = “ iii, 13-24 |

This hymn to Šamaš is of peculiar interest to students of Babylonian and Assyrian religion for two reasons.

In the first place, there is the entire absence of any reference to incantation. All the other so-called hymns and prayers of Šamaš are more or less closely connected with this lower form of religious development. This fact has been noticed by Jastrow in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 302, but he apparently overlooks the existence of this hymn, which is one of the best examples of a pure hymn to be found in all the literature.

Secondly, it is of interest because of its ethical characteristics. It is to be regretted that the tablet is broken where the dealing

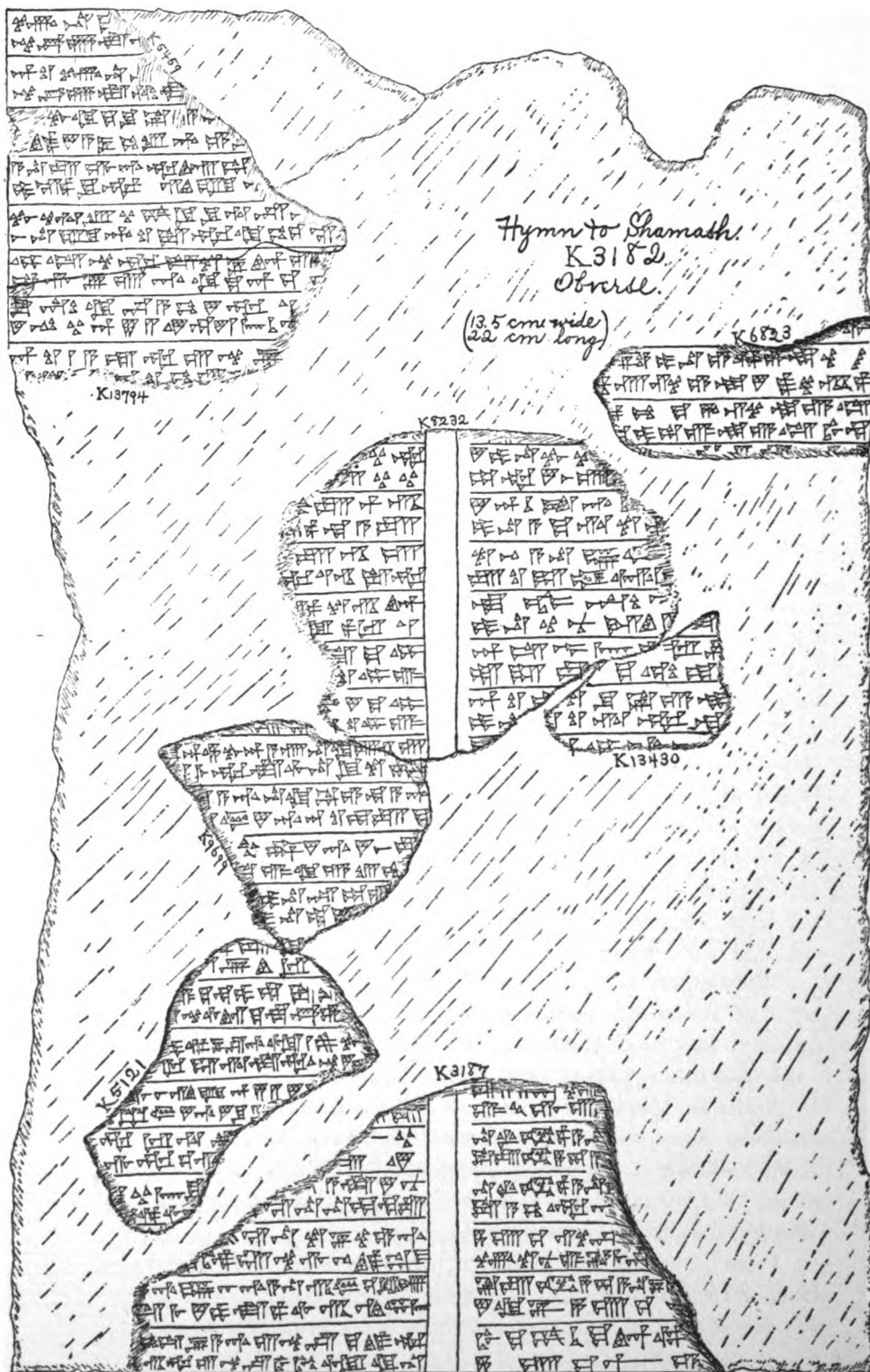
with false weights and measures is spoken of. Enough, however, remains to remind us of the priestly regulations concerning this in the Old Testament. Worthy of note also are the classes of people who pray to Šamaš. He is the friend of the weak, the outcast, the wanderer, and those in humble positions in life like the hunter, the fisherman, and the cattle-herder. The robber and the thief, however, are his enemies. Though the murderer and the destroyer pray to him, he will not hearken to their petitions. We ought to note finally the condemnation of some of the more common oriental sins, such as dishonest dealing by false weights, the removal of boundaries (col. ii, 40), and a corrupt judiciary. In col. ii, 32, there is a probable reference to adultery, and in col. iii, 1, a reference either to unjust taxation or to exorbitant rates of interest, both characteristic of the ancient Semitic race. On the other hand, certain ones are well-pleasing to Šamaš. In col. ii, 43, it is the incorruptible judge who has regard for the weak. In col. ii, 49, the commendation is given apparently to one who has good business ability, while col. iii, 6, refers probably to agricultural industry, though this last is somewhat uncertain on account of the broken line.

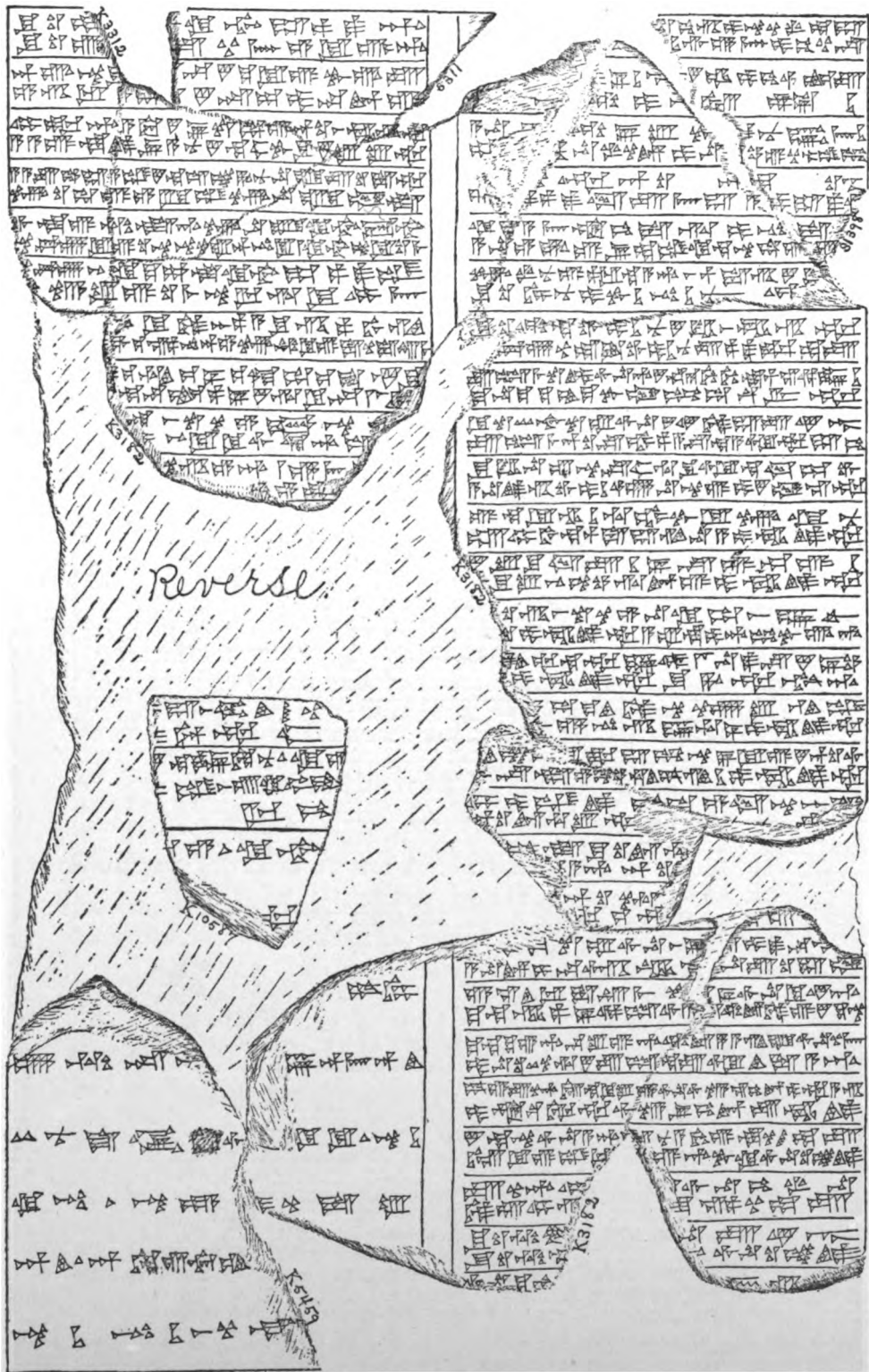
I take this opportunity to add a word concerning the poetical structure of the hymn. Throughout the hymn is found a parallelism which is strikingly similar to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, and which corresponds in general to the paragraphs, except in one or two places in col. iii. *Cf.*, for example, col. i, 37, 38, 45, 46; col. ii, 41, 42. Cases of chiasm are not infrequent, viz.: col. i, 21, 50; col. iii, 7, 8, 17. A play upon words is found in col. ii, 47, 48, *kaspa* and *uštakazzab*.

With regard to the translation as a whole, while the general trend of thought is plain, yet in the case of many single lines, owing to lack of context, the translation is merely tentative.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. E. Wallis Budge, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. Leonard W. King and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, assistants in the department, for their courtesy, and for the great assistance which they afforded me during my stay in London.

I am indebted to my instructor, Professor Robert Francis Harper, for many valuable suggestions about text and translation. For the results as presented, however, I am solely responsible.





RECONSTRUCTED TEXT.

TRANSLITERATION.

COLUMN I.

1. muš-na-m[ir]ša-ma-mi
2. mu-šaḥ-li-i[ḫ li-]e-liš u šap-liš
3. ¹¹Šamaš muš-na-m[ir]ša-ma-mi
4. mu-šaḥ-li-iḫ li[- e-li]š u šap-liš
5. [. . . .]pu ki-ma šú-uš-kal-[li ša]-ru-ru-ka
6. ana(?) ḥur-ša-a-ni gaš-ru-ti e-[. -m]a(?) tam-di
7. a-na ta-mar-ti-ka iḫ-du-[ú]-al-ki
8. i-riš-šú-ka gi-mir [. ¹¹]Igigi
9. pu-uz-ru sat-tak-ku šú-ḥu-zu [.]-ka
10. ina na-mir-ti urra-ka ki-bi-is-si-[.]
11. mi-lam-mu-ka iš-te-ni-'ú [.]
12. kib-rat ir-bit-ti ki-ma išāti [.]
13. šú-pal-ki ba-a-bi ša ka-liš [.]
14. ša kul-lat ¹¹Igigi nindabē ^{pl.}-šu-nu [.]
15. ¹¹Šamaš ana a-ši-ka kit-mu-sa [.]
16. [.] ¹¹Šamaš bi-[.]
17. muš-na-mir pi-tu-u¹ ik-li-ti muš-t[a(?)-]
18. mu-šaḥ-miṭ zik-kur ur-ri me-riš še-im na-r[a(?)-]
19. ša-di-i gaš-ru-ti e-ri-ma ša-lum-mat-ka
20. nam-ri-ru-ka² im-lu-ú si-ḫi-ip mātāte
21. kat-ra-ta ana ḥur-sa-a-ni ir-ši-ta³ ta-bar-ri
22. kip-pat mātāte ina ki-rib šami-e šaḫ-la-a-ta
23. nišē ^{pl.} mātāte kul-lat-si-na ta-paḫ-ḫid
24. ša ¹¹Ê-a šarru mal-ku uš-tab-nu-ú ka-liš paḫ-da-ta⁴
25. šú-ut na-piš-ti šak-na mit-ḫa-riš te⁵-ri-'
26. at-ta-ma na-ḫid-si-na ša e-liš ù⁶ šap-liš
27. te-te-ni-ti-iḫ gi-na-a šá⁷-ma-mi
28. [a-na(?)⁸] um-tul⁹-ta ir-ši-tu ta-ba-' ū-mi¹⁰-šam
29. mīlu(?)¹¹ tām-tim ḥur-sa-a-ni ir-ši-ta¹² ša¹³-ma-mi
30. ki-i kar(?)¹³-. .]-si gi-na-a ta-ba-' ū-mi¹⁴-šam
31. šap-la-a-ti [šá ¹¹E]N(?)·KI ¹¹Azag-gid ¹¹A-nun-na-ki
ta-paḫ-ḫid
32. e-la-a-ti šá da-ād-me ka-li-ši-na tuš-te-šir
33. ri-'-u šap-la-a-ti na-ḫi-du e-la-a-ti
34. muš-te-šir nu-úr kiš-ša-ti ¹¹Šamaš at-ta-ma

¹ S. 1033, á.² S. 1033, nam-ri-ir-ru-ka.³ K. 3182, tim.⁴ K. 3474, S. 1033, ta; K. 3182, ka.⁵ K. 3474, S. 1033, ta.⁶ K. 3474, S. 1033, u.⁷ K. 3474, S. 1033, ša.⁸ S. 1033, ana(?).⁹ Br. wrongly ki.¹⁰ K. 3474, S. 1033, me.¹¹ A. KAL(?).¹² K. 3182, tim.¹³ S. 1033, šá.¹⁴ Or possibly sa, but not ir as Br.¹⁵ K. 3474, me.

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT.

TRANSLATION.

COLUMN I.

1. O thou who makest to shine [.] the heavens,
2. Who bringest destruction upon [.] above and below.
3. O Šamaš, thou who makest to shine [.] the heavens,
4. Who bringest destruction upon [.] above and below.
5. Casting down(?) like a drag-net [.] thy brilliance,
6. To the mighty mountains [.] the sea.
7. At thy appearance rejoice the [.]
8. The whole [.] of the Igigi shout joyfully to thee.
9. A perpetual mystery is the teaching of thy [.],
10. In the brightness of thy light their walk [.],
11. Thy splendor reaches [.],
12. The four regions like fire [.],
13. Wide open is the gate of all [.],
14. As for all the Igigi, their free-will offerings [.],
15. O Šamaš, at thy rising are bowed down the [.],
16. [.] Šamaš [.],
17. Thou who makest to shine, who openest the darkness, who [. . .],
18. Who makest to quiver the (†) of light, the planting of corn [. . . .].
19. The mighty mountains are pregnant with thy glory,
20. Thy brilliancy fills and overwhelms the countries.
21. Thou approachest the mountains, thou gazest upon the earth,
22. At the ends of the earth, in the midst of the heavens thou art suspended.
23. The people of the countries, all of them, thou protectest,
24. What Ea, the king, the prince, has created, of all that thou art protector.
25. Thou shepherdest all created life together,
26. Thou art leader of the things above and below.
27. Thou marchest across the heavens regularly,
28. To (†) the earth thou comest day by day.
29. The flood, the sea, the mountains, the earth, the heavens,
30. Like a [.] regularly thou traversest day by day.
31. The things below, belonging to Ea(†), Azaggid, and the Anunnaki, thou protectest,
32. The things above, belonging to the inhabited world, all of them thou directest.
33. Shepherd of what is below, leader of what is above,
34. Director of the light of the world art thou, O Šamaš.

35. te-te-ni-bir tām-tim¹⁵ rap-ša-ti ša-dil-ta
 36. [ša(?)] ¹¹Igigi la i-du-ú ki-rib lib¹⁶-bi-ša
 37. [¹¹Šamaš(?)] bir-bir-ru-ka i¹⁷-na apsi¹⁸ ú-ri-du
 38. [ga]b-šú-ut tām-tim i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu nu-úr-ka
 39. [¹¹Šamaš(?)] ki-ma ki-e ka-sa-ta ki-ma im-ba-ri[...]-ku-ta
 40. [...] -šú salūla-ka sa-ḫi-ip mātāte
 41. [ul] ta-šú-uš ū-me-šam-ma la¹⁹ i-ad-da-ru pa-na-ka
 42. [...] ta-bar-ri i-na²⁰ mu-ši-im-ma tu-šaḫ-miṭ [.....]
 43. [i-]na šid-di ša la i-di ni-su-ti u²¹ bi-ri la ma-nu-[ti]
 44. ¹¹Šamaš²² dal-pa-ta ša ur-ra tal-li-ka u mu-ša ta-
 kit(?)-[...]
 45. ul i-ba-aš-ši ina gi-mir ¹¹Igigi ša šú-nu-ḫu ba-li-ka
 46. ina ilāni²⁴ napḫar²⁵ kiš-ša-ti ša šú-tu-ru ki-ma ka-a-ta
 47. ṣi-tuk-ka ip-ḫu-ru ilāni²⁴ mātāte²⁶
 48. na-mur-rat-ka iz-zi-ti ma-a-tum saḫ-pat
 49. [šá] nap-ḫar mātāte^{24,25} šú-ut šú-un-na-a li-ša-nu
 50. [ti-]i-di kip-di-ši-na ki-bi-is-si-na na-aṭ-la-ta²⁶
 51. [...] -nik-ka kul-lat-si-na te-ni-še-e-ti
 52. [¹¹Šamaš] a-na nūri-ka ṣu-um-mu-rat²⁷ mit-ḫar-tum
 53. [ina(?)] ma-kal-ti ^{amel}barāti(ti)²⁸ a-na ri-kis ¹⁷ērini
 54. [.....] iš-me²⁹ ša-i-li pa-ši-ri šuttē³⁰
 55. [.....] ša rik-sa-a-ti kit-mu-su³⁰ ma-ḫar-ka
 56. [.....] -ri-ka kit-mu-su rag-gu ū³¹ ki-na

COLUMN II.

1. [.....]-ra-du ina apsi ba-li-ka
 2. [.....-e(?)]-ni u za-ma-ni-e tu-ša-pi di-in-šú-un
 3. a-bi(?)-[.....]
 4. i-ri-iḫ-ḫi šú-ma šit-ta [.....]
 5. tu-tar-ra zal-pa ša la mu-šam-[.....]
 6. tu-sil-li AŠ.ḪU³².BUR. ša di-na-ti iṣ-bu-tú [.....]
 7. ina di-in ki-na-a-ti ¹¹Šamaš ša tak-bu-u [.....]
 8. šú-pu-u zik-ru-ka ul in-nin-nu-u pa-na ul [.....]
 9. te-im-mi-id a-na al-la-ki ša šup-šú-ḫat ú-ru-[uḫ-šu]
 10. a-na e-bir tām-tim a-dir a-gi-e ta-nam-din [.....]
 11. ḫar-ra-na-a-ti ša la am-ra ṣa-'i-da ta-[.....]
 12. [...] -li-i UŠ³⁴-di ma-ḫi-ru ša ¹¹[Šam(?)]-ši
 13. [.....]-maš ki-si³⁵ ina e-di-e tu-še-zib
 14. [.....] ³⁶nun-zi-e tu-ša-aš-kan kap-pa

¹⁵ K. 3474, ta-ma-tum
 rapaš-tum ša-di-il-ta.

¹⁶ Br. wrongly sub.

¹⁷ Br. wrongly a-na.

¹⁸ K. 3474, ina ap-si-i.

¹⁹ K. 3474, ul 'da-ru.

²⁰ K. 3474, ina.

²¹ K. 3182, ū ana kas-
 bu [.....].

²² Br. wrongly tu-par-ri.

First sign is an, not tu.

²³ K. 3474, nap-ḫar.

²⁴ K. 3474, ma-a-ti.

²⁵ K. 3474, mātāte.

²⁶ K. 3474, na-aṭ-la-a-ta.

²⁷ K. 3474, ṣu-mu-rat

mit-ḫar-ti.

²⁸ K. 3474, ba-ru-ti.

²⁹ K. 3474, [...] mu ši
 mi šaile³⁴ pa-še-ru
 šuttē³⁴.

³⁰ K. 3474, sa.

³¹ K. 3474, u ki-e-nim.

³² Br. wrongly ti. Another

reading may be A.N.ŠU.

³³ K. 3182, TAK. (=kieu)

i-na.

³⁴ K. 3650, nun-za-a.

35. Thou passest over the wide, broad sea,
36. The very depth of which the Igigi know not.
37. [O Šamaš,] thy dazzling light penetrates the deep,
38. Thy light looks to and fro upon the swarming life of the sea.
39. [O Šamaš,] like a garment thou art covered, like a storm thou art
[.]
40. [.] thy shadow overwhelming countries.
41. Thou art [not] troubled daily, nor is thy face darkened,
42. [.] thou lookest into the night, thou makest to glow [. . . .]
43. In regions unknown and distant, and places (?) without number,
44. O Šamaš, thou art distressed when thy light fails, and the
night [.]
45. Among all the Igigi there is not one who gives rest besides thee,
46. Nor among the gods of all the regions one who excels like thee.
47. At thy rising the gods of the countries assemble,
48. Thy terrible brilliancy overwhelms the land.
49. As for those that speak with the tongue in all countries,
50. Thou knowest their plans, their walk thou observest.
51. [.] thee, mankind, all of them,
52. [O Šamaš,] upon thy light they think in harmony.
53. [In] the divining cup^{34a} of the seer, at the preparation of the
cedar,
54. [.] of the magician, the interpreter of
dreams,
55. [.] of the preparations bow down before
thee,
56. [In thy pres]ence the evil and the just bow down.

COLUMN II.

1. [.] into the deep without thee,
2. [.] and the wicked, thou bringest to light their
judgment.
3. [.],
4. [(Cf. transliteration)]
5. Thou makest the evil-doer to quake who does not]
6. Thou (?) , who wrests(?) judgments]
7. By the righteous judgment, O Šamaš, which thou proclaimest . . .]
8. Excellent is thy renown, unchangeable (?)]
9. Thou standest by the traveler whose way is steep,
10. To the seafarer who fears the flood thou givest [courage(?)].
11. Paths that have not seen a hunter thou [.]
12. [.] (?) rival(?) of Šamaš(?).
13. [.] (?) from the flood thou wilt
save,
14. [.] (?) thou establishest (?) .

^{34a} Cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*. Dritte Lieferung.

15. [...]-bi ma-ḥa-zi tu-kal-lam
 16. [...] i-du-ú tu-kal-lam šal-la
 17. ša i-na bu-kur³⁵ [...]
 18. bit(í)-ka ša ina bít [...]
 19. ša ilu-šu it-ti-šu [...]
 20. i-na a-ma-ri te-[ri(?)- [...]
 21. te-mid a-na amēl [...]
 22. ta-par-ra-as ar-[...]
 23. tu-ub-bal [...]
 24. i-na māt la taiarti [...]
 25. 11at Ištārāte³⁶ šab-sa-[a-te [...]
 26. ši-ra-ta ma ul si(?)- [...]
 27. 11 Šamaš i-na šú-uš-kal-li-[ka [...]
 28. i-na³⁶ giš-par-ri-ka la-[...]
 29. šá³⁷ a-na ma-mi-ti [...]
 30. a-na la a-dir ša-[...]
 31. tar-ša-at še-it-ka rap-[...]
 32. ša a-na al-ti tap-pi-šu iš-šú-[...]
 33. i-na ū-um la ši-ma-ti³⁸ ū-ša-[...]
 34. kun-na-aš-šu³⁹ kip-pu zi-ru-ú [...]
 35. iš-šir-šu 1⁴⁰ kakku-ka ma mu-še-zi-bu ul [...]
 36. ina di-ni-šú⁴⁰ ul i-za-az-za abi[-šú(?)]
 37. ina pī da-a⁴¹-a-ni ul ip-pa-lu šú-nu aḥē⁴²-šu
 38. ina ḥu-ḥa-ri ša ʾeri-e⁴² sa-ḥi-ip ul i-di
 39. ša ka-ḡir an-zil-li ḡar-na-šu tu-bal-la
 40. e-piš šid-di ka-pi-du e-ni ḡaḡ-ḡar-šú
 41. da-a-a-na zal-pa mi-si-ra tu-kal-lam
 42. ma-ḡir da-ʾ-ti la muš-te-še-ru tu-ša-az-bal ar-na
 43. la ma-ḡir da-ʾ-ti ḡa-bi-tú a-bu-ti en-še
 44. ḡa-a-bi ʾeli 11 Šamaš balāḡa ut-tar
 45. da-a-a-an^{42a} muš-ta-lum ša di-in me-ša-ri i-di-nu
 46. ū-gam-mar ʾekalla šú-bat rubē⁴³ mu-šab-šu
 47. na-din kas-pa⁴³ a-na šid-di ḡab-bi-lu mi-na-a ut-tar
 48. uš-ta-kaz-za-ab⁴⁴ a-na ni-me-li ma ū-ḡal-laḡ kīsa
 49. na-din kas-pa a-na šid-di rūḡūti⁴⁴ mu-tir I šīḡla
 a-na še-[lal-ti(?)]
 50. ḡa-a-bi ʾeli 11 Šamaš balāḡa ut-tar
 51. ḡa-bit 1⁴⁵ zi-b[a-ni-ti [...]-lul-ti
 52. muš-te-nu-ú aban ME.SU.⁴⁵ [...]-šap-pal
 53. uš-ta-kaz-za-ab a-na ni-me-li-im-ma ū-[...]
 54. ša ki-ni ḡa-bit 1⁴⁵ zi-ba-ni-ti ma-ʾ-da [...]
 55. mim-ma šum-šu ma-ʾ-di [...⁴⁶] ad-ki ša-aš-šu [...]
 56. ḡa-bit 1⁴⁵ BAR e-piš ši-[...]

³⁵ Not ḡur, as Br.³⁶ K. 3474, ina.³⁷ K. 3474, ša.³⁸ K. 9356, ši-ma-ku.³⁹ K. 3474, šú.⁴⁰ K. 3474, šu.⁴¹ K. 3474, DI.TAR.⁴² K. 3474, e-ri-e.^{42a} K. 3474, na.⁴³ K. 3474, kaspa.⁴⁴ K. 3474, zab.⁴⁵ 83-1-18, 472, ...] ? an
ki-i-si ga (?) ?[...].⁴⁶ 83-1-18, 472, has end of
sign like e. Perhaps two
signs are missing.

15. [.] thou makest the city to see,
16. [.] (?) thou makest the captive to see.
17. Who among the first-born of [.]
18. As for thy house, which in the house [.]
19. He whose god is with him [.]
20. In the observation of [.]
21. Thou standest by the [.]
22. Thou decidest [.]
23. Thou bringest [.]
24. In the land of No-Return [.]
25. The angry goddesses [.]
26. Lofty (?) [.]
27. O Šamaš, with [thy] drag-net [.]
28. With thy net [.]
29. Who against the oath [.]
30. To him who fears not [.]
31. Thy broad snare is spread over [.]
32. As for him who to his neighbor's wife [.]
33. On an unpropitious day [.]
34. [(Cf. transliteration)]
35. Thy weapon diminishes(?) him, there is no deliverer,
36. His father(?) does not stand up for his cause.
37. At the command of the judge they answer not—they are his
brothers;
38. With a trap of bronze an overthrower he does not know.
39. As for him who gives protection to wickedness, his horn thou wilt
destroy,
40. Even the fixer of boundaries, who schemes to oppress his land.
41. The wicked judge thou makest to behold bondage,
42. Him who receives a bribe, who does not guide aright, thou makest
to bear sin.
43. He who receives not a bribe, who has regard for the weak,
44. Shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life.
45. The judge, the arbiter, who gives righteous judgment,
46. Shall complete a palace, a princely abode, for his dwelling-place.
47. He who gives money for a boundary, the worthless fellow, what does
he profit?
48. He brings about deception for gain, and changes weights.
49. He who gives money for distant boundaries and gains in return one
shekel for three (?),
50. He shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life.
51. He who handles(?) the scales [.],
52. He who alters the weights [.],
53. He brings about deception for gain and [.];
54. But he who handles the scales honestly, much [.]
55. Whatever his name, much [.] ? [.]
56. He who handles the measure(?), who does [.]

COLUMN III.

1. [.] i-na bi-ri-i⁴⁷ mu-šad-din at-ra
2. [. a]r⁴⁸-rat nišē^{pl} i-kaš-šad-su
3. [.]-ni-šu [. .]-ša-al i-raš-ši⁴⁹ bil-ta
4. [.] ul i-be-el apal⁵⁰-šu
5. a-na [.] ul ir-ru-bu šú-nu aḥē^{pl}-šu
6. [.] na-din še-im i-na [. .]-ṣab⁵¹ ú-šat-tar dum-ḵu
7. [ṭa-a-b]i eli ¹¹Šamaš ba-la-ṭa ut-tar
8. ú-[rap]-pa-aš kim-ta meš-ra-a i-ra-aš-ši
9. ki-ma mē^{pl} naḵ-bi da-ri-i zir da-[. . .]
10. a-na e-piš ú-sa-at dum-ki la mu-du-ú [.]
11. muš-tin-nu-ú šap-la-a-ti ina maš-ṭa-ri ša-[.]
12. šú-ut lum-nu i-pu-šu zir-šu-nu ul [.]
13. šú-ut ul-la pi-i-šu-nu ša-kin ina maḥ-ri-ka
14. [. . .]-šaḥ-maṭ ṣi-it pi-i⁵²-šu-nu ta-pa-aš-šar at-ta
15. ta-šim-me te⁵³-bir-ši-na-ti ša rug-gu-gu tu-mas-si⁵⁴
di-in-šu
16. ma-na-ma ma-am-ma⁵⁵ pu-uḵ-ḵu-du ḵa-tuk-ka
17. tuš-te-eš-šir⁵⁶ te-rit-ši-na ša šuḵ-ṣu-ra⁵⁷ ta-paṭ-ṭar
18. ta-šim-me ¹¹Šamaš su-up-pa-a⁵⁸ su-la-a ù ka-ra-bi
19. šú-kin-na kit-mu-su lit-ḥu-šú⁵⁹ ù⁶⁰ la-ban ap-pi
20. a-na ḥar-ri pi-i-šu⁶¹ dun-na-mu-ú i-ša-as-si-ka
21. ú-la-lu en-šu ḥu-ub-bu-lu muš-ki-nu
22. um-mi šal-la maš-ṭa-ra⁶² gi-na-a i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
23. ša ru-ḵat kim-ta-šu ni-su-ú alu⁶³-ú-šu
24. [ina(?)] šú-ru-bat ṣēri ri-'ú⁶⁴ i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
25. [.]-par⁶⁵-ri ina te-še-e na-ḵi-du ina amēl nakri
26. [¹¹Šam]aš i-maḥ-ḥar-ka a-lak-tu i-ti-ḵu pu-luḥ-ti
27. [.]-ḥi al-la-ka amēl samallū⁶⁶ na-aš kiši
28. [¹¹Šamaš(?)] i-maḥ-ḥar-ka bā'ir ka-tim-ti
29. ṣa-a-a-du⁶⁷ ma-ḥi-ṣu mu-tir-ru bāli
30. ina bu-un zir-ri amēl mūdu i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
31. mut-ṭaḥ-li-lu šar-ra-ḵu mu-ṣal-lu-ú ša ¹¹Šam-ši
32. [ina] su-li-e ṣēri mut-tag-gi-šu i-maḥ-ḥar-ka
33. mi-i-tum⁶⁸ har-bi-du e-kim-mu ḥal-ḵu
34. ¹¹Šamaš im-ḥu-ru-ka [.]
35. ul tak-li šú-ut im-ḥu-[ru]
36. a-na šar-[.]-a-ti ¹¹Šamaš [.]
37. ša at(?)-[.] ¹¹Šamaš uz-[.]

⁴⁷ 83-1-18, 472, e.
⁴⁸ 83-1-18, 472, ár.
⁴⁹ 83-1-18, 472, i-ra-aš-ši
 belta.
⁵⁰ 83-1-18, 472, a-pal-šú.
⁵¹ Possibly pi; 83-1-18, 472,
 pa-an.
⁵² 83-1-18, 472, pi-šu-nu.
⁵³ 83-1-18, 472, ta.
⁵⁴ 83-1-18, 472, tu-maš-ša
 di-en-ši-[na].

⁵⁵ 83-1-18, 472 inserts u be-
 fore ma-am-ma.
⁵⁶ 83-1-18, 472, -šir te-ri-
 te-ši-na.
⁵⁷ 83-1-18, 472, ru.
⁵⁸ 83-1-18, 472, su-up-pu-ú
 su-ul-lu-ú ka-ra-bu.
⁵⁹ 83-1-18, 472, šá.
⁶⁰ 83-1-18, 472, om.
⁶¹ 83-1-18, 472, šú.

⁶² 83-1-18, 472, ri.
⁶³ 83-1-18, 472, a-lu-šu.
⁶⁴ 83-1-18, 472, ù.
⁶⁵ Br. wrongly [tu]-uš-
 šur-šu.
⁶⁶ ŠAKAN-LAL.
⁶⁷ K. 3474, da(?). The first
 sign is probably ṣa, and
 not a.
⁶⁸ K. 3474, amēl BAD.

COLUMN III.

1. [.] in (?) who levies excessively,
2. [.] the curse of men will reach him.
3. [.] he will be subject (?) to tribute,
4. [.] he will not have control over his son ;
5. Into a [.] his brothers will not enter,
6. [.] who plants grain in [.] will bring about great good.
7. He shall be well-pleasing to Šamaš, he shall prolong his life,
8. He shall increase his family, wealth shall he possess.
9. Like the waters of a perennial spring (his) seed [.],
10. In rendering gracious help he knows not [.].
11. He who searches into the things below (?) [.],
12. As for those who do evil, their seed shall not [.].
13. As for the boasting of their mouths, made in thy presence,
14. Thou shalt cause it to burn, that which issues from their mouths thou wilt interpret.
15. Thou hearest their transgressions, as for him who has done evil thou forgettest his judgment,
16. Everyone, whosoever it may be, is subject to thy hand.
17. Thou guidest their omens, those that are bound thou loosest,
18. Thou hearest, O Šamaš, supplication, petition, and prayer,
19. Homage, kneeling, whispering, and prostration ;
20. From the depth of his mouth the weak one cries out to thee.
21. The frail, the feeble, the wronged, the humble,
22. The woman in bondage (?) without ceasing prays to thee.
23. He whose kin are distant, whose city is far away,
24. [In] the shower of the field the shepherd prays to thee.
25. [. . .] (?) in disaster, the shepherd among enemies,
26. O Šamaš, he who goes his way in fear, prays to thee.
27. [.] the traveler, the tradesman, he who carries the weights,
28. [O Šamaš(?)], the hunter with the net prays to thee.
29. The hunter(?), the cattle-man, the tender of herds,
30. In the (?) the wise man prays to thee.
31. The robber, the thief, is an enemy of Šamaš ;
32. He who is overpowered [in] the road by the field prays to thee.
33. The dead man, the (?) , the robber, the destroyer,
34. O Šamaš, they have prayed to thee [.].
35. Thou dost not refuse those who have prayed to [thee],
36. To [.] O Šamaš, [.].
37. [.] O Šamaš, [.]

38. [.....]ka iṣ [.....] kit(?) [.....]
 39. [.....] te-rit⁶⁹-ši-na ina ni(?)-[...]-i aš-ba-[...]
 40. a-na šārē irba⁷⁰ ar-kāt-si-na ta-par-ra-as
 41. kal si-ḫi-ip da-ād-me uz-ni-ši-na tuš-pat-ti
 42. ma-la kap-pa ni-ṭi-il inī [...] ul im-ṣu-ú ša-ma-mu
 43. ma-la ma-kal-ti ba-ru-ú-ti ul im-ṣa-a gi-mir-ši-na
 mātāte^{pl}.
 44. i-na ūm niš-še ri-ša-ta il-la-ta ù ḫi-da-a-ti
 45. tak-kal ta-šat-ti el-la ku-ru-un-ši-na ši-kar si-bi-'-i
 ka-a-ri
 46. i-naḫ-ḫa-nik-ka ši-kar sa-bi' ta-maḫ-ḫar
 47. ša-la-mu (lim)-na-a-ti⁷¹ [...]nu a-gu-ú⁷² tu-še-zib
 at-ta
 48. el-lu-ú-tum⁷³ ib-bu-ú-ti sir-ki-ši-na tam-taḫ-ḫar
 49. ta-šat-ti mi-zi-'-ši-na kurun⁷⁴-na
 50. ṣu-um-mi-rat ik-pu-du tu-šak-šad at-ta
 51. šú-ut ik-kan⁷⁵-sa el-lit-si-na ta-paṭ-ṭar
 52. šú-ut ik-tar-ra-ba ik-ri-bi-ši-na tam-taḫ⁷⁶-ḫar
 53. ši-na ma pal-ḫa-ka uš-tam-ma-ra zik-ri⁷⁷-ka
 54. tar-ba-ti-ka i-dal-lal a-na da-r[i-iš(?)]
 55. šaḫ-la-a-ti ša li-ša-na da-bi-bu ṣa-[.....]
 56. ša kīma irpāti^{pl} la i-ša-a pa-na u [.....]

COLUMN IV.

1. šú-ut i-ba' irṣi-tim⁷⁸ ra-pa-aš-ti
 2. šú-ut ú-kab-bi-su šadē^{pl.79} e-lu-ú-ti
 3. ¹¹Luḫ-mu šú-[...]-ba ša ma-lu-ú pu-luḫ-ta
 4. e-ri-ib tām̄tim ša apsi i-ba-'-ú
 5. 'mi-ḫir-ti nāri ša ir-te-du-ú ¹¹Šamaš ina maḫ-ri-ka
 6. a-a-ú-tu ḫur-sa-a-nu ša la lit-bu-šú ša-ru-ru-ka
 7. a-a-ta kib-ra-a-tum ša la iš-taḫ-ḫa-nu na-mir-ta urri-ka
 8. muš-par-du-ú e-ṭu-tum muš-na-mir uk-li
 9. pi-tu-ú ik-li-ti muš-na-mir irṣi-tim rapaš-tim
 10. mu-šaḫ-lu-ú ū-mu mu-še-rid an-kul-lu ana irṣi-tim
 ḫab-lu ū-me
 11. mu-šaḫ-miṭ ki-ma nab-li irṣi-tim ra-pa-aš-tum
 12. [mu]-kar-ru-ú ū-me mu-ur-ri-ku mûšē^{pl.80}
 13. [.....] ku-ṣu ḫal-pa-a šú-ri-pa⁸¹ šal-gi
 14. [.....]-gal ¹²sikkur⁸² šami-e muš-pal⁸³-ku-ú⁸⁴
 da-lat⁸⁵ da-ād-me

⁶⁹ Nottoberead lak, as Br.⁷⁰ Br. wrongly IM.DU.
BA, masaltu.⁷¹ K. 3650, lim-na-ti.⁷² K. 3650, u.⁷³ K. 3650, ellūti^{pl} ib-
bu-ti si-ir-ki-šu-nu read
tam-ta-[ḫar].⁷⁴ K. 3650, ku-ru-un-nu.⁷⁵ K. 3650, kam.⁷⁶ K. 3650, ta.⁷⁷ K. 3650, si-kir-ka.⁷⁸ K. 3650, ir-ṣi-ti rapaš-

[ti].

⁷⁹ K. 3650, šadi^{pl}-e el-
lu-[ti].⁸⁰ K. 3474, mu-[še].⁸¹ K. 3474, pu.⁸² K. 3474, sik-kur.⁸³ Br. wrongly ti.⁸⁴ K. 3474, u.⁸⁵ Br. wrongly reads as a
dividing sign.

38. Thy [.].
39. [.] their omens in [.] they sat(?) [.],
40. To the four winds thou wilt scatter their hinder parts.
41. As for all who overthrow human habitations, thou wilt open their ears,
42. [(Cf. transliteration)] they shall not reach the heavens.
43. Though the communications of the seers be many, they shall not reach any of the countries.
44. In a day of making(?) merriment, joy and rejoicings,
45. Thou wilt eat, and drink their sparkling wine—a draught of sesame(?) wine from the cask
46. They will pour out for thee, a draught of sesame wine thou wilt accept;
47. [(Cf. transliteration)] thou savest,
48. Their sparkling and bright drink-offerings thou wilt accept;
49. Thou wilt drink their light wine and their wine,
50. The plans which they have in mind thou wilt prosper.
51. As for those who are bowed down thou wilt loose their bands;
52. As for those who do homage thou wilt receive their prayer.
53. Thy renown shall preserve those who fear thee,
54. He shall worship thy greatness forever(?).
55. The destructive things which he plans with the tongue [.],
56. Which like clouds have no face nor [.].

COLUMN IV.

1. As for him who comes to the broad earth,
2. Who treads the lofty mountains,
3. The god Luḫmu [.], he who is full of terror,
4. Who enters the sea, who penetrates the depths,
5. Who travels along the river, O Šamaš, in thy presence.
6. What mountains have not been clothed with thy radiance?
7. What regions have not sparkled with the brilliancy of thy light?
8. Thou who makest the darkness to shine, who makest bright the deep darkness,
9. Who uncoverest the gloom, who makest the broad earth bright,
10. Who makest the daylight, who bringest down the (?) to the earth in the midst of day,
11. Who makest the broad earth quiver like a sea of flame,
12. Who shortenest the days, who lengthenest the nights,
13. [.] cold, frost, sleet, snow,
14. [.] the bolt of the heavens, who openest wide the doors of the inhabited earth.

15. [.....] i⁸⁶ uppu⁸⁶ i⁸⁷ sikkatu i⁸⁸ namzaku i⁸⁹ aštartu
 16. [.....] la ba-ne⁸⁷ pa-ni ša-ri-ku⁸⁸ ba-lá^{89a}-ti
 17. [.....] šal-la ina te-še-e ḳabal⁸⁹ mu-ú-ti
 18. [.....] ṭe-me mit-lu-ku ši-tul⁹⁰-ti⁹¹ mil-[ku]
 19. [.....]-pa-ri še-ri-e-ti ana⁹² nišē^{pl} rap[šāti^{pl}]
 20. [.....] ku-us-si-i i⁸⁹ buraši-e⁹³ [.....]
 21. [.....]-na e-mu-ḳ[a(?)]
 22. [.....] li šar [.....]
 23. [.....] na(?) [.....]
 24. [.....]
 25. [.....] nam-ru šú-bat ta-ši-la-ti-ka
 26. [.....]-pi nap-tan kib-ra-a-ti
 27. [.....]-ku e-nu u ru-bu-u
 28. [.....] bi-lat-su-nu liš-šú-ka
 29. [.....]-ra ina⁹⁴ niḳē ḫi-ḡib mātāte
 30. [.....] parak]ki(?) -ka lit⁹⁵-te-di-iš
 31. [.....] ša la in-nin-nu-u ki-bit pi-šu
 32. [.....]-tum ina bīt maiāli
 33. lik-bi-ka
 34. [.....] ša]mi-e u irši-tim

⁸⁶ K. 3474, u]p-pi sik-
ka-ta nam-sa-ki aš-
tar-ta.

⁸⁷ Br. wrongly šú-pil.

⁸⁸ This is not gib, as Br.,
but ku

^{89a} K. 3474, la.

⁸⁹ K. 3474, ḳa-bal.

⁹⁰ Br. wrongly li.

⁹¹ K. 3474, ta.

⁹² K. 3474, a-na.

⁹³ K. 3182,]pal(?) e šar(?)[

⁹⁴ K. 3474, [i-n]a ni-ki-e

ḫi-ḡib ma-ta-a-ti.

⁹⁵ K. 3474, li-te-di-iš.

15. [. the key, the lock, the bar, the fastening,
16. [. dark of countenance, the giver of life.
17. [. in dissolution, in the midst of death,
18. [.] who pays heed to counsel, who considers advice.
19. [.] morning, to the numerous peoples,
20. [.] seats of cypress (?) [.]
21. [.]
22. [.]
23. [.]
24. [.]
25. [.] brilliant, the house of thy pleasures,
26. [.] feast of the regions,
27. [.] lord and prince,
28. [.] their tribute may he bring to thee.
29. [.] in sacrifices, the wealth of the lands,
30. [.] thy shrine (?) may he renew.
31. [.] the command of whose mouth cannot become void,
32. [.] in the bed-chamber
33. May he speak to thee.

34. [. heaven and earth.

[The colophon follows.]

A LETTER OF ŠAMAŠ-ŠUM-UKÎN TO HIS BROTHER SARDANAPALUS.

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Among the cuneiform documents bearing upon the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, king of Babylon, whose rebellion, though it ended in his defeat and tragic death, shook the Assyrian empire to its foundations and paved the way for its ultimate downfall, is a brief letter addressed by the Babylonian monarch to his brother Sardanapalus, king of Assyria. The text of this letter, which in the catalogue of the British Museum bears the number 80, 7-19, 17, was first published, in 1886, by Father Strassmaier in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, No. 6702.

Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, in April, 1888, republished the text, accompanied by an attempt at translation and a commentary, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (Vol. X, pp. 312 sq.). His translation, omitting the formula of greeting, is as follows: "Sin-balasu-iḫbi, honored (?) before my brother has backbitten. About it I have heard. May my brother imprison him until I shall come (?). The number of the Šitini to my brother I have sent." Professor Sayce's excellent remarks as to the desirability of paying due regard to the demands of common sense in translating cuneiform texts¹ apply here with full force.

Dr. C. F. Lehmann, who publishes the text in his monograph on Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Pl. XI), merely renders (ii, 58) the first six lines, which contain the usual formula of greeting, and frankly confesses his inability to understand the remainder owing to a number of obscure terms contained in it. He remarks, however, that Mr. S. A. Smith's rendering can hardly be considered satisfactory. Professor Peter Jensen, of Marburg, includes this letter among the texts of Šamaš-šum-ukîn translated by him in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Vol. III, i, pp. 204-7). He renders: "(As for) Sin-balatsu-iḫbi, the ḥannaku belonging to my brother, I have heard the charge against him. Let my

¹ *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, p. 175.

brother have patience until I decide (?) how (the matter stands) and announce the preservation of our life (our welfare) to my brother."² A footnote contains the explanation that the letter probably refers to an attempt at assassination, or at least to some seditious procedure, on the part of a certain Sin-balatsu-iqbi, directed against Sardanapalus and Šamaš-šum-ukin, the punishment of which has been committed by the Assyrian monarch to his brother. Professor Jensen is doubtful as to the meaning of several words, and it is evident that he offers merely a tentative rendering.

The text has since been published in Professor Robert F. Harper's *Corpus Epistolarum* (No. 426), and it now seems possible to overcome the difficulties it presents by the aid of parallel passages to be found in Professor Harper's valuable work.

I would offer the following translation :

To the king my brother!
 Letter of Šamaš-šum-ukin!
 A hearty greeting to my brother!
 May Bel, Belit, Nebo, Tašmet, and Nanā bless my brother!
 Sin-balatsu-iqbi is here. I understand that a report concerning him will reach my brother. Let my brother wait until I make an investigation. I shall send my brother full particulars.

TRANSLITERATION.

Ana šarri aḫija!
 Duppu Šamaš-šum-ukin!
 Bel, Belit, Nabū, Tašmetu u
 Nana ana aḫija likrubū!
 Sin-balatsu-iqbi ḥannaka. Ina pān
 aḫija dibbi ibāšī ina muḫḫišu. Assemt.
 Aḫū'a liqqā adū aḫāraḡāni. Mīnu
 ša šitni ana aḫija ašaparāni.

The letter must, of course, be referred to the period before the great revolt, when the royal brothers were on terms of at least external amity, and the situation would seem to be as follows :

Sin-balatsu-iqbi was apparently regarded by the Assyrian office of secret intelligence as a suspicious character, and Šamaš-šum-ukin learns in some way that a report, probably reflecting on

² "Den Sin-balatsu-iqbi, den ḥannaku, der meinem Bruder gehörig—die Anklage, die gegen ihn vorliegt, habe ich gehört. Mein Bruder möge sich gedulden, bis dass ich entscheiden(?) , wie (es damit ist) und unseres Lebens Erhaltung (Wohlergehen) (?) meinem Bruder melden werde."

his loyalty, was about to be sent to Nineveh. The king of Babylon, who may have had excellent reasons for desiring to protect the accused and to avoid an investigation, endeavors to forestall such action by undertaking to examine into the affair himself.

Who this Sin-balāṣu-iqbī was is not altogether clear, but sufficient material is extant upon which to base a very probable conjecture with regard to him.

According to Bezold's *Catalogue* (p. 1838) the tablet 82, 5-22, 131 contains part of a letter to the king concerning public affairs in the city of Erech, and mentions, among others, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nabū-zer-iddina, Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, Kudurru, and Bel-ibnī, son of Nabū-kudurri-uṣur. The gulf district (mât Tāmti^m) is also mentioned. Kudurru was doubtless the governor of Erech to whom Sin-tabnī-uṣur, governor of Ur, applies for reinforcements at the time of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's rebellion (see my *Epistolary Literature*, Part I, pp. 135, 148). This Kudurru had a son named Nabū-zer-iddina³ (K. 5457, obv. 14; Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, p. 55). Bel-ibnī may have been the well-known general of Sardanapalus, who was governor of the gulf district about this time.

In another letter (83, 1-18, 21; Bezold's *Catalogue*, p. 1856), addressed to the king by Nabū-bel-šumâte, mention is made of Na'id-Marduk, Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, and Natānu, king of the Uddā or Tamdā. It is possible that the writer of this letter, Nabū-bel-šumâte, may be the famous Chaldean adversary of Sardanapalus, whose uncle, Na'id-Marduk, was made king of the gulf district by Esarhaddon in 680 B. C. Yet another letter (K. 724 = Harper's *Letters*, No. 445) reads as follows: "Nabū and Marduk bless my lord the prince! Nabu-naṣir the chamberlain (?) reports that Sin-balāṣu-iqbī, son of Ningal-iddina, has sent by the charioteer one mina of gold to Sala . . . the prefect of the prince's . . . what is the pleasure of my lord the king?" Now, Ningal-iddina was the name of the loyal governor of Ur who was besieged by Nabū-zer-līšir in the first year of Esarhaddon, 680 B. C. He was undoubtedly the father of Sin-tabnī-uṣur, who probably succeeded him, and, at any rate, was appointed governor of Ur in the month of Ab, 651 B. C. (See my *Epistolary Literature*, Part I, p. 149).⁴ If, now, we can identify

³ He had another son named Nabū-šum-ukīn (Harper's *Letters*, No. 469, rev. 12).

⁴ Sin-tabnī-uṣur mentions his father Ningal-iddina in a letter (K. 1621 b, l. 11) published in Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, Vol. II, p. 19.

the Sin-balāṣṣu-iqbī of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's letter as the son of Ningal-iddina and the brother of Sin-tabnī-uṣur, the situation becomes somewhat clearer. Sin and Ningal were the special local deities of Ur, and such a group of family names would tend to show a connection with the old aristocracy of the city. As a man of high rank, belonging to a noble family of southern Babylonia, the son and the brother, respectively, of two governors of Ur, Sin-balāṣṣu-iqbī would naturally possess considerable influence and would be in a position to render good service to the cause of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. As a matter of fact, Kudurru, governor of Erech, in a letter to King Sardanapalus states that he has received a message from Sin-tabnī-uṣur to the effect that an emissary of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, engaged in disseminating sedition through the country, has approached him with the view of engaging him in the treasonable design; that a portion of the district under his authority has already thrown off its allegiance; and that, unless reinforcements be promptly sent, he has the gravest fears for the result. Kudurru, in answer to this urgent appeal, has sent a force to his assistance (*Epistolary Literature*, Part I, pp. 148, 149). At this time, of course, Šamaš-šum-ukīn was in open revolt, but it may well be that the way for such a state of affairs had been prepared long before by men of the stamp of Sin-balāṣṣu-iqbī. Indeed, it is not entirely impossible that the latter, whose sphere of activity would naturally lie in the vicinity of Ur, may have been the very emissary of whom Sin-tabnī-uṣur complains. It must be admitted, however, that this identification of Sin-balāṣṣu-iqbī, while it seems probable enough, cannot be regarded as an established fact.

NOTES.

1. 4. Lehmann (*Šamaššumukīn*, Part II, p. 58) and Jensen (*KB*, Vol. III, p. 206) read "Ašur," but it is quite clear that Belit should be read here; see Brünnow's *List*, No. 7337.

1. 8. ḥannaka is taken by Jensen as an official title. It is, however, an adverb. ḥannaka = annaka "here," just as ḥannū = annū "this." See my thesis, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part II, pp. 56, 63, and the remarks of Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *PSBA.*, Vol. XVII, p. 237.

1. 9. It is possible, of course, to take ibāšī as present instead of future, in which case we should have to understand that the report had already reached Sardanapalus. The general sense, however, would not be affected.

l. 10. *Assem* (written a-si-me) = *aštem*; see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gram.*, § 51, 2.

l. 11. *liqqā*. Harper reads here li-ik-liš, which does not agree with the context. Strassmaier's reading, li-iq-qa, is certainly correct. The form may be explained as standing for *liqūa = *liq'a = liqqā, with assimilation of *q* to *p*. See Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 582, and Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. III, p. 207, n.

l. 12. *aḥaraḡāni*. See my thesis (cited above), Part II, p. 64. To the examples there given may be added the following passage from Harper's *Letters* (No. 342, rev. 2-5): *šū ṭemu anni'u iḫ-tar-ḡa, iqtebānāši, ina muḫḫi šarri beliḡa nissapra* "he has gained this information, has reported to us, and we send (his report) to the king." See also Dr. Zehnpfund's note, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 502.

l. 13. The expression *minu ša šitini* has not hitherto been explained. S. A. Smith renders "the number of the Šitini." Jensen takes *ti*, in this passage, as an ideogram and reads *ša-lim balāṭini*. Meissner, in his *Supplement* (p. 99), registers *šitinu* (*sic!*) as a word "of obscure signification occurring in letters," and cites for it a number of passages. I believe that *šitini* is infin. ifteal of *še'u* "to seek" + the enclitic particle *ni*, and that *minu ša šitini* means "whatever is to be searched out," "all that can be learned," or, more freely rendered, "full particulars." For a similar use of *ša* with the infinitive the following two passages may be cited: *anāku ša du'aki, ḫalqaku* "I am a dead man, I am ruined!" (Harper's *Letters*, No. 166, rev. 3, 4).—*ḫiṭu dannu ina bīt beleḡa aḫteṭi; ša du'aki anāku, la ša bulluṭi anāku; Šarru belī rēmu ana kalbišu issakan. ina kūmi anāku minu ana šarri beliḡa ušallim* "I have sinned grievously against the house of my lords; I am worthy of death, I deserve not to be kept alive; (but) the king has shown mercy on his servant (literally, dog). What return can I make to the king my lord?" (K. 1201, obv. 3-7; Winckler's *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, Vol. II, p. 42). See Meissner's *Supplement*, under *dāku*, p. 30. *Minu ša šitini* seems to have been a standing phrase of frequent occurrence, which explains the fact that *ša* is sometimes omitted. The following examples are to be found in Harper's *Letters*: *minu ša ši-ti-i-ni*, No. 337, rev. 10; 467, rev. 9; *minu ša ši-te-i-[ni]*, No. 198, rev. 7; *minu ša ši-ti-ni*, No. 145, rev. 4; *minu ši-ti-ni*, No. 128, rev. 9, 11. *aki ši-ti-i-ni* (*ibid.*, No. 74, rev. 18) seems to have about the same meaning, though the passage is obscure.

STYLISTIC PARALLELS BETWEEN THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN AND THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

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The style of the Ancient Persian inscriptions often reflects the influence of the older Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform texts. A brief statement of the most striking of these stylistic resemblances may be of interest both for Iranian scholars and for Assyriologists.¹ The parallels between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions which are noted in this study are the more important since the tablets of the Achæmenians show almost no resemblance, either in style or in spirit, to the regal inscriptions of India, of which the oldest are those which were carved by order of Aśoka in the third century B. C.

Among the comparisons suggested in the present paper the most important are those which involve phraseology. But, for the sake of completeness, less significant resemblances, such as exhortations to uprightness, or invocations for heaven's blessing on the king, or descriptions of repairs to temples and of the construction of canals, and the like, have been cited, since, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, even these parallels, however natural they seem to be, exist only between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions, and not between the Old Persian and the Indian tablets. It must not be supposed, however, that the Old Persian texts are a slavish imitation of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. Many parallels may be drawn between the style of the Avesta and the style of the Old Persian monuments. Such comparisons have been made with great thoroughness by Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 121-5, and by Spiegel, *Éran. Alterthumsk.*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 3 (add also the parallelism between Dar. Elv. 1-4 and Ys. xxxvii, 1). They need not be

¹ In the present study reference is made to the editions of the Old Persian inscriptions by Spiegel (Leipzig, 1881) and by Weissbach-Bang (Leipzig, 1893), and the Babylonian version is quoted from the edition of Bezold (Leipzig, 1882). The Assyro-Babylonian texts are cited from the first three volumes of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1889-92).

repeated here. Beside all this there are two remarkable points of similarity between the Old Persian inscriptions and the inscriptions of Aśoka which have been noted by Senart, *Inscript. de Piyadasi*, Vol. II, pp. 296, 297. The resemblance between the Old Persian phrase, unknown to the Assyro-Babylonian texts, *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya* "saith Darius the king," Babylonian *Dāri'amuš šarru ki'am iḫābī*, and the words of Aśoka, *Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āha* "thus saith Priyadarsī, beloved of the gods, the king"—a formula which does not occur in any other Indian inscriptions, so far known—is very striking. Again, the use of the Babylonian *duppu* "tablet" in the inscriptions both of the Achæmenidæ and of Aśoka (Old Persian form *dipi*; cf. New Susian *tuppi*, Aśoka-inscriptions *dipi*, *lipi*, Sanskrit [frequent] *lipi*) is, as Senart says, noteworthy. Perhaps the French scholar is not far wrong in seeing in these two stylistic parallels "une trace de l'influence exercée par la conquête et l'administration perses dans le nord-ouest de l'Inde" (p. 297). It is just possible that with the Old Persian use of *θātiy* "saith" we may compare the phrase which recurs times without number in the Avesta, *āaṣ mraoṣ Ahurō Mazdā* "then spake Ahura Mazda."

The terms applied to the divine beings are very similar both in the Old Persian and in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. As *Ašur* is "the great lord, the king of all the great gods" (*Šalmaneser II.*, *Annal-inscription*, 1, 2), so *Ormazd* is "a great god, the greatest of gods" (*Van* 1, 2; see also *Dar. Pers. d* 1, 2). The Hebrew phrase, "For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords" (*פִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַיְהִי*, *Deut.* 10:17), or "The Lord is greater than all gods" (*גָּדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל-הָאֱלֹהִים*, *Exod.* 18:11; cf. also *Exod.* 15:11; *Pss.* 82:1; 95:3; 97:7, 9, and consult C. de Harlez, "La religion persane" in *Révue de l'instruction publique en Belge*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6), is very similar.

In the Babylonian inscriptions the heavens and the earth are ruled by *Šamaš* and the great gods, and they have made the king great (*Tiglath-Pileser I.*, *Prism-inscription*, col. i, 7, 15-18). Similar to this is the might of *Auramazda*, "the great god, who created this earth, who created yon heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who made Darius king, the one king of many, the one lord of many" (*Dar. Elv.* 1-12; see also *Sz. b* 1-3,

NR. *a* 1-8, Xerx. Pers. *a* 1-6, *da* 1-8, *ca* 1-5, Xerx. Elv. 1-11, Van 1-9, Art. Pers. 1-8; and *cf.* Bh. i, 11, 12 [Old Persian text numbers]).

One of the most common phrases in the Old Persian inscriptions is *vašnā Auramazdāha* (Babylonian *ina ṣilli' ša Ūrimizda*) "by the grace of Ormazd," which occurs forty-eight times. A similar idea is found repeatedly in the Babylonian and Assyrian texts. Šalmaneser II. (Monolith-inscription, col. i, 32, 33; *cf.* 44) conquered Aḫuni with the help (*ina tukulti*) of Ašur and the great gods, and Ašurbanipal (Annal-inscription, col. ii, 127-9) marched against Aḫštri, king of Mannai, at the bidding (*ina kibit*) of Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Rammān, Bel, Nebo, Ištar, NIN-IB, Nergal, and Nusku (*cf.* also Tiglath-Pileser I., Prism-inscription, col. iv, 7; Ašur-nāṣir-abal, Annal-inscription, col. i, 76, 77; col. ii, 25, 26).

Admonitions to right conduct are occasionally found in both sets of inscriptions. We may, for instance, compare with the Nebo-inscription 12 of Rammān-nirāri III., "O descendant, trust thou in Nebo, trust in no other god!" the words of Darius (NR. *a* 56-60): "O man, let not the command of Ormazd seem offensive to thee! leave not the right way! sin(?) not!" (*Cf.* the Babylonian version, l. 35.) It has already been stated that the inscriptions of Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes III. regard Ormazd as the source of royal power. The same idea is found in Sargon (State-inscription, 3, 4), "Ašur, Nabū, and Marduk have given me an incomparable realm," while it was a god (Lugal-Mit-TU?) who made the kingdom of Šamšu-iluna great (inscription of Šamšu-iluna, col. iii, 1).

Both the Ancient Persian and the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions contain prayers for the welfare and safekeeping of the monarch. Thus Nebukadnezar II. (Embankment-inscription, col. iii, 43-7) implores Nin-karrak: "Lengthen my days, establish my years, a gracious life, enjoyment of my strength be in thy mouth, prosper my soul, strengthen my body, guard my —, establish my seed." So, too, Xerxes prays: "May Auramazda with the gods protect me, and my kingdom, and my work" (Xerx. Pers. *da* 17-19; *cf.* Xerx. Pers. *a* 18-20, *b* 27-30, *ca* 12-15). With this supplication of Nebukadnezar we may compare the

² With the Babylonian *ṣillu* "shadow" as a translation of the Old Persian *vašna* "grace" compare the usage of the Hebrew שָׁדָה, *e. g.*, Ps. 91:1, where the Septuagint has σκῆπη.

invocation of Darius: "May Ormazd bring me help with all the gods, and may Ormazd guard this land from an (invading) horde, from drought, from the Lie; may neither an enemy, nor an (invading) horde, nor drought, nor the Lie come to this land. For this boon I implore Ormazd with all the gods;³ this may Ormazd with all the gods grant me" (Dar. Pers. *d* 13-24; cf. NR. *a* 51-5; there is no corresponding inscription in Babylonian; cf. Weissbach, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, Vol. II, p. 64; Justi, *ibid.*, p. 427, Anm. 2). In the days of the later Achæmenians, Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) associated Mithra with Ormazd in his petition (Art. Pers. *a* 32-5).

The epithets assumed by the monarchs are quite similar in both sets of inscriptions. We read repeatedly in the Achæmenian texts of "the great king, the king of kings, king of lands, king of this earth(?)" (Bh. *a* 1-3, Babylonian text), (even) "king of lands of all tongues, king of this earth, great, (even) far hence" (Xerx. Pers. *a* 7, 8, Babylonian text). With the Ancient Persian phrase *xsāyaθiya xsāyaθiyānām*, Babylonian *šar šarrāni*,⁴ one involuntarily compares the phrase מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים of Dan. 2:37. Tiglath-Pileser I. is "the mighty king, the king of hosts, incomparable, the king of the four quarters of the world, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, the king of kings" (Prism-inscription, col. i, 28-30; cf. Ašur-nāšir-abal, Annal-inscription, col. i, 32-6). Asarhaddon furthermore declares himself to be "king of Assyria, overlord of Babylon, king of Šumir and Akkad" (Prism-inscription, A and C, col. i, 1-2), and once again, as Darius (Bh. i, 4-6, *a* 5-8), Artaxerxes Mnemon (Art. Sus. *a* 1-3), and Artaxerxes Ochus (Art. Pers. *a* 12-21) proudly recount their genealogies, so Ašur-nāšir-abal (Statue-inscription, 2, 3) and Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Cylinder-inscription, 18-23) give their lineage in full detail.

Of all the passages in which the style of the Old Persian inscriptions shows Assyro-Babylonian influence, perhaps the most striking is Bh. iv, 69-80. The Old Persian text is to be rendered as follows (the Babylonian version, Bh. 105-9, is too mutilated to repay quotation here):

³ On my translation of the Old Persian phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаibiš* by "with all the gods" rather than by "with the clan gods" see J.A.O.S., Vol. XXI, Part II, pp. 181, 182.

⁴ The phrase "king (of Babylon and) of the lands" *šar (Babilu u) mātāti* in the Babylonian tablets of the time of Cyrus, Cambyse, Bardia, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes is probably borrowed from the Old Persian style.

Saith Darius the king: Thou who hereafter shalt see this tablet which I wrote, or these figures, destroy them not; so long as thou livest, preserve them. Saith Darius the king: If thou shalt see this tablet or these figures, shalt not destroy them, and as long as (thy) house shall exist, shalt preserve them for me, may Ormazd be thy friend, and thy house be great, and mayest thou live long, and what thou shalt do, that may Ormazd magnify for thee. Saith Darius the king: If thou shalt see this tablet or these figures (and) shalt destroy them, and as long as (thy) house shall exist, shalt not preserve them for me, may Ormazd slay thee, and may thy house not exist, and what thou shalt do, that may Ormazd ruin for thee.

In the inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings we find numerous examples of a similar idea whence the Old Persian phraseology was borrowed. On the reverse of the inscription of Rammân-Nirâri I. 9-43 we read thus:

For later times: When this city becomes old and decays, may a later prince repair its injuries, restore my tablet (and) inscription to its place. Then will Ašur hear his prayers. Whoso destroys my inscription and writes his own name (instead), and whoso removes my tablet, destines it to destruction, throws it in the flood, burns it with fire, sinks it in the water, covers it with earth, brings and puts it in —, a place of non-existence, and whoso sends for these accursed deeds(?) another enemy, a base foe, a hostile tongue, or anyone else, and takes away (the tablet), and whoso schemes and does aught, may Ašur, the exalted god who inhabits Îharsagkurkura, Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ištar, the great gods, the Igigi of heaven, the Anunaku of earth, seize him mightily with their hands, angrily curse him with an evil curse, destroy in the land him, his name, seed, his might, and family. May destruction of his land, annihilation of his people and his boundaries(?), proceed from their exalted mouth. May Rammân visit him with fearful rain, send on his land flood, evil wind, sedition, destruction, storm, oppression, famine, need, want(?), visit his land like a flood, make it rubble and fallow, may Rammân behold his land with the evil eye.

Many other passages of similar purport are found in the Assyro-Babylonian texts; *e. g.*, Prism-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., col. viii, 50-88; close of Monolith-inscription of Ašur-našir-abal, 45-103; Prism-inscription of Sanherib, col. vi, 63-73; Annal-inscription of Rassam-cylinder of Ašurbanipal, col. x, 108-20. Some of these Semitic inscriptions have the curse only without the blessing. Such are the second inscription of Pudi-ilu, 5-8; Cylinder-inscription of Sargon, 75-7; Nebukadnezar I., i, col. ii, 26-60; Merodach-Baladan II., col. v, 18-47. In one instance

the blessing only is recorded without the curse (great cylinder from Abū-Habba of Nabonid, col. iii, 43-51).

The sentiment in these imprecatory passages reminds one involuntarily of the famous epitaph on Shakespeare's tomb:

Good frend for Iesus sake forbear,
To digg the dust enclosed heare:
Blest be ye man ye spares thes stones,
And curst be he ye moves my bones.

Both the Assyro-Babylonian and the Achæmenian kings recount their restoration of temples and construction of canals. Darius repaired the temples of the gods^b (*bītāti ša ilāni*, Bh. 25; Old Persian *āyadanā*, Bh. i, 63) which Gaumates the Magian had destroyed, and Tiglath-Pileser I. "built the temple of Ištar of Ašur, my lady, the temple of Martu, the temple of the ancient Bel, the house of the divinity, temples of the gods of my city Aššur which were fallen to ruin, and completed them," etc. (Prism-inscription, col. vi, 86-90; see also col. vii, 60-114; Sargon, State-inscription, 137).

The building of canals is mentioned by Sanherib in the inscription of Bavian, 10-16:

I dug the water to the city Chadabiti, eighteen canals, and conducted it in the Chusur tributary. From the district of the city Kisiri to Nineveh I brought the canal. I let this water flow therein. I called its name Sanherib's Irrigation. I had before brought this body of water from the mountain Tas, a mighty range that lies on the border of Akkad, to my land. That canal, they called its name Canal —. Now, however, at the command of Ašur, the great lord, my lord, I added the water on the right and on the left of the range that bounds it (and ? the water ?) of the cities Mi—, Kuk—, Biturra, which were situated thereupon, in (a canal-bed of ?) stones; [this canal ?] I named Sanherib's Canal(?); above the — water and the former canal-bed which I had diverted, I conducted its course [into the Chusur-Canal ?].

(See also the Canal-inscription of Nabopolassar, col. ii, 4-14.) With this inscription of Sanherib we may compare the tablet of Darius at Suez, in which the Persian king informs us: "I commanded to dig this canal from a river named Pirāva which flows in Egypt to the sea which goes from Persia. This canal was dug" (Sz. c 8-10. No Babylonian version of this inscription exists).

^b Cf. on this Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 128, who notes that Darius uses the curiously similar phrase *בִּירֵאֵי אֱלֹהִים* in his decree recorded in Ezra 6:7, and the present writer, *JAOs.*, Vol. XXI, Part II, p. 180.

We may also note that much of the phraseology of the Old Persian descriptions of rebellions against the great king seems to have been borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian texts. Tiglath-Pileser III. in Slab-inscription, 20, 21, says: "Sardaur(ri), of the land Urarṭu, revolted from me and plotted with Matian (Mati-ilu?). In the land Kišta(n) and the land Ḫalpi, a district of the city(!) Ḫummuh, I destroyed him even to annihilation." In like manner Sargon says: "Ḫanunu, king of Gaza, together with Sib'u, turtan of Egypt, came against me at Rapiḫi to deliver combat and battle. I defeated him" (State-inscription, 25, 26). With such passages we may compare Bh. ii, 43-6: "For a third time the rebels assembled and marched against Dādarši to give battle. There is a city named Uhyāma in Armenia. There they gave battle. Ormazd brought me help. By the grace of Ormazd my army smote that rebellious army mightily." (The corresponding Babylonian text, Bh. 51, 52, is much mutilated here. The Babylonian equivalent of the Old Persian phrase hamaranam čartanaīy "to make battle" is ana epēš(u) taḫaza, Bh. 49, 50, 54, 55.) A further parallelism exists between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian inscriptions in the account of tortures inflicted by the monarch upon captured rebels. Thus Ašur-nāṣir-abal in his Annal-inscription, col. i, 116—col. ii, 1, says: "I took many men alive; I cut off the hands and arms(?) of some, the noses(?) and ears (and arms) of others; I put out the eyes of many men; I erected one pillar of living men, another of heads; on — trees in the district of their city I put up their heads; their boys and girls I burned in the fire." A few lines farther on in the same inscription we read: "I took twenty men alive, hanged them on the wall of his palace" (col. ii, 72). In a similar spirit Darius informs us in Bh. ii, 73-8: "Fravartiš was seized and brought to me; I cut off both his nose, and ears, and tongue, and put out his eyes; he was held bound at my door; all the people saw him; then I crucified him at Ecbatana, and the men who were his foremost followers, I hanged them within the citadel at Ecbatana." (The corresponding Babylonian text, Bh. 60, 61, is too much mutilated to repay quotation here.)

A few minor points of similarity between the style of the Old Persian texts and the inscriptions of the Assyro-Babylonian monarchs may be noted in conclusion. Among these come lists

of kings and of cities. Šamši-Rammān speaks of Ni-na-a A-di-a Ši-ba-ni-ba Im-gur-Bīl Iš-šib-ri Bīt-im-dir-a Ši-mu Ši-ib-ṭī-ni-š Ud-nu-na Kib-šu-na Kur-ba-an Ti-du Na-bu-lu Ka-pa Ašur U-rak-ka Amat Ḫu-zi-ri-na Dūr-balaṭ Da-ri-ga Za-ban Lu-ub-du Arrapḫa Arba'-ilu adi A-mī-di Til-abni Ḫi-in-da-nu, which are "in all twenty-seven cities" (napḫar xxvii maḫazi, col. i, 45-50; cf. Rammān-Nirāri III., Slab-inscription, 2, 5-12). In a similar fashion Darius enumerates Pārsā Uvaḫa Bābiruš Aḫurā Arabāya Mudrāya tyaiy drayahyā Sparda Yaunā Māda Armina Katpatuka Parθava Zarāka Haraiva Uvārazmiya Bāxtriš Suguda Gaḍāra Saka Ōtaguš Harauvatīš Maka, which are "altogether twenty-three lands" (fraharvam dahyāva xxiii, Bh. i, 14-17; the Babylonian rendering here, l. 7, is lost; cf. also Dar. Pers. e 10-18, NR. a 22-30. With this latter passage we may also compare the Prism-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., col. iv, 71-83).

Last of all there exists a parallelism, worth noting, although not altogether unknown before, between Xerx. Pers. a 6-9 and the apocryphal portion of Esther 3:13. The Old Persian text is rendered: "I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of lands of many races, the king of this great earth even afar" (cf. Babylonian version, 6-8). Closely parallel is the passage in the apocryphal Esther: βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ χωρῶν ἀρχουσι καὶ τοπάρχαις ὑποτεταγμένοις τάδε γράφει· πολλῶν ἐπάρχας ἐθνῶν, καὶ πάσης ἐπικρατήσας οἰκουμένης, ἐβουλήθην, κτλ. (cf. also with Old Persian šiyāti "peace," Dar. Pers. e 23, *passim*, the phrase in this same passage, τὴν ποθομένην τοῖς πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις εἰρήνην).⁶

The literary criticism of the Old Persian inscriptions is incomplete unless the influence which the Assyro-Babylonian tablets exercised over their style is taken into account. It is but natural that such an influence should have existed and that it should have been very strong. Yet the Achæmenian kings were not mere imitators. The spirit of the Old Persian texts is far

⁶ The inscription in Egyptian set up by Darius at Tell-el-Masxūṭah shows several stylistic parallels with the Old Persian texts (see the translation of the stele by Golénischeff, *Rec. de trav.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 106, 107). Thus, as "Ra put Darius on his throne," so "Ormazd made Darius king" (Sz. c 1-3). Not only is Darius, according to the stele, "(master) of all the sphere of the solar disc [i. e., the sphere traversed by the solar disc]," as he is "king of this great earth even to afar" (Sz. c 5, 6), but he is also "the great, the prince of princes, . . . the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian," both in the Egyptian and in the Old Persian texts (cf. Sz. c 5-7).

different from that which pervades the royal inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. Darius and his successors were too wise to ignore altogether phraseology which had been hallowed by many centuries of Semitic rule, but they were also too original to follow with absolute imitation the literary diction of another people. What was best for their purposes in their inscriptions the Achæmenian kings accepted ; what was not suitable they laid aside, and with the fine combination of Semitic and of Aryan spirit the Old Persian inscriptions stand forth nobly among the oldest literary records of the Indo-Germanic race.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER'S ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS.¹

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It is now a little more than eight years since Professor Harper issued the first part of his large and comprehensive work on the Assyrian letters which were found in the famous Royal Library at Nineveh and are now preserved among the collections of the British Museum, where they form a valuable and extremely important section of cuneiform literature. The idea of publishing a complete set of epistolary texts was a good one, first because they were of great historical importance, and secondly because the publication of one section of Assyrian literature in a complete form would enable the student to make himself master of a set of grammatical rules and idioms, which could not be studied from the stereotyped narrative of Assyrian annalistic texts. Professor Harper's work is already very well known among Assyriologists and not a few Semitic scholars in general, so we have no need to weary our readers here with any prolonged series of details concerning it. It will be sufficient to say that the present part is the fifth of the series of the valuable texts which he has edited, and that it is in no way inferior in point of general interest to its four predecessors. Professor Harper is to be congratulated, not only on having secured an excellent subject upon which to work, but also on having recognized its true importance and on the careful way in which he has set out to do justice to it. Many will remember the time when students, such as Professor Delitzsch, Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, and others, edited small, well-written letter-texts; and in the early days of scientific Assyriology their fellow-students received their publications with thanks, notwithstanding the fact that they lacked arrangement, classification, and system. Letter-texts have always been favorite objects of study,

¹ ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE KOUTUNJIK COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago. Chicago: *University of Chicago Press*; London: *Lusac & Co.*, 1900. Part V. xvi + 461-581 pp.

but this was due more to the fact that some scores of complete and well-written documents of the class existed than to any desire on the part of those who studied them to provide their readers with matter for work systematically arranged. The letters in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum are several hundreds in number, and when Professor Harper undertook to make their contents known to the world, both by the publication of the original texts and by English translations of them, he set himself no light task. In the course of his work he found a very large number of fragments of letters, which he decided, and we think wisely, to include in his *corpus*, and it needs comparatively little study to find that the contents of such fragments fully justify his decision. Moreover, the information derived from one fragment supplements that found in another, and the identity of the scribe can often be established, even when his name is missing in the fragment. Curious expressions due to individual peculiarities of the writers, as well as unusual words and idioms, are also excellent clues as to the identity of unknown writers, but such minutiae of Assyrian epistolary composition could never have been traced without a comprehensive publication of letters, such as those with which Professor Harper now provides us. The student of these hundreds of texts will greatly appreciate the form which has been given to the edition; the texts are printed in Messrs. Harrison's excellent cuneiform type, and the leaves are printed on one side only. The usefulness of such a plan as this to the true student is indescribable, for it enables him when collating the printed copies with the originals to make notes, lengthy if necessary, on the forms of the characters, which his own readings may require. The use of type is of great assistance, even to the cuneiform expert, and it saves both his time and his eyesight. The reader of these observations will at once see their point if he will take the trouble to compare the text-publications of, let us say, Drs. Peiser and Winckler. We have no hesitation in saying that for ease in reading the original tablets are far to be preferred to their published copies of them.

In the fifth part of Professor Harper's work, now before us, we have the texts of one hundred and three Assyrian and Babylonian letters and memoranda, which brings the number of the documents of this class which he has published up to a total of five hundred and thirty-eight. They supply many interesting

details of the histories narrated in the official compilations of the old Assyrian governments, as well as considerable information as to the daily life of the subjects of the "Great King;" incidentally the texts are of the first importance for the study of Assyrian grammar. One letter (No. 524) is addressed to Sargon (B. C. 722-705); three (Nos. 534, 535, and 536) were written from Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Aššur-bāni-pal's rebel brother; one (No. 518) from the king; and one to the son of Aššur-bāni-pal (No. 469). Thirty-two deal with political, diplomatic, and official matters; ten relate to priestcraft, astrology, and religion; two to the transport of animals; and forty-five to matters of various kinds which we have no space to enumerate. The texts before us not only give us new material, but enable us to set straight certain misunderstandings which might easily arise in the mind of the student from the existing publications. One example of this will be sufficient. From Professor Harper's copy of No. 146 we see that there is no such place as Nagiu(?) or Nagiubirti-Akkad(?), which we find in the fifth volume of Dr. Bezold's *Catalogue* (p. 2132), and that what Dr. Bezold has regarded as a proper name is really only a description of the land Guriania; that the word na-gi-u actually means "district," and that the text gives ^{maṭu} na-gi-u birti Urarṭu "a district between Ararat," etc., and that Akkad has been misread for Urarṭu.²

The letters themselves are for the most part written by high officials, generals, and priests. One written by Ištar-šum-ereš, a royal astronomer, No. 519, gives a detailed explanation of certain astrological omens: "When Mars turned, it entered the midst of Scorpio; be not thou troubled(?) about thy watch (O King); the king on an evil day should not go forth from the gate. This quotation is not from any definite Series of Omens, but is a saying of the common people." Another, wanting the name of the writer (No. 469), was written to the son of Aššur-bāni-pal.

It is especially interesting to see more of the letters of such well-known generals as Bel-ibni and Aššur-riṣua. The latter held a large command during the troubles on the northern border during Sargon's reign, and by examining his letters, and those of his contemporaries and coadjutors, we may glean a good deal of history. Several of the letters dealing with these events were translated by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, in the *Proceedings of the*

² See below, p. 166, note 7.

Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. XVII, pp. 220 *sqq.* The campaign on the northern frontier was of considerable importance, and the texts in Professor Harper's latest volume, as well as some unpublished fragments, throw fresh light on the events which took place.

The Official Records of Sargon's reign state that Ursa, the king of Ararat, stirred up the Mannai and other northern tribes to revolt from Assyria; and the chief of the Mannai slew the legitimate heir to the throne, and set up one Ullusunū in his stead. The Assyrians marched against them, Ursa was defeated, and Ullusunū fled to the mountains, while his strong cities fell into Sargon's hands; the cities of the Andiai, a rebellious tribe, also fell, and the chief of the Zikirtai fled almost without striking a blow. Later on, Urzana of Muṣaṣir, who had trusted to the king of Ararat, was punished in like manner, and Ursa in despair committed suicide. If we compare the letter-texts, the story that they tell does not appear quite to coincide with the official account. The difficulty is to assign them to their proper chronological order; however, they appear to give this result: The northern tribes rose, and, under the king of Ararat, entered the city of Ṭuruṣpa; Ursa then set out for El-izzada in the month Nisan, while he detached a force under ẖaḫḫadanu, his tartan, to Uesi. The approach of his force induced Urzana of Muṣaṣir, who had hitherto been friendly to Assyria, to join the northern coalition; but, while he was sending to negotiate with Ursa, the Kimmerians came into conflict with the army of Ararat and completely defeated it.

Let us take the letters in detail and see how they bear out the above short *précis*. Suspicion of the intrigues on the northern frontier has evidently reached the Assyrian king, for he counsels his officers in those regions to keep strict watch and ward over Ararat. Aššur-riṣua (No. 148) is directed to send a scout³ to the city of Ṭuruṣpa, a city in Van, probably known to the Greeks as Thōspia, on Lake Thospitis. Aššur-ukin (No. 434), having been ordered to be vigilant, and to send to the base any casualties that may fall into his hands, now sends two from Mannai, one of them an officer, that they may be questioned about the news on the frontier. Gabbu-ana-Aššur (No. 123) is also directed to

³ Daili, from dālu; cf. W. A. I., iv, 30*, obv. 16: alā ša kima šelab ali šaḫumeš ina muši idul atta "Thou art the alā which like a pariah dog prowleth furtively by night;" Syr. dāl = *se movit, tremuit*.

watch Ararat, to which end he sends messengers to the frontier outposts under the command of Nabu-mudu, Aššur-rišua, and Aššur-bel-danan. He has at last heard a rumor that the king of Ararat is in ʾTurušpa and will not advance farther at present. Certain news then reaches Sargon that the enemy is in ʾTurušpa, and an Assyrian force operating in that region has been captured. Aššur-rišua (No. 144) reports the capture of an officer and twenty men, and, further, the king of Ararat has entered ʾTurušpa, capturing Uršini, the second tartan.⁴ This appears to have been in the nature of a surprise; for the letter goes on to say that the brother of Uršini has gone off to make inquiries to see whether the Assyrian troops were fully equipped and prepared. With the advance of the king of Ararat the revolt spread like wildfire. ʾHutešupu (No. 215), in answer to Sargon's request for news of Ararat, declares he has heard nothing but treason and insurrection, and the Zikirtai have thrown off their allegiance to his royal master and are in open revolt. Aššur-rišua (No. 381), who is in command of a large garrison probably not far from Mušašir, reports that the Mannai have risen, and that the governors of Mušašir and Karsitu are proceeding to the Mannai borders to report on the movements of the hostile force, whose leader is still in ʾTurušpa, sacrificing for battle. Mušašir is undoubtedly the modern Mushakshir, to the west of Lake Van, while Karsitu is probably Garsit, on the southern edge of that lake.

In the month Nisan the king of Ararat made a further move southward. According to Aššur-rišua (No. 492⁵), in the beginning of the month, Kaḫḫadanu, the second in command of the hostile forces, was dispatched to Uesi, while the king himself went to El-izzada. Another officer reports to Sargon much to the same effect (No. 444), that five of the enemy's commanders have reached Uesi, among whom are Sitinu and Kaḫḫadanu, and

⁴This is probably the reason for the absence of news from the second in command (ʾUršini), for which Aššur-rišua censures that officer (No. 382). It is possible that the fragment K. 683 refers to a check to the Assyrian arms, which perhaps should be inserted here; cf. obv. ll. 22 sqq.: *asapara ana mātu Manai ana mātu Masamua ina mātu Ḫaban am ṣabi p^l ibāšši ultu libbi-šunu ultu mātu Manai naṣuni umma šarru išaparan am ḫubtu nšaḣbit šarru bel-ni uda šummu šitu anaku šummu la epišu anaku uma ša alu Šalmat, etc., i.e., "I sent unto Mannai and Masamu; there are troops in Ḫaban, and some of these brought (word) from Mannai, thus: 'The king (of Ararat) hath sent, "I have made a capture." The king, my lord, knows whether I am careless or lazy; now from the Black (Šalmat) city, etc." Šalmat city was probably on the Šalmat river; see further.*

⁵The tablet is broken at the beginning of l. 5, but I think we should read *šarru* for the first character.

the king of Ararat has left ʾTurušpa for ʾKaniun. Meanwhile the Assyrian army had been preparing to cope with the northern danger, and we find Aššur-rišua (No. 380) reporting that he has concentrated a brigade of three thousand infantry on the borders in readiness to march to Mušašir, and that they are already over the Black (Šalmat) river. In addition to these, there are also the troops of Sunai, the governor of the Ukkai. At the time of the sending of this report the king of Ararat was still in Uesi.

It is interesting to see what was going on among the rebellious tribes of the Zikirtai and Andiai. News reaches the king (No. 515), "in the matter of the news of Ararat;" the messengers of the Andiai and Zikirtai go to the city of Uesi and say, "the king of Assyria is against us."

If we turn to the few letters of Urzana, king of Mušašir, now extant, we find him professing loyalty to the Assyrian cause. In No. 409 he replies, in answer to a request for news of the hostile force, that the governors of Uesi and the Ukkai tribe have come to him in Mušašir to say that the king of Ararat has reached Uesi. Urzana goes on to say that he is aware that he has been told not to give safeguard to the enemy through his land. In an unpublished letter (S. 1056) he prays for the defeat of the foes of the king (of Assyria). A broken letter, perhaps from Sennacherib (S. 96, perhaps part of Rm. 978), confirms the truth of the journey of the governor of Uesi to Mušašir. It is probable that it was about this time that Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, was appointed as commander-in-chief of the northern armies operating against Ursa. A note (No. 448) shows that the troops of Mušašir are stationed in Siḫana of Mas, though whether they are still faithful to Assyria is difficult to say. Then comes the news that the army of Ararat is over the border (K. 1120, unpublished).⁶ A new danger at once threatens Ararat. The army of Ararat comes into conflict with the Kimmerians, and suffers a serious defeat. From all sides reports reach the Assyrian base to this effect: Paḫir(?) - Bel tells some staff officer, who forwards his message (Rm. 554, unpublished), that Urzana (the king of Mušašir) has told him that "the king of Ararat, after he had gone to Gamir, his army was defeated and the governor of Uesi slain." Sennacherib, who is in receipt of all the dispatches of

⁶ Obv. ll. 4 sqq.: ma am e-mu-ki ša mātū Urarṭi ina eli taḫume ital-kani, etc.

the commanders on the frontier, gives a résumé of their reports (No. 197): The Ukkai regiment states that the king of Ararat invaded Kimmeria, but was defeated; Aššur-rišua says that the land is now quiet, the king is now in Ušaun (possibly the modern Wastan, on the southeastern edge of Lake Van), but ẖakḫadanu, the tartan of Ararat, was captured; Nabu-Mudu also says that the Kimmerians defeated the king of Ararat. The letter goes on to say that the people of Mušašir and Ḫubuškia have gone to arrange an alliance with the king of Ararat, and this is probably a reference to Urzana's defection from Assyria. However, it is unlikely that he would knowingly ally himself to a defeated force, and we must suppose that he had not heard of the success of the Kimmerians.

The letter-tablet 79-7-8, 292 (unpublished) gives an account of the slaying of nine hostile commanders, among whom are those operating against the writer, against Ša-Aššur-gubbu, and around Mušašir and Ušaē (*sic*), and mentions Ararat (obv. 2). It goes on to say that "their king took to the mountains alone." In another unpublished fragment (K. 1111) the writer says that one Irnia, an officer of ẖakḫadanu, relates a tale of disaster.

Another notice of the defeat of Ararat by the Kimmerians is to be found on No. 146 from Aššur-rišua, obv. ll. 5 *sqq.*: "The land Guriania, a district⁷ between Ararat and Gamirra, gives tribute to the people of Ararat: when the people of Ararat had gone against Gamirra, and when defeat had been inflicted upon the people of Ararat" Sennacherib makes further mention of the king of Ararat on No. 198, but it is not easy to make connected sense of his report.

The main difficulty in dealing with historical letters of this class is, as has been said before, the uncertainty of the chronological order; and the internal evidence of the letters themselves very often gives no clue. But nothing complete can be done in this direction until the whole of the Kouyunjik letters are published. It is much to be hoped that Professor Harper will finish the great work he has undertaken, and then give us the translations with vocabularies and lists of proper names.

⁷ (5) mātu Gu-ri-a-ni-a mātu na-gi-u (6) bir-te mātu Uraṛṭi bir-te mātu Ga-mir-ra, etc. This is obviously the right way to translate this phrase, and not as Bezold has it, *Catalogue*, Vol. V, p. 2132, col. i (under Nagin): "Nagin (? or Nagibirti-Akkad?). Country?" Birti "between" is used very much in the same way as the Hebrew *bēn*. Since Professor Harper's publication of this tablet I have joined a small fragment to it (K. 12992), which mentions eight thousand (soldiers?), rev. 3.

Many will read with regret the protest which Professor Harper feels compelled to make against the treatment which the documents in the British Museum have received at the hands of certain Assyriologists, whom he deliberately accuses of having "often scratched signs in such a way as to make them read as they thought they should." Such a proceeding is, of course, in itself monstrous, especially as it removes from future workers all possibility of ever discovering the true reading, and we cannot help feeling that it represents an attempt to compel every reader of the tablet to agree with the views of the person who adopted such a disingenuous method of perpetuating his own misreading of the signs. Here we must take leave of a volume in which we have a number of most valuable texts carefully copied and well printed, with the hope that the future parts of the work will appear as fast as the editor's professorial duties will permit.

Contributed Notes.

LEXICAL NOTES.

שמר, Amos 1:11.

The last half of Amos 1:11, from וַיִּשְׂרֹף on, has created some difficulty. Pesh., Vulg., Olshausen, Wellhausen, Driver, Nowack read therefore, instead of וַיִּשְׂרֹף "and his anger *tore* perpetually," וַיִּשְׂרֹף "and he *retained* his anger perpetually;" this would make it parallel with שמרה in the next line. Instead of נ' שמרה they read either שמרה or שמרה לנצח "his wrath he kept (it), i. e., nursed, cherished (it) forever."

But the figure of the anger as tearing, "rending its victims like some wild animal," is not so startling in such a vigorous prophet as Amos; besides, it occurs in Job 16:9. And then, it is not at all necessary to regard the ה in שמרה as suff. fem. referring back to עברתי, and the subject as being Edom. It is quite natural to translate:

"His anger tore perpetually,
while his fury watched forever."

It may be objected—and justly so—that the parallelism between the ever-tearing anger and the watchful wrath, which is always quick to see an opportunity to break loose, is not close enough.

Here the Assyrian comes to our aid. In Assyrian we have a root שמר meaning "to be impetuous, violent, wild, to rage," etc.; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *HWB*. Now, I think it is very probable that we have the same root in Hebrew, so that, instead of supplying אפר in passages (e. g., Jer. 3:5) where the context requires for שמר the meaning "to be angry," we have the root שמר meaning "to be angry, to rage," as in Assyrian. The root is not borrowed from the Assyrian, but is a common Semitic root; but the Assyrian has now pointed it out to us.

So I would translate here, pointing שְׁמֵרָה,

"His anger tore perpetually,
while his fury raged forever."

The powerful pictures are in a wonderfully harmonious parallelism. This suggestion has, so far as I know, never been made before. It explains the two lines much more forcibly than the emendation, which changes the strong verb שרף into the weaker נטר—without explaining how the פ is to be accounted for—and then, to harmonize the second line with this, changes the text again.

אָרָה, Deut. 33:21.

The clause in the second half of the verse **וַיֵּצֵא רֹאשֵׁי עָם** is so difficult that Driver, *ad loc.*, says: "The text can hardly be made to yield a tolerable sense." It is true, if **אָרָה** means here "to come." For it is easily seen that the translation "he came (to ?) the heads of the people" gives no sense in the context where it stands. Besides, the accusative of the person with **אָרָה** is difficult; *cf.* Driver, *ad loc.* No plausible emendation has been offered yet, so far as I know.

All difficulties disappear, if we take for **אָרָה** the meaning which the corresponding Assyrian verb *atû* has, "to see, to look out, to choose." We get a fine parallelism and a very good sense:

"And he looked out a first part for himself,
For there a commander's portion was reserved:
And he chose (looked out) the heads of the people,
He executed the righteousness of Yahweh
And his ordinances with Israel."

No better parallelism than between **וַיֵּצֵא** and **וַיִּירֶא** can be desired; and the sense is as good as can be wished. The strong military tribe Gad receives a portion which is worthy its position as commander. His office as a commander is described in "and he chose the heads of the people," etc.¹

אָשֵׁר, Isa. 1:17.

The versions take **חֲמוּץ** in **אֲשֶׁר חֲמוּץ** as *part. pass.*, "the oppressed." Now, while it is perfectly possible to regard **חֲמוּץ** as *part. act.* (*cf.* **עָשׂוּךְ**, Jer. 22:3, which can be nothing else but active), the whole connection favors the passive meaning. But then **אָשֵׁר** in the meaning "to lead" is difficult. I suggest to compare the Assyrian **אָשֵׁר** "to take care of someone" and to translate with the LXX, *πύρασθε ἀδικούμενον* "take care of (protect) the oppressed" (*cf.* R. V.). It is not altogether necessary to punctuate **חֲמוּץ**, though one may do so.

This derivation of **אָשֵׁר** seems to me to fit here better than the derivation from **אָשֵׁר** pi. "to lead."

One may, of course, derive **אֲשֶׁר** from **אָשֵׁר** pi. "to esteem happy;" *cf.* **אֲשֶׁר** and compare Assyrian **אָשֵׁר** "jemandem Heil widerfahren lassen, jem. begnadigen" (Delitzsch, *HWB.*), and translate "make the oppressed happy." But this does not express, according to my judgment, the shade of meaning required by the context. I do, however, believe that this root and the root meaning "to take care of" are identical. Delitzsch, *HWB.*, derives them also from the same root in Assyrian.

¹ It may be, though it is by no means certain, that the Hebr. **אָרָה** "sign," Aram. **אָרָה**, Syr. **ܐܪܗ**, Assyrian *itû*, is connected with this root **אָרָה** or **אָרָה** "to see." The meaning of **אָרָה**, etc., would point in this direction, but there is no certainty about it.

וְיָ, Isa. 1:7 (and often).

That the sense of "strangers" for זָרִים does not fit in many passages has been seen long ago. The meaning "enemy" is required, and we must compare the Assy. zāru זָר "to hate," zā'iru "one who hates," "enemy." Compare נָכַר "to be a stranger," Assy. "to be an enemy." Also compare נָכַר.

רִגְמָה, Ps. 68:28.

That רִגְמָה here has nothing to do with רָגַם "to stone," and thus a stone heap, therefore a crowd of people (!), is plain. But it is not necessary to change it into רִגְשָׁם in order to get the meaning "humming crowd," as Hupfeld, Cheyne, *et al.* do. For the Assy. rigmu "Geschrei, Ruf, Getöse" (Delitzsch), from the root ragāmu רָגַם "to cry, to call," shows that we have in the corresponding Hebrew word רִגְמָה exactly the meaning which the context requires. Compare רָגַם.

פָּחוּחַ, Isa. 42:22.

I would suggest to compare it with Assy. pihū פָּחוּחַ "verschlossen" (Delitzsch), and to translate "locked up in prisons are they all together." This is favored by the context and parallelism. That פָּחוּחַ = פָּחוּחַ cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 30.

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NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN AMOS.

3:12.

A. V., R. V., Targ., Vulg., LXX connect מִטָּה וּבְדִמְשֶׁק עִישׁ with דִּישְׁבִּים בְּשִׁמְרִין; so also modern commentators (Wellhausen, 1893; Driver, 1897; Nowack, 1897). No satisfactory interpretation can thus be elicited. Wellhausen (p. 75) suspects that "in dem corrupten בְּדִמְשֶׁק selber das nothwendige Analogon zu מִטָּה steckt;" in that case the connection mentioned will presumably have to be given up. The authors of the accentuation, with a fine instinct, certainly connect the last four words of the verse with יִנְצֹלוּ (the זָקָה marks off דִּישְׁבִּים as parenthetical). Read וּבְשִׁוֶּק (cf. Kimḥi; the ו is not "pleonastic," but a misread and therefore repeated ב; similarly the מ is a repeated ש; we have, of course, the Old Hebrew characters in mind). The ב is the ב of accompaniment (Briggs-Brown-Driver, *s. v.*, III, 1b; compare especially Arabic usage). Hence יִנְצֹלוּ means "escape with, save, rescue" (del. in the *Lexicon*, p. 664, b, "be torn out or away;" מִפִּי is incorrectly supplied; rather מִפִּי הָאֵלֶּה). שִׁוֶּק עִישׁ is certainly possible; compare פִּירְעָתָא דְעִרְסָא, Levy, II, p. 415, b; Jastrow, p. 673, a; also רִגְלֵי הַשְׁלָחַי Exodus. 25:26 (observe also in the same

verse **פִּאֲוֹת הַשְּׁלֹחַן**). Translate: "So shall the children of Israel that dwell in Samaria rescue the corner of a couch, and the leg of a bed." The corner of a couch, the leg of a divan—this is all the people of Samaria will have left to them.

מִשֶּׁק Gen. 15:2 and **מִמֶּשֶׁק** Zeph. 2:9, which are compared by Ibn Ġanāḥ, will best be left alone. The former is textually uncertain (Ball, 1896; Holzinger, 1898). The meaning of the latter is no less dubious (see the lexica and commentaries). Grätz' emendation adopted by Nowack is too ingenious to be true. If there be at all a textual error, it does not lie in **מִמֶּשֶׁק**, which is lexically an unknown quantity ("breeding," A. V., perhaps nearer the truth than "possession," R. V.; see the reference to Schwally in Briggs-Brown-Driver, which I am unable to verify), but in **מִלֶּחַ**, for which read **מִלֵּחַ** (or **מִלָּח**, i. e., merely with different vowels; the word occurs Job 30:4, *Ḳidūšīn*, 66a and elsewhere; for the meaning see Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 338), with Peš. (see also Targ., which renders by the same word the parallel **חֲרֹל**).

4:3.

Λαοι LXX presupposes **פְּרָעִים**; cf., e. g., Ezek. 18:10.

4:5.

For **וְקָרְאוּ בַּחוּץ מִחֲמַץ תּוֹדָה** read, in part with LXX, **וְקָרְאוּ בַּחוּץ** **וְקָרְאוּ** or **תּוֹדָה**. Translate: "Call out in the streets, Thanksgiving!" The repetition of **קָרָא** in the part immediately following is no obstacle; compare the repetition of **פָּשַׁע** in vs. 4. Thus we get rid of the leaven which in Lev. 7:13—notice the difficulty of construction—yet remains to be accounted for.

5:6.

יִצְלַח is translated "flame up," "be kindled" in LXX, Peš., Targ. What appears at first sight to be a mere guess (the verb elsewhere means "to prosper, succeed, be fit; alight(?)"; in Aramaic also "to split"; cf. Ibn Ezra *Ḳimḥi*) is now corroborated by Ecclus. 8:10, where **μῆλα** corresponds to Hebr. **אֵל יִצְלַח** (*JQR.*, April, 1900, p. 468; "do not enjoy," in the translation on p. 473, is certainly wrong; **יִצְלַח** has nowhere that meaning; moreover, the Greek translator had in his manuscript the correct reading, **בִּנְחַלַת** with **יָג**). Of course, read **בָּאֵשׁ** (so Nowack). Grätz' emendation **יִשְׁלַח** (cf. 2 Sam. 19:18, where Lucian has **שִׁלַּח** for our **יִצְלַח**!), "nicht eben ansprechend," is certainly now still less plausible.

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Book Notices.

DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE.¹

The present volume is the first of a series which is planned to introduce the student into the various branches of Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The old title, *Assyrische Leseestücke* = *ALS*.², has been retained because of the delay necessary to the preparation of Part III. The title of the series will be *Keilschrift-Chrestomathie*, I, II, III, etc.

There are many changes from *ALS*.², and it is important to note the contents of this volume: Elements of the Grammar, pp. ix-xii. I. Schrifttafel, pp. 1-40. II. Texts, pp. 41-148. A. Assyrian Texts. I. Historical: (1) Prism of Tiglathpileser I., cols. iv. 43-v. 32 and vii. 36-75; (2) Annals of Shalmaneser II., XVIIIth year; (3) Genealogy of Adadnirari III.; (4) Annals of Sargon II., XIth year; (5) The Taylor Cylinder of Senacherib; (6) Cylinder A of Esarhaddon, col. iii. 25-52; (7) Cylinder B of Esarhaddon, col. i. 1-25; (8) Ašurbanipal, Rassam Cylinder, cols. v. 90-vi. 29, and vi. 96-124. II. Other Unilingual Texts: (1) The Three Hunting Inscriptions of Ašurbanipal; (2) Ištar's Descent into Hades, obv. 1-24; (3) Letters (K. 551, 82-5-22, 1896, K. 1896, 83-1-18, 6, K. 504, K. 11, K. 507, 83-1-18, 14, Bu. 89-4-26, 161); (4) Astronomical Reports (four in number); (5) Prayer to Marduk (21 lines); (6) The so-called Sabbath Law. III. The so-called Syllabaries: (1) Syllabary S^a; (2) Syllabary S^b; (3) Selections from other Syllabaries and Vocabularies. IV. Bilingual Texts: (1) Paradigms and Short Sentences; (2) The Names of the Months; (3) Laws; (4) Incantations; (5) Proverbs. B. Babylonian Texts, introduced by a List of Signs. I. Historical Texts: (1) The Babylonian Chronicle; (2) The Ašurbanipal Text, K. 891; (3) The Borsippa Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar. II. Contracts and Letters. III. Glossary.

This fourth edition marks a great advance on the third, which appeared in 1885 when Peiser, Alfred Jeremias, Johann Jeremias, Meissner, Craig, Price, Davis, and myself were students under Delitzsch in Leipzig. The third was at that time as great an improvement on the second. Many students have been introduced to Assyrian through these three editions, and to many instructors and students this fourth edition will prove a boon. This book in its four editions represents the progress in the study

¹ ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE mit grammatischen Tabellen und vollständigem Glossar. Einführung in die assyrische und babylonische Keilschriftliteratur bis hinauf zu Hammurabi für akademischen Gebrauch und Selbstunterricht. Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Vierte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900. xii+193 pp.

of Assyrian during the last twenty-five years. It is scarcely necessary to say that Delitzsch has done well what he intended to do. The *Schrifttafel* has been revised and enlarged. The Syllabaries have been recollated, and they should now be studied in connection with the excellent edition prepared by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson and published in Part XI of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, edited by Dr. Budge. There are more texts than in any of the previous editions, and the glossary is complete.

The glossary is perhaps the most interesting portion of the volume, and we shall note a number of his readings. Abtāti, Neb. Bor., ii. 10 and 13, receives better treatment than in *HWB.* 120a under aptāti. In l. 13 Delitzsch corrects the text after Neb., Winckler-Abel, iii. 29, and instead of kitirri (*HWB.*) and kiliri (*KB.*, III, 2, 54-55) reads kišēri abtāti = *Neubau der Ruinen*. Aḥamu is like ēlamu in formation with suffixed *m*; cf., however, *DG.* 221 and Haupt, *GGN.*, 1883, 101, rem. 5. Azzaru (צצ?), Senn. iii. 29, Delitzsch translates *Verbrecher, Schuldbeladener* and compares ארר(?)¹. In Senn. ii. 72 he accepts Zimmermann's reading anzilli = *Missethat, Frevel*, instead of anḡilli. On account of iii. 21, I am still inclined to accept the latter reading. Again, la nēḥa instead of la a-ne-ḥa seems very doubtful in the light of Flemming's remark, *Dissertation*, p. 25, 11. Is annūrig (rig = rēgu, רִגְוּ) preferable to annūšim?

Delitzsch has accepted S. A. Smith's translation of burku = *Knie* as against his former reading, *Verwahrung*, *BAS.*, II, 21; cf. Meissner, *SAW.*, and my remarks in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179. For lintuḥ √לִנְח cf. Meissner, *SAW.*, p. 61a; Arnolt, *DAL.*, pp. 621, 622. Father Dellatre in *PSBA.*, Vol. XXII, No. 8, pp. 302 sqq., translates this Letter, H. 178, and discusses burki and lintuḥu at some length. His translation of rev. 1-6 is: *Grâce au service Bilit-parçi, puissent les petit-fils du roi mon mattre blanchir sous sa protection (la protection du roi)*.

Diḡtu = damiḡtu in the Letter Literature is of frequent occurrence. A good passage for this usage is Rm. 76, H. 358, a Letter from Ramman-šum-uḡur to the king, obv. 29 to rev. 6: *a-ki ḥa-an-ni-ma *ilāni rabūti ša šame-e irḡi-tim *^{rev.}1ṭa-ab-tu di-iḡ-tu a-na li-ip-li-pi *ša šarri be-ili-ia a-du šame-e irḡi-tim *da-ru-u-ni li-pu-šu a-ki da-ba-bu an-ni-u ṭabu ip-ši-tu an-ni-tu di-iḡ-tu ša šarru be-ili e-pu-šu-u-ni aš-mu-u-ni a-mur-u-ni lib-bi i-ṭi-ba-an-ni.

Hūlu = *Weg, Strasse*; cf. Johnston. Delitzsch in the gloss, 83-1-18, 4, rev. 17, reads ḥu-li instead of ḥu-u-li, H. 406.

For kušāpu, *Bissen, Brocken*(?), cf. Johnston, "On a Passage in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic," *AJSL.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 30-36, where he translates *food, meal*, in connection with the two letter-texts, 82-5-22, 174 (H. 341) and K. 569 (H. 78).

Is Senn. v. 42 to be read adē? Šūzubi ikrubū, *sie huldigten dem Befehl des Š.* = *sie unterstellten sich seinem Oberbefehl*(?)?

Delitzsch is inclined to read $la = \text{𐤋}$ in the Letter, 83-1-18, 6 (H. 421), obv. 11, and in obv. 14 he is inclined to make the la a phonetic complement to $am\acute{e}lu$. I prefer Johnston's treatment of this Letter in *JAOS.*, No. 20, pp. 251, 252, where he discusses $p\acute{a}gu$, *to take away*, and gives a résumé of the contents. Delitzsch makes $pig\acute{u} = \text{𐤏𐤍𐤕}$ (?), *bitten um etwas, oder zurückfordern*(?). The following transliteration of this Letter may be added to Johnston's résumé: ^{Obv.} $^1a-na \acute{s}arri b\acute{e}liia \acute{a}rdi-ka \acute{M}arduk-\acute{s}um-u\acute{c}ur \acute{l}u-u \acute{s}ul-mu a-na \acute{s}arri b\acute{e}liia \acute{N}ab\acute{u} \acute{M}arduk \acute{a}na \acute{s}arri b\acute{e}liia lik-ru-bu. \acute{A}bi-\acute{s}u \acute{s}a \acute{s}arri b\acute{e}liia \acute{X} IM\acute{E}R \acute{S}E-KULina mat \acute{H}a-la\acute{b}-\acute{b}i \acute{i}t-ta-na. XIV \acute{s}an\acute{a}ti \acute{e}k\acute{l}i a-ta-kal. \acute{M}e-me-ni is-si-ia la id-di-bu-ub. \acute{U}-ma-a am\acute{e}l pa\acute{b}\acute{a}tu \acute{l}a mat Ma\acute{s}-\acute{h}al-zi it-tal-ka. \acute{A}m\acute{e}lu la i\acute{h}-te-si \acute{b}it-su im-ta-\acute{s}a- \acute{e}k\acute{l}i ip-tu-ak. \acute{S}arru be-ili u-da \acute{k}i-i mus-ki-nu \acute{a}na-ku-u-ni \acute{m}a-\acute{c}ar-tu \acute{s}a \acute{s}arri b\acute{e}liia \acute{a}na-\acute{c}ar-u-ni \acute{l}ib-bi \acute{e}kalli \acute{l}a a-\acute{s}i-\acute{t}u-u-ni. \acute{U}-ma-a \acute{e}k\acute{l}u pi-ga-ku. \acute{S}arra at-ta-\acute{h}ar. \acute{S}arru be-ili \acute{d}i-e-ni li-pu-u\acute{s} \acute{i}na bu-bu-ti l\acute{a} a-mu-at.$

I am inclined to think that we should read $lidi\acute{s}$ instead of $lidi\acute{s}$; cf. K. 5291 (H. 317), obv. 19 to rev. 1, and my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 143, 144.

In Cyl. B. of Esarhaddon, col. i, l. 2, Delitzsch reads $ni-pi-sa$. I read so in 1885, but I think the sa is very doubtful. In the same text, l. 15, he has accepted my reading $si-si-in-ni$, which was supported by Haupt in *BAS.*, I, 167, †. In l. 9 he still reads ga instead of gir , although Haupt made a special examination of the text with Pinches and confirmed my reading.

For $pa\acute{s}\acute{s}\acute{u}ru$, *Schlüssel, Schale*, I prefer Haupt's treatment, *BAS.*, I, 161, where he translates *Tisch* and compares the Aramaic פִּתּוּרָא. Again, Berry's reading $magarru$ rather than $ma\acute{s}\acute{a}ru$, *Rad*, seems preferable; cf. *AJSL.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 50, 51.

One notes many new readings even in historical texts, and it is safe to say that most of them will meet with favor. In many places Delitzsch has changed his readings since the appearance of his *Handwörterbuch*. From the standpoint of text and lexicon this edition is much superior to the others.

Part I will be welcomed by both instructors and students, and it will be the hope of all that Delitzsch may be spared to complete his *Keilschrift-Chrestomathie*.

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THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMMURABI.¹

These volumes constitute one of the most notable contributions recently made to Assyriological science. From every point of view they

¹ THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMMURABI. Edited by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series.) In three volumes. Vols. I and II, Texts. Vol. III, English Translations, etc. London: Luzac & Co., 1898-1900. lxviii and xviii pp., 244 plates; pp. lxxi, 335.

reveal the work of a scholar who is thoroughly capable in the realm of copying texts, who spares no pains to reach the whole truth, and whose statements on matters of controversy and uncertainty are cautious and sane. Mr. King has not, indeed, evolved a multitude of theories which are intuitions of genius; but he has likewise heralded no startling discoveries which are likely to turn out to be mare's nests.

The documents published in these volumes are as follows: fifty-five letters from Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam; ten inscriptions of Hammurabi; three others referring to him; six letters of Samsu-iluna; thirteen letters of Abēšu; two letters of Ammiditana; five letters of Ammizaduga; two letters of non-royal personages; three royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna, Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga, respectively; the chronicle of the kings of the First Dynasty, and the inscription of Marduk-sapik-zerim. The texts are lithographed from copies beautifully clear and fine. Vols. I and II contain the texts; Vol. III, the transliterations, translations, and notes textual, grammatical, and historical. Vocabularies and indices fill eighty pages of the last volume. Introductions of fifty-six and seventy-one pages, respectively, are given in the first and third volumes. It would be difficult to find a work more complete in all that scientific fulness demands. The typography and all connected therewith are equally satisfactory.

Turning from form and contents to the contributions made in these volumes to our knowledge of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find an abundance of new information of the highest value, which will necessitate the enlargement, if not the rewriting, of the chapters devoted to the times of Hammurabi in our standard histories of Babylonia and Assyria. That great ruler is seen, not as a conquering king as some modern writers have regarded him almost exclusively, but as a great organizer. The letters which he writes to his subordinate in Larsam have little to say about wars and armies. They show him to be an administrator, and throw light on how he laid so well the foundations of the empire which for more than a millennium centered about the city of Babylon.

He had his hand upon all branches of the government. The least as well as the greatest governmental affairs were his concern. He was solicitous both for the proper administration of justice and for the needful supply of grain for the capital; for the rectification of the calendar and for the employment of the public slaves; for the revenues of the temples equally with those of the state treasury; for the care of the cattle upon the crown lands, and for the kind of wood supplied from the royal forests. It was already known from his inscriptions that he was interested in the opening of the public canals and in the rebuilding of the temples. These letters and the other new documents—particularly the chronicle—add many new illustrations of his activity in these directions.

The letters of his successors show how they followed in his footsteps. Everything points to a highly centralized administration and illustrates the great power which was wielded by these kings in all spheres of

public life. At the same time, as King remarks, the documents suggest that the conditions of life are still primitive and pastoral pursuits predominate. Very strikingly is this shown in the five letters of Ammizaduga which consist of summonses to the sheep-shearing at Babylon. It is curious that so little is said about commerce and industry in these royal dispatches. Yet we have evidence in the large number of business documents of the time elsewhere published (by Meissner and others) that the Babylonian activity in these lines was very great. The fact emphasizes the necessity of caution in generalizing from any one collection of materials as to the prevailing tendencies of any period of ancient life.

The possibility of this centralized administration is to be ascribed in large measure to the oversight exercised by the king through his liberal use of dispatches and the antecedent organization of a post system. King notes that letter-writing in the real sense now begins. Traces of a kind of communication between Babylonian cities are found in the time of Sargon of Agadi. But in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon it is reduced to a system—a fact which accounts also for the appearance of private correspondence in this period.

The foreign relations which these letters disclose are not many or complex. The earliest allusion to Assyria yet found occurs in a letter of Hammurabi in a way which suggests that the land formed a part of the king's dominions. The Elamite war is suggested in a couple of interesting dispatches about which some lively discussion has arisen. In one of these documents Father Scheil thought he had discovered the name of Chedorlaomer. It turns out, however, as King quietly and convincingly shows, that Father Scheil misread the cuneiform signs, and that in reality no such name is found there. The letters relate to the capture of some images of Elamite goddesses which Hammurabi orders to be brought to Babylon, and later, as is probable, to be returned to Elam and restored to their shrines. Another interesting historical fact is the appearance of the Kassites in the reign of Samsu-iluna long before their chiefs came to the Babylonian throne. Whether this early appearance was only a sporadic raid or the beginning of their advance into the land remains to be seen.

Like all such documents these letters and inscriptions leave many interesting historical problems of the age still unsolved. How the First Dynasty came to the throne, whether at the head of a body of invading Arabs—as King seems inclined to accept, following Pognon—or as legitimate heirs of preceding rulers—on this no light is given. The chronology, too, is thrown into some confusion by the new chronicle, in which the regnal years do not agree with the kings' lists. King is inclined to place the date of Hammurabi about 2200 B. C., though he acknowledges that dates for the First Dynasty can be given only very approximately.

A number of other interesting and valuable facts might be drawn from these documents illustrative of the life and history of the times.

Equally important contributions are made by Mr. King to the linguistic side of Assyriology in the discussion of words and phrases like the long note on the months (Vol. III, note 3). But we must close, as we began, with hearty commendation and grateful appreciation of the admirable service rendered by the author alike to the historian and philologist, both of whom will carry away from these volumes abundant spoil, while the student who is not a specialist will find in the attractive discussions and the excellent translations of the third volume much instructive information upon a memorable era in the history of the ancient world.

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BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LIFE.¹

This is the best book Professor Sayce has yet written, and displays a caution and a care for facts that are very refreshing. It has a distinct value for the student as giving in an English dress what might take up much time to find in German publications. The work will serve to familiarize a reader of Assyrian or Babylonian contracts with the problems which will meet him in his attempts to understand them. It gives in a clear and lucid form the results which have hitherto been reached. The popular reader or "man in the railway carriage" will miss "the purple patches" of "lower criticism;" but sober thinkers will find much to please them.

The contract "literature," letters, and even some religious texts are laid under contribution for facts, suggestions, and illustrations. For the most part the renderings of the original texts used as authorities seem to seize the essential points of the sentence and give it the desired complexion. Considerable dissent would be expressed by those who have made a special study of the subject, except, of course, where the author simply follows Oppert, Peiser, or Pinches; where these pioneers have failed the author has rarely improved matters. Probably it is outside the plan of the series to give references to quotations, but the reviewer has found it difficult to track some of the texts to their source. The hope raised by the footnote on p. 1, giving the authority for the statement that ninety feet are annually added to the coast line of the Persian Gulf, is crushed by the almost total absence of others. On p. 2 a curious piece of arithmetic meets us: the rate of deposit being taken as 100 feet per annum, a deposit of 130 miles is held to carry back a date to B. C. 6500, instead of about B. C. 4900. The earlier date requires only eighty feet a year.

In many cases very stale theories are retained on slender grounds. That Sennacherib made a very handsome present to Esarhaddon, apparently on taking rank as crown prince and receiving a change of name in honor of the occasion, is no ground for assuming any favoritism.

¹ BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. *Life and Customs.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: J. C. Nimmo; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. x+266 pp. (= "The Semitic Series," edited by J. A. Craig; Vol. VI.)

Winckler's view of the whole relations of Esarhaddon to Sennacherib and the parricide is much better in accord with facts. The elaboration of the account of the educational systems is overdone, and the contrast between the Assyrians and Babylonians is unfair to the former. The proof that most Babylonians could write, and only few Assyrians, relies on the absence of seals or prevalence of nail-marks. But the possession of a seal is no proof of ability to write, nor the use of a nail-mark any argument for illiteracy. What the author needs to show is that witnesses signed their names—that is, wrote them—in Babylonia, but had them written by others in Assyria. The author is much nearer the mark when he says that the preponderance of magical texts, omens, and portents, in the Ninevite collections, is an accident, due to the king's private taste. The so-called library of Ashurbanipal is a very fortuitous collection and cannot be made a basis for generalizations as to the contents of other libraries.

Many curious statements are made in an unguarded way, and no attempt appears in language or type to distinguish between facts and the author's impressions. Thus, when we read that "the value of land was proportionate to that of house property," we expect so definite a statement to be followed by an attempt to fix the proportion, or at least exemplify its existence. In fact, the assertion probably means only that, compared with modern prices, land was as cheap as houses—a rather superfluous observation. So, too, George Smith, as long ago as 1872, disposed of the idea that the fines mentioned in contracts could be used to determine a gold-silver ratio of value. That gold was worth ten times as much as silver may or may not be true; it certainly cannot be deduced from the data given on p. 125. The statement is several times made that in early times payments were made in grain. This was certainly the case in primitive days, but whether we have any trace of that usage is a matter for proof. A payment in *oil* scarcely proves the point, p. 144.

The Babylonians seem to have carried conjuring to a high pitch of excellence, if we are to believe that in the eleventh year of Nabonidus a gentleman called Nebo-edhernapisti was persuaded into believing that he had received one shekel of gold in *five-shekel pieces*. How was it done? This gentleman's name raises a point that is continually irritating the reader. The author has peculiar ideas on the correct method of transliterating Assyrian or Babylonian characters, to which he is welcome. But he persists in half translating his names. Nebo is not a transliteration of the original Nabû, but the rest of the name is only transliterated. Why not give the Hebrew or Arabic transliterations of *napištu* as well? So Merodach Baladan is fair enough, but Merodach-apal-iddina is a hybrid. So Samas sometimes appears as Saul, with no warning that they are the same divine name. The *S* in Samas is rendered by the same letter as the *S* in Sin.

Despite the uncertainty as to the sources from which some quotations come, we may conjecture them in one or two cases. Thus, on p. 175, the amounts of tribute received from Carchemish, Arpad, Megiddo, seem to

be taken from II R. 53, No. 3, and those credited to Nineveh and Aššur from II R. 53, No. 2. But, if so, there are several unwarranted statements also made. Disregarding the assumption that this was in the time of Sennacherib, there is no proof that this tribute was "annual," nor that it was "expended on the maintenance of the fleet," nor that the total revenue was "274 talents." The author further omits to notice that in No. 2 the talents were of wool or woolen stuff, and that in l. 2 there is no mention of Aššur at all.

There are some mistakes in expression that are scarcely likely to mislead the reader, and may be misprints, of which there are plenty, due, doubtless, to printing at a distance. Thus, on p. 157, we read that gold was worth eleven times *more* than silver, when eleven times *as much* is intended. The Babylonians must have early become acquainted with the idea of a fourth dimension, if, as appears on p. 187, they could speak of a property as "twenty acres by thirteen."

As stated in the appendix, p. 265, the scale of measures, so important in a work of this description, is based on Dr. Oppert's researches. This was perhaps unavoidable without a preliminary chapter on the subject; but the results are naturally very quaint and at times disturb the author's complacency. Thus, while a Greek was content with a quart of wheat a day, a Babylonian slave had twice as much, p. 141.

In the chapter on religion Professor Sayce seems more at home with his facts, but the subject more easily lends itself to speculation, and perhaps dogmatic statements are more allowable. But that these ancient worshippers of God thought of him as the author suggests is very questionable, and any suggestion as to the real significance of much that they said is premature. One can only express a general sense of distrust in this book as a guide. When we begin to draw comparisons in detail between Assyrian and other Semitic religions, we are on surer ground. As Professor Sayce says, the general character is very similar. But his further statement that "in details it resembles the religions of the other Semitic nations of western Asia only in so far as they have been influenced by it," will surely be denied. Assyria or Babylonia may have borrowed more than the author admits, or two nations may have developed their ideas on parallel lines.

The book is a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject and is very pleasant to read. But care must be taken not to use any statement without careful examinations of the reasons given, if any, and, further, the original texts should be consulted if they can be found.

It was scarcely to be expected that reasons should be exhibited for the renderings given to Assyrian words, much less ideograms. This makes it very difficult to discuss the translations, as many sources of knowledge must be open to the author which a reviewer would not suspect. One rendering seems a perfect gem in its way and may serve to illustrate the reviewer's perplexities. An official who frequently appears in Assyrian documents bears a title written (amêl) LU-PA-MEŠ. As LU is the ideogram for *šabātu*, and PA for *appatu*,

one expects to read the title *šābit appâte*, which is literally "holder of the reins." This official was properly the "chariot-driver." But Professor Sayce, on p. 80, renders the title "bear-hunter." Is it possible he reads LU as dip and connects *dippa* with *dabû*, "a bear"? One almost feels ashamed to suggest the idea, but suspicion is not easily allayed.

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EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY.¹

This book is the outgrowth of a doctor's dissertation presented to Columbia University in April, 1898. In adding this to the many discussions of this period which have appeared within the last fifteen years, the author has the following points especially in view: (1) "To arrange as far as possible the kings of the different dynasties so far as known to us according to a certain chronological order." (2) To transcribe and translate—where possible—all texts not found in *KB.*, III, 1. "By doing this I thought to help not only the historian, but also beginners in the study of Sumerian inscriptions, of whom I am first and foremost." In this he acknowledges his indebtedness mainly to the works of Jensen, Hilprecht, and Thureau-Dangin; also to Brünnow and Delitzsch. (3) To cite under the discussion of each king all the known, published literature of that ruler. (4) To presume some knowledge of the grammar of the "Sumerian language" by the reader of the volume. (5) "To avoid deductions from the inscriptions as far as possible," for each reader can do this for himself. (6) "To avoid all legendary matter." The preface also contains a note, which would much better have been added at an appropriate place in the book, on the pronunciation of *Šir-pur-la-ki* as found in the short form in Gudea Cyl. B, v, 22, where we find *Šir-pur-ki*. From this single example he says: "Hence this much only can we say: the sign for Pur had in all probability also the value of Pul."

The general plan of the book may be indicated before we examine its parts in detail. The introduction is an elaborate discussion (in 43 pages) of the chronology of this period of history, with an arrangement of the rulers of each city and dynasty. This is followed in succession by a treatment of the "Lord of Kengi" (4 pp.), "Rulers of Shirpurla" (75 pp.), "Kings of Kish and Gishban" (29 pp.), "The First Dynasty of Ur" (3 pp.), "The Patesis between Lummadur and Ur-Ba'u" (1 p.), "Kings of Agade" (21 pp.), "The Kings of Guti and Lulubi" (5 pp.), "The so-called Later Patesis of Shirpurla" (34 pp.), "The Second Dynasty of Ur" (10 pp.), "Kings of Erech" (3 pp.), "Kings of Isin"

¹ EARLY BABYLONIAN HISTORY: down to the End of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur; to which is appended an account of "The E. A. Hoffman Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U. S. A. By Rev. Hugo Radau, A.M., B.D., Ph.D., Mayo Fellow in the General Theological Seminary. New York: Oxford University Press. 1900. xx + 452 pp.

(6 pp.), "The Third Dynasty of Ur" (3 pp.), "The Fourth Dynasty of Ur" (49 pp.), "The Names of the Months" (20 pp.), "Sign, 'God,' before Certain Proper Names" (10 pp.). To these are added 15 pages as an appendix on the E. A. Hoffman collection and indices containing "Proper Names," "List of Gods," "Buildings," "Cities and Lands" (18 pp.).

The discussions of the chapter headings just indicated are accompanied by the transliteration and translation, and, in case of the E. A. Hoffman collection, in many cases of a facsimile of the original text. Altogether we find about 250 different texts, large and small, treated in this volume. It is manifestly impossible to review such a display in the space at our command. It is of larger importance for our knowledge of early Babylonian history to ascertain the use made of all this material by the author. The introduction is the key to the author's method of chronology and classification, so let us turn our attention to this basal chapter.

The author begins his work by touching the "Sumerian" question. "Since Hammurabi wrote his records in two different languages, we are led to believe there were two different peoples in the land, differing from each other in speech." These have been called by scholars "Sumerian" and "Semitic-Babylonian." "An examination of them shows that the Sumerian was the original one in old Babylonia." "The Sumerians must consequently have been the people who invented this system of writing, called the 'cuneiform script.' If this is so—and it can hardly be denied—it would follow that there must have been a time when the Sumerians were the sole possessors of Babylonia. And if the Sumerians were the originators of this system of cuneiform writing and the original inhabitants of Babylonia, the question arises, When did the 'barbarians,' who adopted the Sumerian mode of writing in order to express their Semitic language, invade the country?" "If," as is done by some scholars, "we postulate only one race, using two different 'modes of writing,' how well educated must the people have been at so early a time as 4000 B. C. to be able to use two such widely differing 'modes of writing'! That would presuppose a development of at least two to three thousand years and a civilization which would be without parallel in the history of mankind." These assertions and conclusions in the outset of the book are discouraging. They reveal to the reader rather a hypothetical than a real basis in fact.

After settling the "Sumerian" question as indicated above, we find that "the most difficult question, however, in this history is that of its *chronology*. Here we have almost no basis to stand on." In these straits we can resort to two methods for locating our ancient rulers: "(1) By incidental references to kings who are thus shown to be contemporaries; (2) by palæographic evidence where the former is wanting." These two principles for the establishment of a system of early Babylonian chronology are both uncertain and precarious. As an example of the first principle he reproduces (p. 7) from *Revue d'Assyr.*,

Vol. IV, pp. 1 sq., two seal-cylinder inscriptions of Sargon I. and Naram-Sin, respectively, wherein Lugalušumgal² is mentioned as patesi of Širpurla. But the second inscription is badly mutilated, and the parts supplied, though Radau's copy does not indicate that anything is lacking in the original, may be correct or incorrect. If they are correct, it is entirely possible that there may have been more than one Lugalušumgal patesi of Širpurla, as there were several rulers of Ur by the name of Dungi. At any rate, we must have a firmer basis than this for a trustworthy chronology.

In the second place, Radau takes twelve common signs: KUR, KA, MU, ŠU, DA, E, A, DAM, HUL, LUGAL, SUM, and KUŠ, and arranges in his supposed order of development the oldest forms of these signs found previous to and in Ur-Ba'u's time. He heads the list with two forms from the Monument Blau, "confessedly the oldest document we possess" (p. 9). In his classification of the oldest documents on the ground of the evidence of palæography he says: "The *first period* apparently is governed by the peculiar sign for MU" (p. 9). "The *second period* is governed by the signs DA and ŠU" (p. 9). "The *third period*, beginning with Lugalzaggisi, is governed by the peculiarity that original curved lines are broken (cf. GUL), complete lines are divided (cf. E), the 'thumb' in DA and ŠU is straightened, the sign for 'king' no longer exhibits its original two elements, but they form *one* sign." Sargon I. belongs to this last period. And to these three periods are attributed, on the basis of the peculiarities of one or more signs, all the archaic inscriptions previous to and including Sargon I.

Now the dates and comparative lengths of these periods must be considered. The author says (p. 11): "If we claim for each period a space of only 500 years—which is surely not exorbitant—we would come to the great age of about 5000 B. C. We may safely assert that the difference of the signs on the Monument Blau from those in *RA.*, III, 1-7 [this should be *RA.*, IV, 3, Nos. 1-7] is so great that we may add about 500 years more, i. e., 5500 B. C., which would be the approximate date of the Monument Blau." This is the method by which the author establishes the periods in early Babylonian history, and on these as a basis he proceeds to examine the available documents. He begins by an examination of the documents that are necessary to establish the chronology of the kings and patesis of Širpurla (Lagaš).

"Having seen that Urukagina must have preceded Eannatum" (p. 12)—based on palæographic evidence only—he turns to the documents of this "king" and "patesi" of Širpurla. The fourth document given is not found in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, 31, 3, as cited, nor in *RA.*, II, p. 87, but in *RA.*, II, p. 82.³ On p. 14 an inscription is quoted from *RA.*, III, p. 31, to prove that "Enannatum I. was a son of Akurgal, and therefore

² Radau, in both transliterations and in other places in the volume, erroneously writes Ušum-gal for Ušumgal.

³ In the discussion of this document in *RA.* M. Heusey makes comparison with *Déc.*, 31, 3, which is translated by Oppert in *RA.*, II, p. 87; hence the confusion of references, neither of which is correct in Radau, p. 13.

a brother of Eannatum." But in the inscription copied the very word which he says "proves clearly" his case is not found in this text. The *dumu* is inserted before the name A-kur-gal. On p. 15 he says: "Each period, it was argued, comprised about 500 years." The only "argument" concerning the length of the period previous to this statement is the assumption quoted above. Again on p. 17 he says: "We might be able to fill up the 500 years which were claimed to lie between Urukagina and Lugalzaggisi, especially if we allow for every king about twenty years, and for the lacunæ which exist between certain kings some twenty to fifty years. The succession of governors during these 500 years would then be" (as follows). This is, indeed, a novel method of constructing history, and one which will severely shake the confidence of Radau's readers. On p. 21, in endeavoring to establish the conclusion of the patesis of Širpurla, he "proves clearly" that, because Ġa-lama's⁴ name is not followed by patesi, his father was the last patesi of that city, and his immediate successor was a King Ur—a large deduction from a simple omission.

Radau adopts the date of Naram-Sin (3750 B. C.) and Sargon I. as given in the inscription of Nabonidus. In this he disagrees with E. Meyer, Thureau-Dangin, and Lehmann. In fact, his whole chronological theory is built up on the assumption of the truthfulness of Nabonidus' statement. A few other statements must conclude our notice of his introduction. On p. 39 he says: "Between Ur-Ba'u and Gudea we claimed a space of about 200 years, on account of palæographic evidence—the sign for KA shows that clearly. Thus it will be seen that our arrangement is *true* to the present state of science, claiming 'gaps' where we do not know the succession of rulers, and palæography enjoins us to do so. If we bear this in mind, we are fully justified in assigning for the space between Ur-Ba'u and (Ga)lukani about 350 years." Again on p. 40, in the discussion of the relations of Gungunu and Dungi III., we discover a marvelous statement from the pen of our historian: "Again, we do not know that Dungi III. was the son of Gungunu; thus we are forced by necessity—if we wish to be scientific—to claim another gap between these two rulers; and since their titles are so very different, it follows that this gap must be a considerable one; . . . [this] is reason enough to claim for this gap 100 years."

Radau's summary of his chronology (p. 42), hovering about 3750 B. C., is a good exposition of the uncertainties with which everyone who takes up early Babylonian history in its present status must deal. This introduction reveals the fact that we are not yet ready to deal seriously with the chronological problems of the early Babylonian periods. The inscriptions are fragmentary, disconnected, ambiguous, and far from yielding material that will give us an early solution of these problems. Lehmann's, Hilprecht's, and Radau's attempts to construct a chronology

⁴ The sign read Ġa or Ĥa is not only doubtful, as noted by Jensen (*KB.*, III, 1, p. 70, n. 6), but is most probably to be read *sig* or *pik*. The same sign occurs in Gudea Cyl. A, iv, 18, and Stat. B, v, 26.

for the whole period should be regarded *merely as assumptions*. To wrangle over dates in such an uncertain period is merely to juggle with figures, and waste time that would far better be employed in publishing or deciphering inscriptions belonging to this early period, until we have enough material to avoid the "scientific" method adopted by Radau, as indicated in the above quotations. The historian should make use of all the material at hand, but as soon as he enters the field of pure assumption he ceases to command the confidence of his readers, and to support the dignity of the science he serves.

On the basis of the chronology thus laid down, Radau proceeds to present the transliteration and translation of most of the inscriptions touching the rulers indicated in the chapter headings above. In carefully examining this great mass of literature, we find very few which have not been published before, either in translation, or in transliteration and translation. The author has suggested a few improvements, but the repetition of the inscriptions in these pages finds its justification rather in their bearing on the history than in the amount of new philological material produced. From the historical point of view, barring some of his chronological data and his "Sumerian" assumptions, these are the most satisfactory pages of the volume. We find certain epochs or the reigns of certain rulers quite fully described in some of the longer inscriptions, and have some valuable material for building a history of these oases in the early Babylonian period.

Some interesting facts appear in the examination of this work. On pp. 53 *sq.* we find a transliteration and translation of the Barrel Cyl. found in *Déc.*, 32, but are disappointed to discover that Radau stops just where Amiaud did years ago (in *Déc.*, pp. xxx and xxxi). On pp. 76-81 we have a long inscription of Eannatum, composed of several smaller inscriptions reproduced from Thureau-Dangin's work in *RA.*, IV, pp. 124, 125; in l. 44, also in note at bottom of page, he reads *ab-ba* where the original plainly gives *a-ba*; l. 56 should be [*an-ta-ge-šuš*]. Pp. 97-109 is almost a verbatim reproduction of Thureau-Dangin's transliteration and translation on the "Cone of Entemena" in *RA.*, IV, pp. 42-50. Pp. 131-40 reproduce the Lugalzaggisi document, of which Radau says (p. 131, n. 2): "Thureau-Dangin first gave a complete translation in *RS.*, 1897, pp. 263 *sqq.*," this he closely follows. At the conclusion of this document he discusses the relation of the Semites to Babylonia, and concludes by saying that "the immigration of the Semites" into Babylonia must be set back as early as, or earlier than, 5000 B. C., when the Sumerian power began to decay (p. 149). In a further discussion of the same question (pp. 178-80) he concludes (against Hilprecht) that the Semites came, not from the north, but from the south, and last of all conquered the northern provinces of Babylonia.

On p. 211 Radau states that Gudea Cyl. B, xxiii, 19 (this should be xxiii, 5') should be read, not *dumu-ka*, but *dumu-sag*, as in *Stat. B*, i, 1. The connections are not the same, and the original of Cyl. B shows plainly a *KA*. On pp. 215-20 we have a marvelous exhibition

of skill in manipulating consonants. This will be realized when we find: "Only so much is certain that Kengi = Sungir = Shumer = Girsu = Shirpurla." What will philologists think of this transformation? What can we not prove if such methods are allowable? On p. 239 we find a severe arraignment of Winckler's "most careless and illogical argument" regarding Dungi of Ur; the conclusions which both scholars reach are due in large part to the lack of the necessary data to prove their premises. The reproduction of Thureau-Dangin's treatment of the names of the months (in *RA.*, IV, 83, 84) is scarcely relevant to the theme.

The appendix, in which we find some facsimiles, transliterations, and translations of the inscriptions in the E. A. H. collection, is a welcome though small, contribution to cuneiform literature. It gives the book one feature of value to scholars familiar with the other material of this early period. Though largely in the nature of contract or record tablets, they give us historical data of value, both in the old and in the new Babylonian periods. Several of the former date from the reigns of Bur-Sin, Ur-Ba'u, and Dungi.

Radau has used prodigious industry and brought together a vast amount of material—all except the E. A. H. collection already published in other works—and has classified it according to the periods to which he would attribute it. The book has its value in that it is a kind of register of early Babylonian texts. Scholars will, of course, use their own judgment regarding his chronological scheme. One thing is apparent throughout the work, viz., that he, like other "Sumerian" adherents, is having increasing difficulty in explaining the very early presence and power of the Semites in Babylonia.

It is not surprising if among the hundreds of references there should be some errors. We have noted the following, in addition to those already named: p. 15, second line, *Déc.*, 31, 3, should be *RA.*, II, p. 82; ninth line from bottom, *RA.*, III, should be IV; p. 16, ninth line from bottom, 70 should be 71; p. 27, l. 14, *RA.*, IV, should be III; p. 28, l. 10, same error; p. 81, l. 4 from bottom, F³ should be F²; p. 91, l. 3 from bottom, 281 should be 288; p. 191, l. 11 from bottom, should read Cyl. B, etc. Then, "Clercq," "le Clercq," occurring scores of times, should always be "de Clercq;" and "De Sarzec" should be "de Sarzec;" while titles of books would always appear more conspicuous and in better form if they were printed in italics. The author's English sometimes suffers from lack of familiarity with our idioms.

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BROCKELMANN'S HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERATURE.¹

This is not a history of Arabic literature, but it is an excellent contribution toward such a history. Dr. Brockelmann is a worthy successor of the lamented Wüstenfeld and has taken up his self-sacrificing labors

¹ *GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITTERATUR.* Von Carl Brockelmann. I. Band. Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1898. xii+528 pp.

with youthful energy. Thus the nearest parallel to this book is probably Wüstenfeld's *Geschichtsschreiber*; the differences in plan are not essential. The attempts which are made here and there in the present work at a history of literature proper, consisting of general sketches of periods, and suggestions of influence, of development, and of tendency, are far too slight to merit much attention. They might well have been omitted, and have somewhat the appearance of purple scraps saved from the wreckage of the more ambitious work which the author had once planned. This applies above all to the few pages given to a characterization of the old poetry. What is said is true and good—always excepted the remark, on p. 15, that only a small part of that poetry expresses the subjective sensations of the poet, a most singular misjudgment of what "subjective" means—but this was not its place, as there was no opportunity to develop the subject adequately. Similarly, the little sketch of the origins of Šūfiism is most able and interesting, but it is also most irritating. Everything had to be put so shortly as to be one-sided. The *Karāmāt* of the Šūfis, for example, may resemble the wonders of the Indian Yōgis, but they resemble equally the wonders of European saints as rehearsed in such a thesaurus as the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. The same may be said of all the other introductory paragraphs scattered through the book.

But, apart from this, all the criticism which can be brought forward is one of details; and that, from the nature of the case, may be endless. Every Arabist must have dozens, and again dozens, of suggestions for additions and corrections which he would like to make. I shall give later a few which seem to me worth mention.

The plan of the book is simple and excellent. The literary development is divided into periods as follows: Book I, Arabic literature proper from the earliest beginnings to the fall of the Umayyads: A. To the appearance of Muhammad; B. Muhammad and his time; C. The Umayyad period. Book II, Muslim literature in Arabic: A. The golden period under the 'Abbāsids, A. D. 750—*circa* 1000; B. The silver period to the destruction of Baghdād, A. D. 1258; C. Under the Mongols till the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks in 1517; D. To the present day. The volume which we now have extends to the destruction of Baghdād. In the first period by far the greatest stress lies upon poetry; each poet has a biographical and descriptive paragraph, followed by bibliographical notes indicating where further information on him and his works may be found. Only those are considered whose poems, in part at least, have come down to us; and the principal manuscripts are referred to where there is no European edition. This is the method throughout the whole "History," and these bibliographical clues form the real backbone of the book and justify its existence.

The second period deals with Muslim literature written in Arabic. The distinction made is to the point and clearly drawn; in time it may help us to an escape from the much muddle-headed current talk about an Arabian philosophy and an Arabian science in which the Arabs had

little or no part. Each section is divided into eighteen chapters, and some chapters have as many as ten subdivisions, in part of subject, but mostly geographical. It is unnecessary here to state these divisions in detail. The scheme is generally good; but the difficulty of telling under which division a particular author must be sought is so great that most copious indices will be a necessity. It was a characteristic of Arabic writers to claim all knowledge for their portion and to write *de omni scibili*; Dr. Brockelmann acknowledges the trouble that this has made for him. Thus, in one of the chapters on philosophy (pp. 453-69), philosophers proper (*falāsifa*), logicians, and scholastic theologians are hopelessly mixed together. Yet the distinction between *kalām* and *falsafa* is one to be rigidly held; *manṭiq* belonged to everyone.

I now come to some suggestions on points of detail. The treatment of the whole *Jafr* and *Jāmi'a* literature is very inadequate. I have found mere references to it on pp. 44, 220, note, and 464. In this connection the paper by Casanova on the *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā* in *JA.* for January-February, 1898, called for notice. A relationship is there established between the *Ikhwān*, these pseudo-'Alid books, and the Assassins. See, further, my "Life of al-Ghazzali" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 113 sq. On p. 75 a reference would have been in place to Torrey's paper on al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf in the same journal, Vol. XVI, pp. 43 sqq. On p. 77 add to the editions of Abū Nuwās that printed at Cairo in 1898; it is edited by Iskandar Āsāf and Maḥmūd Wāṣif. Pp. 179 and 520, the *Risālat ash-Shāfi'i*, printed at Cairo in 1312, is certainly the *Risāla fī usūl al-fiqh*. It is not an ordered treatise on that subject of the later kind, but is exactly such an account of methods of reconciling *Qur'ān*, *Sunna*, *Ijmā'*, and *Ijtihād*, and of the nature of *'Ilm* and *Hujja*, that Goldziher's account in *Muh. St.*, Vol. II, p. 83, would lead us to expect. P. 113, l. 17, it would have been better to read "Tihāma's" for "der Tihāma;" the name in Arabic has no article. P. 195, the more correct form of the name is Mātaridi. On p. 156 reference should have been made to the edition, printed at Hyderābād in four parts and more than 1,400 pages (A. H. 1309?), of adh-Dhahabi's *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*. On p. 197, at the head of the section on mysticism, the *Nafahāt* of Jāmi should have been cited and, at least, the *Risāla* of al-Qushayri and the *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* of ash-Sha'rānī. It may be worth noticing that the Cairo edition of the last appears to be incomplete; it springs from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ar-Rāsibi, who died in 367, to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilī (or al-Jilānī), who died in 561. On p. 199 the account of al-Hallāj is very inadequate, considering his historical and religious importance. It may be supplemented with the following references: Schreiner in *ZDMG.*, Vol. LII, pp. 468 sqq.; *Fihrist*, pp. 190 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdi in *Tanbih*, p. 387; al-Bērūnī in *Āthār*, p. 211; 'Arib, pp. 86 sqq. Under the rubrics astronomy, astrology, mathematics I find no mention of Māshā'allāh. He may not be of much interest to a German, but he has his place in English literature; for Chaucer's *Astrolabe* is really a translation, through Latin, of a book by him. He lived, according

to Casiri, Vol. I, pp. 434 *sq.*, under al-Manṣūr and al-Ma'mūn; see, further, the *Bodleian Catalogue*, index, *sub* Mashaal la *Fihrist*, p. 273; *ZDMG.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 434 *sqq.*, 600, and Vol. VIII, p. 380; *Biographie universelle, sub* Macha Allah; Wüstenfeld's *Übersetzungen arab. Werke ins Lat.*, pp. 34 *sq.* Another most interesting figure, who has a bare notice on p. 244, is Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī. That he died in 400 we do not know; we know that he was alive in that year. He is mixed up perplexingly with the *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā* and with Ṣūfiism of a pantheistic type. See Ibn Khall. (de Slane's translation), Vol. I, p. 50; Vol. III, p. 264; ḤKh. 3831; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschr.*, p. 54; *Fihrist*, Vol. II, p. 121; Aḥmad Zākī, *Mawsū'at al-'ulūm* (Bulāq, 1308), pp. 12, 72 *sqq.*; *ZDMG.*, Vol. LII, p. 558; "Life of al-Ghazzālī," cited above, p. 113. Two of his *Risālas* were printed at Constantinople, A. H. 1301. The wording of p. 273, l. 4, suggests, what is of course absurd, that the question of God's *istiwā* was first propounded by al-Ghazzālī. P. 307, the '*Umda* of Ibn Rashīq has been printed at Tunis. P. 350, the chapter of ath-Tha'labī's *Qīṣaṣ* containing the history of Job has been translated in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 145-61. P. 389, the *Waraqāt* of the Imām al-ḥaramayn was printed at Cairo in 1306, along with the *sharḥ* of al-Maḥalli and the super-commentary of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-'Ubādī; Ibn Qāsim explains that his work is extracted from his larger commentary on the same two books. In the paragraph on Ibn Tūmart (pp. 400 *sqq.*) sufficient stress is not laid on the pantheistic *nuance* in his views. Nor are the materials for his life cited with sufficient detail; Ibn Athīr has a "Life" *sub anno* 514; see, too, the *Qartās*, pp. 110 and 116; Ibn Khald., *Proleg.*, Vol. I, p. 53, in de Slane's translation. On al-Ghazzālī (pp. 419-526) I would refer to my "Life" already alluded to; it is, I believe, much more full and trustworthy than that by Gosche, who had not access to the necessary sources, and who has frequently led Dr. Brockelmann astray. The biography in Ibn Khallikān is almost worthless. It may be said generally that Ibn Khallikān is of little value as a critical historian. His interests were not those of a student, but of a dilettante in literature. On the form of the *nisba* Ghazzālī I trust to be able to enter at length elsewhere. Here I will only say that as-Sam'ānī, though he knew the spelling with one *z*, did not approve of it, for he could find no trace of a village Ghazāla; see the Sayyid Murtadā's introduction to his commentary on the *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, p. 18. Further, the passage in Ibn Khallikān on which Dr. Brockelmann apparently relies is an addition in the autograph manuscript and has apparently been inserted in the wrong place. Next, the *Sirr al-'ālamayn* has been lithographed at Bombay, but, in its present form at least, cannot be by al-Ghazzālī. At the beginning al-Ghazzālī is made to say: "And the first who transcribed it [the *Sirr*] and read it with me in the Nizāmiya Madrasa secretly in the second period after my return from journeying was a man from the land of al-Maghrib who was called Muḥammad ibn Tūmarth (*sic*) of the people of Salamiya, and by means of it I perceived in him the signs of royal power." Next, the *Ta'rif*

al-aḥyā of Ibn 'Aydārūs is printed on the margin of the Sayyid Murtaḍā's commentary (edition of Cairo, 1311), Vol. I, pp. 1-40, and the *Imlā* of al-Ghazzālī on pp. 41-252. The text of the *Imlā* is in great disorder. Finally, the book edited by Malter cannot possibly be by al-Ghazzālī; the contents and arrangement are enough. On Abū Ḥafs an-Nasafī (pp. 427 sq.) there is a paper with a translation of his *'Aqida* in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII, pp. 73 sqq., and Vol. XIII, pp. 140 sq. On p. 446, No. 112, *r. al-ghauth* is explained as though *Ghauth al-a'zam* were the name of a particular mystic; it is rather the title of a high official in the Ṣūfī hierarchy, like Quṭb. On p. 451 there is another curious mistake. On l. 18 *awliyā* is explained as "the friends of the Prophet;" it is, of course, the friends of God. On Ibn Sīnā (pp. 452-8) we can now add Carra de Vaux's *Avicenne* and his curiously pessimistic or agnostic poem on the *nafs* in *JA.*, 9, Vol. XIV, pp. 157 sq. On p. 460 it would have been worth while to draw attention to the many translations of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥay b. Yaḡzān*; it is one of the few Arabic books that have secured an absolutely independent footing in European literature. On Averroes (pp. 461 sq.) reference should have been made to Tzitze de Boer's *Widersprüche der Philosophie*, a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of a man who is an intellectual puzzle because he chose to be one. No. 15, on p. 462, *Kitāb falsafat al-qāḍī al-fāḍil* (so rightly), printed at Cairo in 1313, is simply a reprint of the tractates published by M. J. Müller in 1859. This is shown by the text, which contains Müller's conjectural emendations, even where they are unnecessary. Finally in the article on Idrīsī, the geographer, no notice is taken of the Roman edition of 1592, the Paris translation of 1619, Jaubert's translation of 1836, or the extracts by Dozy-de Goeje, Amari-Schiaparelli, and Gildemeister. The reference which Dr. Brockelmann makes to a Swedish pamphlet will help a comparatively small number of his readers.

It is obvious that such annotation as this might proceed indefinitely; but that possibility does not detract in the least from the value of the book. The subject is such that absolute completeness and accuracy are unattainable. We have here, it is true, no history in any exact sense, but we have a thesaurus, a *κειμήλιον ἐς αἰεὶ*, of Arabic literary biography and bibliography. Every Arabist must be grateful to Dr. Brockelmann for his self-denying and patient labors. I only regret that the space allotted to me has not permitted me to treat his book at greater length.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ORIENT.¹

These may be regarded as the first numbers of a kind of supplement to the *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, which is to consist of notes and articles by Professor Hartmann dealing with the movements of

¹ DER ISLAMISCHE ORIENT. Berichte und Forschungen. Von Martin Hartmann. Heft I, II, III. Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag, 1899, 1900. 40 and 102 pp.

contemporary Islām. It is an undertaking to be heartily commended. Professor Hartmann has already abundantly shown how deeply he penetrated into the life of the Muslim East during his twelve years of official residence there. In the first number the first and longest article deals with the panislamic movement and its attempt to unite the Muslim peoples through the bond of Arabic. It shows how this Arabic renaissance may be the hope of the future, if it can be guided into the right paths toward enlightenment and true education; that here there is a chance for a reformed Islām, and that Islām can be reformed. There is no question of the magnitude of the problem. The Muslim world, like the Chinese world, is far too great to be permanently held in subjection by the civilization of the West; it must absorb that civilization and work out its own life. The other notes are on the legend of St. Barṣiṣā, already discussed by Goldziher and Landberg—this is of high interest—on the name Schoa for the Arabs settled in Bornu, on the Fihrist's notice of Ibn Ishāq as author of a *Sira* of the Prophet, and on the popular use of transliteration in the East. The second and third numbers deal with the Chinese crisis as affected by Islām, and especially with the part which Germany may play in the reconstruction of China. They will be found very valuable for the amount of information which they contain on the Muslims of the far East; but Dr. Hartmann's plans for the future are of a very visionary character, and his prejudices and limitations are colossal. That he regards Thackeray's Joe Sedley as representing the modern English official in India is a quite magnificent joke.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

AL-WĀQIDI'S LIFE OF MUHAMMAD.¹

In view of the great edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd which is being prepared by Sachau, and of the renewed interest in the biography of the prophet which will come with it, such a study as this of al-Wāqidi's book on the life of Muhammad at al-Madina is very timely. It is more nearly, and this of necessity, a comparison of al-Wāqidi with Ibn Ishāq, at least so far as we can get back to Ibn Ishāq through Ibn Hishām and aṭ-Ṭabarī. Dr. Horovitz treats his subject under four heads. First, the history of the text. The difficulty here is that all our manuscripts of the Maghāzī—and he had access not only to von Kremer's defective edition, but also to Wellhausen's copy of Fischer's manuscript—belong to one recension, and that there are grave discrepancies between it and the quotations in aṭ-Ṭabarī and elsewhere. Dr. Horovitz is driven to postpone the solution of this difficulty till we have the assistance of Ibn Sa'd's *Sira*. Second, al-Wāqidi's sources and how he made use of them. Third, to what extent and how did he criticise his sources? Fourth, the contents of his book—what he has that is lacking in Ibn

¹ DE WĀQIDI LIBRO QUI KITĀB AL MAGĀZĪ INSCRIBITUR. Commentatio critica quam scripsit Josef Horovitz, Dr. phil. Berolini: Mayer et Müller, 1898. 48 pp.

Ishāq, his attitude toward the quarrels of the early Muslims and the traditions which were forged to apply to these. Dr. Horovitz' book is sketchy and not very satisfying in its results; but it may be questioned if we are in a position to attain greater certainty.

HARTFORD, CONN.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

THE PALESTINE SYRIAC LECTIONARY.¹

The Palestinian Syriac is the most recently recovered of Semitic literatures. Fifty years ago the only hint of it was the Assemanis' announcement of a Vatican lectionary in Palestinian, or, as they wrongly styled it, Jerusalem, Syriac. In 1864 this was published by Miniscalchi-Erizzo, and with it the unearthing of the literature begins. Land followed in 1875 with fragments at London and St. Petersburg, but until ten years ago nothing more had been done. The activity of the past ten years, however, has been so great as to constitute the period an epoch in the study of Palestinian Syriac. In 1890 Dr. J. Rendel Harris published part of Galatians from a Sinai leaf. In 1891 Rev. Greville K. Chester secured five palimpsest leaves in Egypt and sent them to the Bodleian. In 1892 de Lagarde reedited the Vatican lectionary. In 1893 Mr. Gwilliam published five biblical fragments from the Chester palimpsests, and in the same year in the appendix of Mrs. Lewis' *Studia Sinaitica*, I, appeared notices of Palestinian Syriac manuscripts and fragments deciphered by Dr. Harris. In 1896 Mr. Margoliouth edited the *Liturgy of the Nile* from a British Museum manuscript, and Messrs. Gwilliam, Stenning, and Burkitt published homilies and biblical fragments from St. Catherine's and the Bodleian. In 1897 Mrs. Lewis, with some help from Professor Nestle and Mrs. Gibson, published another lectionary from a manuscript purchased in Cairo; and in 1899 appeared the volume before us. To this list should be added the still more recent volume of palimpsest fragments from the Cairo Geniza, published by the same editors in 1900, with which this extraordinary decade in Palestinian Syriac study ends.²

This new edition of the gospel lectionary is due to the discovery by Mrs. Lewis of a second manuscript of it on Mount Sinai in 1892, which in turn led to the discovery of a third by Dr. Harris in the same convent in the following year. The witnesses for the lectionary being now trebled, the need for a new edition based on all three manuscripts was obvious, and this need Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson have undertaken to supply. They have not attempted to create a text. Their method is to

¹ THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY OF THE GOSPELS. Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the "Evangelium Hierosolymitanum." By Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. London: Trübner, 1899. lxxii + 320 pp.; large 4to. 55s.

² Cf. F. C. Burkitt, "Christian Palestinian Literature," *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, No. 6 (January, 1901), pp. 174-85.

republish the text of de Lagarde's edition of the Vatican manuscript with the variants of their Sinai witnesses flanking it in parallel columns. In date the three manuscripts are not far apart, the Vatican codex being dated A. D. 1030, and those at St. Catherine's A. D. 1104 and 1118, respectively. Excellent facsimile pages of both the Sinai manuscripts and a useful list of the significant Greek readings supported by one or more of the lectionaries against the text of Westcott and Hort accompany the text, and in general no pains have been spared to present with accuracy and completeness the textual witness of these lectionaries, which constitute the most important remains yet recovered of the later period of Palestinian Syriac literature.

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VOL. XVII, No. 4.

JULY, 1901



THE
AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago Press

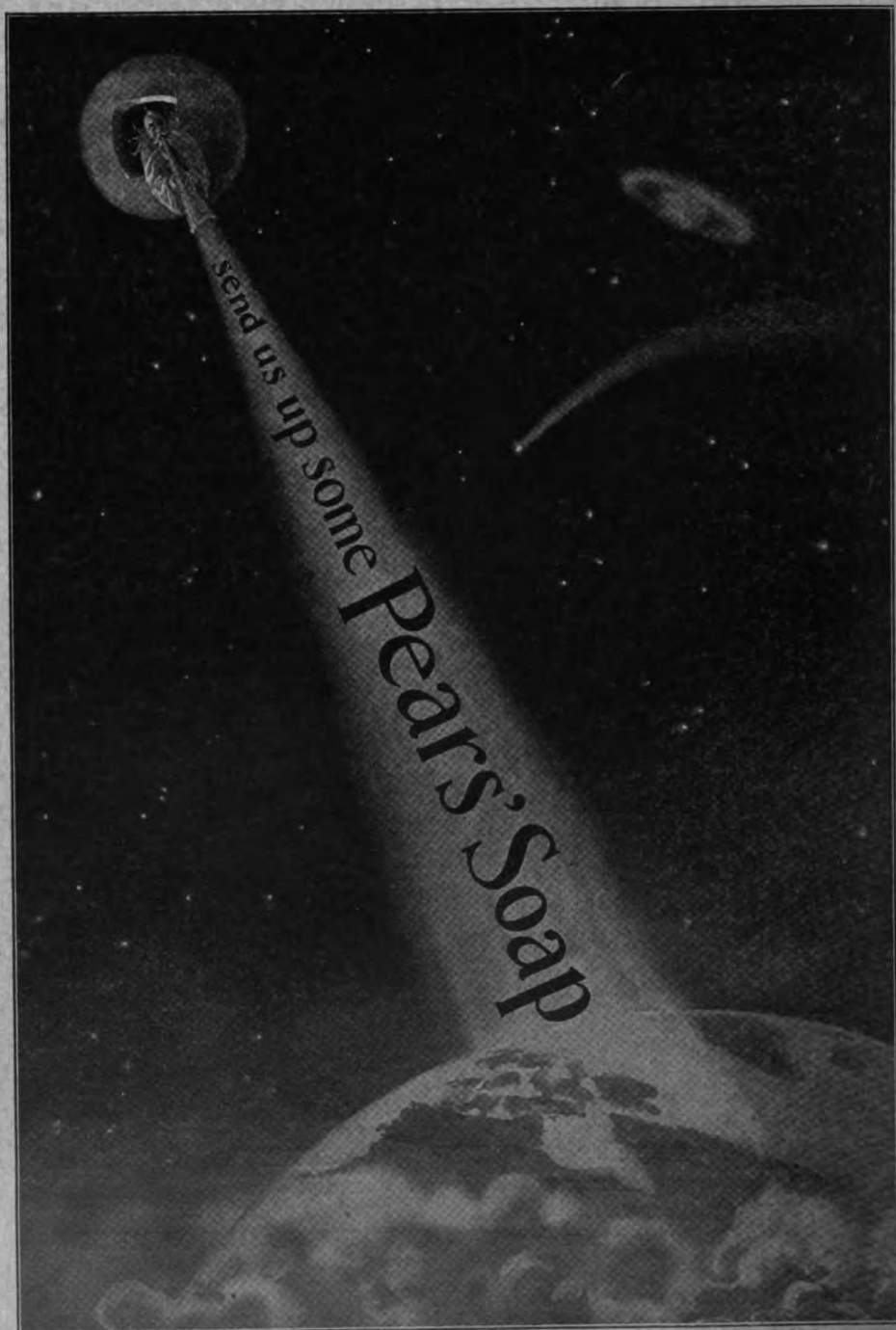
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ANTIQUARIUM, Kurprinzstrasse, 6.

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FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS:—*Great Britain, 14 shillings. Germany, 14 Marks.
France and other countries, 18 francs.*

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Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., as second-class mail matter.



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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
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VOLUME XVII

JULY, 1901

NUMBER 4

BEITRÄGE ZUR SUFFIXLEHRE DES NORD-
SEMITISCHEN.

VON J. BARTH, PH.D.,

Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Berlin.

Die Suffixbildung im Arabischen zeigt durchsichtige Gesetze, weil die Suffixe unverändert in immer derselben Form an die hier noch vorhandenen Flexionsendungen oder — wie beim Jussiv — an consonantisch ausgehende Formen sich anfügen. Beim Aethiopischen, das fast alle Flexionsendungen verloren hat, tritt schon als Mittel der Suffigirung häufiger ein sogenannter Binde-vocal¹ auf, d. h. es suffigirt öfter consonantisch endigende Formen nach Analogie der vocalisch ausgehenden oder lässt, wie im Plural, einen abgefallenen Vocal wieder erscheinen; die Suffixendungen selbst liegen aber auch hier — abgesehen von der Ausstossung des *h* in der 3. Person — unverändert vor.

Dagegen bieten das Hebraeische und die aramaeischen Idiome eine ganze Reihe von bisher ungelösten Schwierigkeiten sowohl hinsichtlich der Vielfältigkeit mancher Suffixformen an sich, als der verschiedenen Tonstellung selbst gleichgebildeter Formen, als vor Allem der verschiedenartigen Bindevocale bei denselben Wortgattungen; mehrere aramaeische Dialekte hinsichtlich der auffälligen Verwendung singularischer und pluralischer Suffixbildungen und isolirt dastehender Affixe und Suffixe. Diesen Erscheinungen sollen die folgenden Erörterungen gewidmet sein,

¹ Diese Bezeichnung wird im Folgenden als herkömmlicher Ausdruck weiter gebraucht, ohne dass selbstverständlich damit gesagt werden soll, dass sie Neubildungen für den Zweck der Suffigirung seien.

bei denen die anerkannten Ergebnisse der Wissenschaft im Allgemeinen vorausgesetzt und nicht weiter erörtert werden. Nur empfiehlt es sich wegen der Mannigfaltigkeit einiger Suffixformen im Hebraeischen einleitend die nordsemitischen Bildungen in aller Kürze zusammenzustellen und, soweit es für das Folgende nöthig ist, auf ihre Zusammenhänge mit den ursemitischen Formen, die öfter schon behandelt sind, hinzuweisen.

I.

Die reine Form der nominalen Suffixe zeigt sich hinter den Substantiven mit schliessendem langen Vocale, wie hebr. 'abī, aram. 'abū; einige Suffixformen der 3. Pers. Plur. erscheinen aber im Hebr. nur hinter consonantischem Wortschluss; auch beim Suffix der 1. Pers. Sing. muss man das Paradigma dieser letzteren wegen der Collision zweier Vocale bei der ersteren Classe zu Hilfe nehmen. Wir führen darum hier auch diese Suffixe der 3. Pers. Plur. der consonantisch ausgehenden Nomina mit ihrem Bindevocal, mit auf. Die Suffixe lauten im

	HEBR.	ARAM. ²		HEBR.	ARAM.
<i>Singular:</i>			<i>Plural:</i>		
1. Pers.	ִי	ִי		הֶמָּה ¹¹	
2. Pers. masc.	ָךְ	ָךְ	3. Pers. masc.	הֵם ¹²	הוּן ¹³
2. Pers. fem.	ִיךְ ³	ִיךְ, syr. kh ⁴		מֵן ¹³	הוּם (B. Ezra, Inscr.)
3. Pers. masc.	הוּךְ ⁴	הוּךְ ⁵		ֵם ¹⁴	
3. Pers. fem.	ִיךְ	ִיךְ, syr. h			
<i>Plural:</i>					
1. Pers.	נִי	נִי ⁶ , syr. n	3. Pers. fem.	הֵנָּה ¹⁶	
2. Pers. masc.	כֶּם	כֶּן ⁷ , dial. כִּים ⁸		הֵן ¹⁷	הֵן ¹⁸
2. Pers. fem.	כֶּן ⁹	כֶּן ¹⁰		הֵנָּה ¹⁹	הֵן
				נָה ²⁰	
				נָה ²¹	

² Als aram. Formen werden die des bibl.-Aram. und der Targume zu Grunde gelegt. Dass im Syr. hier, wie durchweg weiterhin, der tonlose Endvocal nicht mehr gesprochen wird, ist für unsere Untersuchung nicht von Belang.

³ Jüngere aramaisirende Form כִּי.—Der Umlaut des Bindevocals a in e in כִּי weist darauf zurück, dass das Suffix im Hebr. urspr. ki war, wie im Arab. und Aethiop.

⁴ Wie im Arab. und Aeth.—Auch im Arab. ist in Poesie das u lang, wie im Aeth. immer.

⁵ So auch im Phoenicischen. Vgl. Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazar's* (1868), S. 164 sqq.; Schröder, *Die phoen. Sprache*, S. 149 sqq.—Auch das arab. hi nach vorangehendem i und a j mag ursprünglich dazugehören; denn eine Umbildung von urspr. u in i über ein h hinweg ist sonst unbelegbar. Wenn das i unter gleichen Verhältnissen im Arab. auch im Plural und Dual erscheint, so liegt es nahe, Analogiebildung eines Numerus nach dem

Die Suffixe der 2. und 3. Pers. Plur. bezeichnet man als schwere. Sie ziehen den Ton an sich, und der ehemals vorangegangene Bindevocal wird zumeist nicht einmal mehr als Halbvocal gehört; nur in der Aspiration des *k* des Suffixes der 2. Pers. Plur. wirkt er noch nach; vgl. מְשַׁבֵּחַ, דְּבָרָם gegenüber דְּבָרָה u. dgl. m. Als Ursache dafür könnten entweder die Feminine, kīnna, hīnna mit ihrer Schärfung der ersten Silbe oder bei der urspr. Zweisilbigkeit aller dieser Suffixe die Masculine in Betracht kommen, welche den Ton auf der letzten Silbe hatten; vgl. aeth. k°mū mit der Erhaltung des letzten Vocals in hebr. מִן aus ā-h°-mū. Jene erstere Ursache, die Grimme²² geltend macht, würde aber diese Wirkung nicht

ändern zu vermuthen, und der Plural him könnte ebenso gut wie der Sing. der Ausgangspunkt gewesen sein.— Ueber den Ursprung des Suffixes hi wage ich keine Vermuthung. Broekelmann's (*Syr. Gramm.*, § 92) Annahme einer urspr. Dissimilation nach u wäre höchstens eine von mehreren Möglichkeiten, die aber für das Arabische nicht in Betracht kommen würde.

⁶ Über das Verhältniss beider vgl. Noldeke, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 38, S. 420, Anm. 6.

⁷ Wie assyr. kunu, das auch keine Doppelung des n zeigt. Das n beruht auf Einwirkung des Feminins.

⁸ Wie arab. kum, in Poesie kūmū; aeth. k°mū.— Das e im Hebr. beruht auf Einwirkung des Feminins. Das Hebr. (und in anderer Art das Arab. und Aeth.) differenzirt nur noch die Consonanten für beide Geschlechter und gleicht die Vocale des Masc.'s dem Feminin an; umgekehrt unterscheiden das Aram. und Assyrische nur noch die Vocale und gleichen den Nasal n (statt urspr. m) dem Feminin an.

⁹ Das Segol abgestumpft—wohl in Folge der urspr. Schärfung des n—aus Zērē, wie in דָּן, wo das urspr. דָּן und דָּן noch daneben steht.

¹⁰ Das ē beruht auf Ersatzdehnung statt der urspr. Schärfung des n. Ebenso in der Form 3. Plur. Fem. und bei dem ō der 2. und 3. Pers. Plur.

¹¹ Nur nach einsilbigen Praepositionen, wie לְדָרְסָה, בְּדָרְסָה u. s. w., die sich proklitisch an die volle Form anlehnten.

¹² Nach langen Vocalen, z. B. אֲבִירָהֶם, פִּירָהֶם; ebenso nach dem ׀ des Stat. estr. Plur., דְּרָכֵיהֶם u. s. w.

¹³ Nach Wörtern ohne vocal. Ausgang מִן; sonst nach langen Vocalen קִימוֹ, עֲבֹדֵימוֹ.

¹⁴ Hinter consonantisch schliessenden Substantiven, dem Plur. ōth und Praepositionen.

¹⁵ Das Verhältniss zum Masc. wie bei der 2. Pers. Plur.—Ebenso im Neuarabischen von Syrien hōn (*Oestrup*, 133), bezw. un, wie beit-un, minn-un (*Tallqvist, Sprichw.*, 18), hun, ūn im Mesopotamischen (*Socin, ZDMG.*, Bd. 36, S. 239).

¹⁶ Hinter einsilbigen Praepositionen, wie das Masc., s. Anm. 11.

¹⁷ Hinter denselben Praeposs.; die tonlose Endsilbe ist abgefallen; sonst nur in dem einsilbigen פָּתָהֶן.

¹⁸ Meist nach langen Vocalen, die stärkeren Gegenton haben; selten sonst, wie in דְּלִבְדָּהּ, דְּלִבְדָּהּ.— Einmal דָּהּ beim fem. Plural: גִּדְּיֹתֶיהָ, dessen Segol nach Zērē auf Dissimilation beruht.

¹⁹ Nur zweimal: בְּחֹרֶקָהּ, כְּלֶהָ.

²⁰ Nach consonantischem Ausgang; selten, z. B. אֲוִתָּהּ, לְדָתָהּ.— Daneben gehen die vereinzelten Formen קָרְבָּהּ und, mit Dageš, לְרַחֲמָהּ her; s. unten S. 200.

²¹ Das gewöhnlichste Suffix hinter consonantisch endigendem Nomen; auch an der plur. Endung ōth.

²² *Grundzüge der hebr. Accent- und Vocalehre*, S. 23.

erklären; denn auch andere Suffixe sind auf der Suffixsilbe betont, wie דְּבָרָךְ, ohne darum den vorangehenden Halbvocal verschweben zu lassen. Dagegen dürfte das zweite Moment das thatsächlich wirksame sein; denn es erklärt es, dass dieselbe Verkürzung vor dem Suffix eintritt, wie vor einem auch mehrsilbigen nachfolgenden Substantiv: דְּבָרִי כֵּם wie דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, weil auch im ersteren Fall das Substantiv von der ursprünglichen Tonstelle in k^omú durch eine Silbe, also weiter als bei den übrigen Suffixen getrennt war.²³ Aber die Schärfung und starke Betonung der ersten Silben der Feminine hatte die andere Wirkung, dass durch sie der tonlose Vocal, der auf sie folgte, meist abfiel und sie nun einsilbig kínn, hínn lauteten. Bei dem starken gegenseitigen Ausgleichsstreben der masculinen und femininen Pluralformen bewirkte dies nun auch den Abfall des zweiten und die starke Betonung des verbleibenden ersten Vocals beim Masculinum: hímm nach fem. hínn. Die starke Vocalverkürzung des *Substantivs* wäre demnach die Wirkung der urspr. entfernten Tonstelle beim zweisilbigen masculinen Suffix, die scharfe Betonung der einzigen verbliebenen *Suffixsilbe* aber die Folge der Schärfung der ersten Silbe des femininen Suffixes mit Uebertragung dieser Wirkung auch auf das Masculin.

Die mannigfaltigen Formen der hebraeischen Suffixe der 3. Pers. masc. und fem. Pluralis, die oben zusammengestellt sind, lassen sich offenbar nicht lautgesetzlich aus *einer* Grundform ableiten. Ihre vielformige Gestaltung erklärt sich m. E. vielmehr aus Einwirkungen einerseits des Feminins auf das Masculin, was m. W. zuerst Nöldeke hervorgehoben hat, aber auch andererseits, was bisher verkannt ist, der Masculine auf das Feminin; es sind die von den Angleichungen betroffenen neben den von ihnen unberührt gebliebenen Formen stehen geblieben.

Beim Masc. 3. Pers. Plur. ist die lautgesetzliche Entwicklung der Grundform hūmú²⁴ ohne Analogieeinwirkung in dem מִן von חֶלְבָּנוּ, לֶבָנוּ erhalten, die auf *chel bah^omú zurückgehen. Das Feminin mit seiner ursprünglichen Schärfung der ersten Silbe glich nun zuweilen sein Suffix dem Masculin dergestalt an, dass es seine ihm eigene Schärfung aufgab. So entstanden secundäre feminine Formen wie כְּלֵהֶנָּה, בְּחוֹכֵהֶנָּה, aus denen weiter

²³ Eine ursprüngliche Paenultima-Betonung kém ū, hém ū, die König, *Lehrgebäude*, Bd. 2, S. 518, voraussetzt, ist ausserst unwahrscheinlich; vgl. das Aeth., sowie arabisches kum ū, hūm ū.

²⁴ Im Hebr. ist sie wohl mit kurzem betonten Schluss-u wegen des ō anzusetzen.

mit Ausstossung des ה und folgenden Halbvocals nach Art der erwähnten Ausstossung beim Masculin Formen wie לְבַדָּהּ, אֲחֻתָּהּ hervorgingen. In diesen Formen ist im Uebrigen die ursprüngliche Verschiedenheit der Masculine und Feminine sowohl in consonantischer als vocalischer Beziehung gewahrt geblieben.

Aus diesen Formen sind das masc. מֶ- und fem. יֶ- durch Tonrückgang auf den Bindevocal und dadurch bewirkten Abfall der Schlussilbe hervorgegangen. Der Tonrückgang ist durch den Einfluss aller anderen Formen leicht erklärlich, sofern der Bindevocal *a* bei den anderen Suffixen von vornherein Träger des Tons gewesen und auch in dem hínna der 3. Pers. Plur. Fem die Endsilbe von Anfang an tonlos war. Diese Formen, wie הֶלֶבֶם, קִדְמָתָן, einsilbig und mit betontem Bindevocal, die sich den übrigen Suffixen am meisten annäherten, sind darum wohl auch die gewöhnlichsten geworden.

Eine umgekehrte Bewegung, Einwirkung des Feminins auf das Masculin, zeigt sich dagegen in dem Masc. הֶמְּהָ, dessen Schärfung des *m* sowohl wie dessen Vocale auf Angleichung an das הֶנָּה = hínna des Feminins beruhen. Beide zweisilbigen Formen haben sich aber nur nach kurzen einsilbigen Praepositionen, die sich proklitisch an ihren volleren Wortkörper anlehnen, wie לְהֶמְּהָ, לְהֶנָּה, erhalten.—Da die Paenultima bei ihnen betont war, so war bei der Einwirkung der übrigen einsilbigen Suffixe der Abfall der tonlosen Endsilbe von selbst gegeben; es entstanden so die selteneren Formen wie בְּהֶם, בְּהֵן, לְהֵן, weit häufiger solche wie אֲבִיהֶן אֲבִיהֶם,²⁵ die sich beim masc. Substantiv nur nach langem Vocal, sonst in Praepositionen, wie עִמָּהֶם, לָהֶם, beim Feminin aber auch noch bei einigen Substantiven mit consonantischem Ausgang, wie שְׂבִיתֵיהֶן, חֲלָבֵיהֶן, erhalten hat.²⁶

Es beruht demnach im Hebr.

I. auf der masculinen nicht geschärften Grundform hūmú :

das Masc. מֶ, מֵ, מֶ-

durch Angleichung das Fem. הֶנָּה, יֶ-

II. auf der femininen geschärften Grundform hínna :

das Fem. הֶנָּה, הֵן, יֵן

durch Angleichung das Masc. הֶמְּהָ, הֶם, הֵם.

Ueber die seltenen femininen Formen auf נָהּ-, bzw. נָהּ-, vgl. unten S. 200.

²⁵ Zum Segol vgl. Anm. 9.

²⁶ Es ist klar, dass diese e-Bildungen mit denen in מֶלֶכָּם, מֶלֶכָּם u. s. w. nicht gleichen Wesens sind; sonst hätten diese aus malk-hém, ba-hém zu מֶלֶכָּם, מֶלֶכָּם werden müssen.

II.

Der sogenannte Bindelaut ist gemeinnordsemitisch *ā*; er liegt den hebraeischen wie den aramaeischen suffigirten Endungen—bis auf die gleich zu besprechenden Ausnahmen des Hebr.—zu Grunde. Man hat in ihm wohl mit Recht den alten Casusvocal des Accusativs gesehen, der allein sich beim gewöhnlichen Nomen auch noch ohne Suffixverbindung erhalten hat;²⁷ ebenso beruht die in der Hauptsache übereinstimmende Art, wie das Hebr.-Aram. und das Aethiopische die 3. Pers. Sing. des Perfects suffigiren, auf der ursemitischen Endung *a* dieser Verbalform. Auch bei den suffigirten kurzen Praepositionen liegt dieses *ā* vor; ein Theil derselben lautete urspr. auf *ā* aus, ein anderer Theil wird der allgemein herrschenden Form jener, sowie der Nomina und der suffigirten einfachsten Perfectformen gefolgt sein.²⁸

Dieser Bindevocal ist vor den einsilbigen Suffixen gemeinnordsemitisch Träger des Tons geworden²⁹ und hat hierdurch den nachfolgenden Suffix-Vocal zum Schwinden gebracht, mit der Wirkung, dass der letztere, wenn er identisch mit dem Bindevocal, also *a*, war, bei seinem Abfall diesen verlängerte, z. B. hebr. und aram. *dīnāh* aus *dīnā-hā* "ihr Recht," syr. *dinākh* "dein R." aus *dīnā-kha*;³⁰ wenn er dagegen von diesem verschieden war, bei ihm Umlaut bewirkte; so in gemeinnordsem. *dīnēkh*³¹ aus *dīnā-khi*; aram. *dīnēh* (bibl. mit Mappiq) aus *dīnā-hi*; endlich da, wo durch Ausfall des *h*, in der 3. Person, die beiden Vocale zusammenstießen, sich beide zum Mischvocal verbanden, wie in hebr. *dīnō* aus *dīnā-hū*;³² ebenso im Aeth. in Verbalformen, die auf *a* ausgehen, wie *nagarō* und Analogiebildungen darnach.

²⁷ Während ך- und ך keine Endungen des gewöhnlichen Nomens sind; vgl. meine Bemerkungen, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 53, S. 593-9.

²⁸ Während im Aethiop. die Praeposs. *la* und *ba* noch in *la-ka la-kī* einer-, *be-ka*, *be-ki* andererseits auseinandergehalten werden, so dass die Grundform *bi=ב* in dieser suffigirten Form noch erscheint, dagegen in dem einfachen *ba*, wie auch in *bō*, *bā*, die Analogie von *la* u. *And.* durchgedrungen ist.

²⁹ So auch im Aethiop., s. Praetorius, *Aeth. Gr.*, S. 119, und in neuarab. Dialekten, so *lāhu*, *līhin*, *līna* in Mardin; vgl. *ZDMG.*, Bd. 36, S. 240, 6, 7; S. 243, 2, 13 u. s. w.

³⁰ Nur bibl.-Aram. *rēšāh* mit kurzem, aber *rēšākh* mit langem *a*; das Syr. hat auch dort *-āh*.

³¹ Syrisch noch archaisch mit unausgesprochenem *i* am Schluss geschrieben, in jüngeren hebr. Formen ך-.

³² So auch im Aethiop., z. B. *nāgārō*.—Wäre das *ā* nicht Tonträger gewesen, so hätten im hebr. Nomen Formen wie neuarab. *nefs*hu* (Mosul) oder *beitū*, *bū* (Tunis, Mardin) entstehen müssen.

Von dieser alten gemeinnordsemit. Bildungsart heben sich nun aber mehrere regelmässige hebraeische Formen ab, die in dieser Weise nicht entstanden sein können, vielmehr als innerhebraeische Neuentwicklungen anzusehen sind: beim Nomen die Suffixform 1. Pers. Plur. דִּינְנִי statt des zu erwartenden *דִּינְנִי; vgl. בָּנִי, לָנִי, כָּלְנִי, das vereinzelt מוֹדֵעָנִי קִרְמִנִי, syr. dīnān, targ. dīnā-nā, deren Uebereinstimmung unter einander beweist, dass jenes abnorme ē keine lautliche Umbildung eines ā sein kann;²² vgl. auch beim Perf. hebr. קָטַלְנִי syr. qatlan.

Ebenso unerklärt bleiben die Suffixformen der 2. Pers. masc. Sing., sowohl die Contextform דִּינְךָ, לְךָ, bei welcher gegen die alte Norm nicht der Bindevocal ā erhalten, gedehnt und der Schlussvocal α dann abgefallen, also nicht dinākh gebildet worden ist,²³ wie es im gemeinaramaeischen dinākh, lākh der Norm entsprechend der Fall ist, als auch andererseits die Pausalform דִּינָה, weil sie aus der voranzusetzenden Grundform dīnā-khā nicht erklärbar ist.²⁴ Die von der letzteren thatsächlich ausgegangene Pausalform musste auf הֶ- endigen, wie sie auch thatsächlich bei Praeposs. in בָּךְ, לְךָ, sonst in כָּלְךָ und bei vereinzelt Wörtern, wie נִתְנָהּ, הַבְּרָאָה Ezek. 28:15, הַשְׁמֵדֶךָ lautet.

Die eigenartigen hebr. Neubildungen דִּינְנִי und das pausale דִּינָה, die sich lautgesetzlich nicht erklären, sind Analogiebildungen nach Substantiven aus Wurzeln לָדָה, die auf הֶ-, im Stat. constr. הֶ-, ausgehen. Solche Nomina wie מַעֲשֵׂה, מַחֲשֵׂה, מַעֲשֵׂה bildeten regelmässig Suffixformen מַעֲשֵׂנִי, רִעֲנִי, רִעֲנִי, מַעֲשֵׂה, מַחֲשֵׂה²⁵ sowohl im Context als in Pausa. Nach Analogie dieser vocalisch auslautenden Nomina haben nun im Hebr. alle Nomina beim Suffix 1. Pers. Plur. נִי- angesetzt, während die Praepositionen לָנִי, בָּנִי und ein partikelhaft gebrauchtes Wort wie כָּלְנִי, ganz vereinzelt auch sonst ein Nomen (s. vorher),

²² Wie Ewald, S. 628, Stade, § 345c ("Dehnung eines aus ā entstandenen ē") annehmen wollten.—Als Rest des Genitiv-ı sehen das ē Wright, *Lectures*, S. 155; König, Bd. 2, S. 11, an. Aber abgesehen davon, dass es misslich wäre, einen sonst ganz verlorenen Casus neben dem Accusativ zum Zweck der Formerklärung wiederaufleben zu lassen, blieben dabei die entsprechenden suffigirten Imperfecte (unten S. 205) unerklärbar.

²⁴ Olshausen, S. 179, versucht keine Erklärung.—Nach König, Bd. 2, S. 11, ist es angeblich "wegen des schweren hellerschallenden Endvocals α" geschehen. Ist denn aber das α des Suffixes hā nicht ebenso schwer und hellerschallend?

²⁵ Ein urspr. d wird im Hebr. nur durch Einwirkung eines nachfolgenden Segol zu Segol, so in Formen wie מִלְכָּה, aber sonst nicht.

²⁶ Neben dieser Schreibung geht öfter die Pleneform דִּינָה her, die ein etymologischer Archaismus ist und von Formen wie שְׁחָרָה ausgeht.

jener Analogiewirkung entzogen blieben. So müssen auch vereinzelte Suffixformen der 3. Pers. Sing. masc. mit ־הוּ statt des normalen ו , wie אֲוִירֵהוּ , מִיִּנְהוּ , מִיִּטְהוּ , פִּילִגְטְהוּ , die eine befriedigende Erklärung nicht gefunden haben,²⁷ als sporadische Analogiebildungen nach Formen רִיעֵהוּ , קִצְרֵהוּ u. s. w. derselben ל־הוּ -Nomina aufgefasst werden.—Dessgleichen erklären sich die ganz isolierten zwei Fälle לִיִּהֲמִנְהוּ ,²⁸ קִרְבֵּנְהוּ einer Suffigirung mit der Endung ־נְהוּ für 3. Pers. Plur. fem. statt des regelrechten und gewöhnlichen ־נָהוּ (s. daselbst) aus Analogie nach solchen suffigirten Nomina auf ־נְהוּ , die mit diesem Suffix lautgesetzlich auf ēna bzw. ēnna endigen mussten.

Es bleibt nun aber die Suffixendung ־הִי noch unerklärt, die durch ihr Aufgeben des Binde- und Betonung des Suffixvocal ganz aus dem Rahmen aller übrigen einsilbigen Suffixe heraustritt und darum auch von der gemeinaramaeischen Endung ākh , die der sonstigen Norm entspricht, verschieden ist. Während nun bei den obigen Abweichungen die hebraeischen Praepositionen im Unterschied von den Substantiven die lautgesetzlich normalen Suffixformen aufweisen, theilen hier die Praepositionen die Abnormalität der Substantive: בִּי , לִי u. s. w. sind wie הִיִּנְהִי gebildet und unterscheiden sich ebenso wie dieses von dem regelrechten aramaeischen בִּי , לִי . Das umbildende Moment ist m. E. hier nicht beim Nomen, sondern bei den Praepositionen zu suchen. Das Aethiop. bietet, wie oben Anm. 28 erwähnt, bei verschiedenen Praepositionen mit Suffix der 2. Person zweierlei Formen: la-ka und b°ka , jenes offenbar = arab. لَكَ , dieses = بِكَ . Solche praepos. Form bi = hebr. b° musste nun auch im Hebr. suffigirt בִּי lauten; ihr konnten ohne Weiteres Praepositionen ohne vocalischen Auslaut wie עִם , מִן sich anschliessen und עִמִּי , מִמִּי bilden. Es folgte aber auch durch Analogiebildung לִי und dann die Nomina. Das lautgesetzlich bei la ursprüngliche, auch im Aram. allein erhaltene לִי verblieb daneben als Pausalform und verbreitete sich von diesem aus als solche durch Analogiebildung über die Praepositionen. So wurde die ursprüngliche vocalische Verschiedenheit von Praepositionen wie bi : la für das Hebr. zum Differenzierungsmittel für Context- und Pausalform bei einer Reihe von Praepositionen. Nachdem die Endung

²⁷ Bei Olshausen, § 131c ohne Erklärung; Stade, § 345c ("Dehnung eines aus d entstandenen ē ").—Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 91, gibt keine Erklärung.

²⁸ Hier ist die Schärfung des n nach urspr. Art noch erhalten, beim nächsten Wort nicht mehr; s. oben S. 195.

*khā bei diesen als Contextform etablirt war, griff sie durch Analogie auch auf das Nomen über; auch hier entstand hierdurch eine Contextform ךֿ . Vielleicht ist die Analogiebildung hier dadurch gefördert worden, dass die entsprechenden Pluralsuffixe כֿ , כֿֿ jetzt keinen wahrnehmbaren Bindevocal mehr vor sich hatten; aber das Singularsuffix *khā lässt immerhin, im Unterschied von den letzteren, den Halbvocal noch vernehmen; es könnte also höchstens eine entferntere Einwirkung vorliegen.— Das ךֿ mit seinem gedehnten Paenultimavocal eignete sich dafür, daneben zur Pausalform differenzirt zu werden. Dass es aber nicht genetisch zu jenem ךֿֿ gehört, ist daraus erwiesen, dass es sich nie bei Praepositionen wie בֿֿ als Pausalform findet; dagegen ist es bei Nomina von לֿֿ (s. S. 200) die lautgesetzlich regelmässige Form.

Als dann selbst die לֿֿ -Nomina wie עֲשִׂה , מַעֲשִׂה ihre ursprünglichen Suffixformen עֲשִׂי , מַעֲשִׂי , die ausserlich den Pluralen glichen, verkürzten und ihre suffigirten Formen überwiegend denen des starken Nomens anglichen, wurde auch hier עֲשִׂי , מַעֲשִׂי u. s. w. gebildet,³⁹ so dass nun selbst hier das ehemals alleinherrschende עֲשִׂיֿ (bezw. מַעֲשִׂיֿ) nur auf den Gebrauch in der Pausa eingeschränkt wurde.

III.

Zweierlei abnorme Entwicklungen in der Suffixansetzung weisen aramaeische Dialekte auf.

1. Im bibl.-Aramaeischen und in den Targūms erscheinen mehrere Suffixe beim pluralen Nomen in einer Form, welche von der syrischen und hebraeischen ihrem ganzen Wesen nach abweicht. Das Syrische lässt wie das Hebr. die Suffixe beim masc. Plural bekanntlich an die Endung aj des Status constructus antreten.⁴⁰ Mit ihnen stimmen auch mehrere Formen des ebengenannten jüd. Aramaeischen, nämlich רַעֲיוֹנֵי , רַעֲיוֹנֵיהִי , עֲלִינָא , רַאשֵׁיהֶם (bezw. הוֹן), בִּינֵיהֶן (kri, Dan. 7:8) überein; Alle im bibl.-Aram. und entsprechende in den Targumim auch mit Suffixen der 2. Pers. Pluralis. Diese sind zweifellos die alten ursprünglichen Formen.

³⁹ Wogegen beim Suffix 3. Pers. Sing. der Regel nach keine Analogiebildung stattfindet; vgl. רַעֲיוֹנֵי , מַעֲשִׂיהִי u. s. w.

⁴⁰ Ueber die eigenartige Suffixform אֲנִי der 3. Pers. behalte ich mir vor, in anderem Zusammenhang zu handeln.

Diese Auffassung wird gewiss auch sonst getheilt, und man denkt hierbei vermuthlich als Beleg an die Verschleifung des *j* im hebr. יִי , das *aw* gesprochen wird. Allein hier liegt der Fall ganz anders; das *j* wird noch geschrieben und fiel in der Aussprache nur dadurch weg, dass das *a* mit dem folgenden vocallosen *w* zu einer Art von Diphthong sich verband. Ein solcher Process kann aber nicht vorliegen in den obigen Fällen wie בָּנָיִךְ „deine Söhne,“ סִבְנָא „unsere Alten,“ wo ein *j* nicht geschrieben ist, und wo, wenn das plurale *aj* zu Grunde läge, unbedingt *b'nēkh*, *sābhēnā* zu erwarten wäre. Zeigt ja auch das parallele mand. בְּנֵי „seine Söhne,“ talm. פְּרֵיָה „seine Füsse“ mit Suffix *ē* statt *uhi* deutlich, dass die pluralen Formen aufgegeben worden sind.— Das bibl. *k'thib* $\text{גְּפִידָה שְׁנִיָּה}$ weist offenbar noch die alten pluralen Suffixformen auf; aber das *k'ri* $\text{גְּפִידָה שְׁנִיָּה}$, oder in anderen Ausgaben $\text{גְּפִידָה שְׁנִיָּה}$, nicht $\text{גְּפִידָה שְׁנִיָּה}$, beweist ebenso deutlich, dass hier in der masoretischen Aussprache, wie in allen obigen Fällen schon in der Consonantenüberlieferung, die *Singularform des Nomens*, nicht der Plural, den Suffixanfügungen des Plurals zu Grunde liegt.

Es liegt in allen diesen Fällen eine *Analogiebildung der suffigirten Masculin-Plurale nach den suffigirten Feminin-Pluralen* vor, welche letzteren bekanntlich im Aramaeischen nach altsemitischer Art dieselben Suffixformen für den Plural wie für den Singular hatten. Während im Hebraeischen die pluralen Suffixe יָ , יָהּ u. s. w. des Masculins durch Analogiebildung auf das Feminin übergriffen, wo ursprünglich nur Formen wie וְיָהּ . . . , וְיָהּ . . . u. s. w. berechtigt waren und im Fall des Suffixes der 3. Pers. Plur. וְיָהּ . . . , וְיָהּ . . . auch thatsächlich bestehen blieben, hat in obigen aramaeischen Dialekten und Formen umgekehrt der Ausgleichungstrieb die masculinen Formen den femininen gleichgebildet: nach Formen des Fem.'s wie בְּנִיָּהּ , בְּנִיָּהּ bildete sich durch Analogie בְּנִיָּהּ , בְּנִיָּהּ und so in allen Fällen des masculinen Plurals und dann auch bei den Praepositionen, so dass schliesslich selbst עַל , dessen ursprüngliche Form עַל־ gewesen war und das darum im *k'thib* noch die alten vollen Formen עַל־ , עַל־ aufweist, die dem Hebr. und Arab. entsprechen, unter dem Druck der Analogie in der *k'ri*-Aussprache עַל־ , עַל־ ganz wie בָּהּ , בָּהּ bildet.

Diese Analogiebildung ist im bibl.-Aram. und Targum nicht durch alle Personen der Suffixe durchgedrungen; denn das

ursprüngliche ִי , ִהּ der 1. und 3. Pers. Sing. ist erhalten geblieben, wie auch das plurale ִי vor dem Suffix der 2. und 3. Pers. Pluralis. Dagegen ist im Mandaeischen die Analogiebewegung zu Ende geführt worden. Jene eingeschränkte Analogiebildung des Westaramaeischen hat wieder im Hebraeischen ihr Gegenstück, wo das masculine ִי des Plurals nur bei den sonstigen suffigirten Femininen, aber nicht beim Suffix der 3. Pers. Pluralis durchgedrungen ist, wo vielmehr neben Formen wie הַרְבוּתֵיהֶם gewöhnlicher die ursprünglichen Bildungen wie הַרְבוּתָם u. A. m. erhalten sind.

2. Eine ebenso abnorme entgegengesetzte Erscheinung zeigt nun aber auch der Dialekt des bab. Talmuds und das Mandaeische: dass nämlich das Singular-Nomen vor Suffixen oft pluralische Form hat.

So suffigiren im b. Talmud oft singularische Nomina so wie: נַפְשִׁי "meine Seele," אֲדַעְתָּא "nach meiner Meinung," u. A. m.; ebenso bei Praeposs. schon in der Mischna: מִנֵּי "von mir" in dem alten Wortlaut der כתובה und des גֵּט (Miš. Kethubōth 10:4; Gittin 9:3). Ebenso im Mand. נַפְשִׁי "meine Person," הַאִילָא "meine Kraft," u. A. m.⁴⁶

Dem entsprechend bilden oft Singularnomina mit Suffix 2. Pers. Sing. im b. Talm. טַעְמִיךָ "dein Grund," פִּסְקִיךָ "dein Vers," Mand. זֶהְאֵהְכִיךָ "dein Gold," רִישִׁיךָ "dein Haupt" u. A. (neben Formen mit singularischer Endung auf אֶךְ).

Mit Suffix 1. Pers. Plur. oft im b. Talm. רִעְתִּין , פִּסְקִין , im Mand. רִאשָׁאֵנָא "unser Kopf," קֶאלָאֵנָא "unsere Stimme" (neben singularischem רִאשָׁא u. s. w.).

Ebenso bietet das Mand. und b. Talmudische bei den Suffixen הוּן , כוּן Singularnomina mit Pluralform; wie mand. כְּמִידָהוּן לְבוּשֵׁי־הוּן "ihre, eure Mutter," לִבְאֵי־הוּן "Euer Herz," גְּלִימֵי־הוּן "ihr Kleid," u. A. m.—b. talm. פִּי־הוּן "Euer Mund," גְּלִימֵי־הוּן "ihr Mantel," u. A.

Auch diese befremdlichen Bildungsweisen, die noch nicht erklärt sind, zeigen eine untereinander übereinstimmende Abweichung von der altaramaeischen Norm. Man könnte daran denken, dass hier Analogiebildungen nach solchen Nomina von ל"י -Wurzeln vorlägen, die auf ִי im Singular ausgelautet haben (wie hebr. שִׁי), z. B. אִיתִי , der ehemalige Status absolutus von

⁴⁶ Luzzato und Nöldeke, a. a. O.

سَمَا, سَمَا, dass מִנָּחַ etwa dem עָלִי mit radicaler Endung a j gefolgt wäre.

Es ist mir aber wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Erscheinungen Wirkungen jener ersten Suffixumbildung sind, wonach plurale Nomina nur vor einem Theil der Suffixe ihre pluralische Form bewahrten, aber vor anderen der Analogie der Singulare folgten (oben No. III, 1). Standen sonach bei demselben masculinen Plural regelmässig Formen, wie z. B. בְּנֵיךָ, בְּנֵיךָ neben בְּנֵיךָ, בְּנֵיךָ, so musste das Gefühl dafür, dass Formen mit der Endung יֵ- speciell pluralischen Charakters seien, in der lebendigen Sprache erlöschen. Wie dort Singularformen z. Th. den Plural vertraten, so konnte die Numerusmengung in einem Dialekt fortschreiten, und konnten in Folge davon pluralische Suffixe für den Singular eintreten.

IV.

Auch die *Suffixirung am Verb* bietet im Nordsemitischen eine Reihe von räthselhaften Erscheinungen.

Während in der einfachsten Perfectform, 3. Pers. Sing. Perf., die Suffixe seit ursemitischer Zeit mittelst *a*, des ehemaligen Schlussvocals dieser Form, antreten und im Aram. der unvermehrte Sing. und 1. Pers. Plur. des Imperfects die meisten Suffixe nach Analogie jener Perfectform anfügt, erscheint im Hebr. in diesen Imperfectformen ein *ē* (יִקְטִילֵי u. s. w.) vor den Suffixen,⁴⁷ dessen Ursprung dunkel ist. Die Annahme, dass das hebr. Imperfect im Indicativ jemals auf *i* ausgelautet habe (Böttcher, Merx), hat keinerlei Thatsache zur Stütze und kommt daher nicht in Betracht. Der Jussiv lautete consonantisch aus, wie die Verkürzung der langen Vocale in den Endsilben von תָּמוּת (= arab. tamūt), יִקְהִיל erweisen; es kann also auch kein Residuum dieses Modus vorliegen. Das beim Jussiv von arabischen Dichtern nur im Reimzwang gebildete jaqtūli ist, im Hinblick auf die Uebereinstimmung von arab. jamūt, jaqūm mit hebr. יָמוּת, יָקוּם, ebensowenig etwas ursprüngliches wie das ihm zur Seite gehende, gleichfalls der poetischen Lizenz eigenthümliche *i* im Perf. 3. Pers. Sing., z. B. כָּלַת oder bei Partikeln, wie in קָם, קָם.—Dass das *ē* nicht eine Umbildung von *u* sein kann, wie

⁴⁷ Auch das Segol von יִקְהִילֵי geht auf Zērē zurück; vor suffigirtem Kameṣ verwandelt sich Zērē in Segol; vgl. den Stat. Constructus יִקְהִילֵי mit יִקְהִילֵי.

seltsamer Weise König (Bd. 2, S. 443), oder von *a*, wie Stade (S. 348) annehmen will, bedarf keines weiteren Belegs.

Es liegt vielmehr Analogiebildung nach der einzigen Classe von Verben, deren Imperfect seiner Natur nach vocalischen Auslaut hatte, nach den Verbis ל"ה, vor. Die Imperfecte dieser Verba יַעֲשֶׂה, יִגְלֶה, יִרְאֶה bildeten ihre suffigirten Formen regelrecht wie יַעֲשֶׂנִי, יִגְלֶהוּ, יִרְאֶהוּ u. s. w. Ihnen folgten nun die Imperfecte aller übrigen Verba, die consonantisch endigten und eines Bindelautes bedurften, nach und setzten ihre Suffixe, wie sie an: יִקְטֹלֶהוּ, יִשְׁחַדֶּנִי u. s. w.—Ohne Bindevocal treten die 2. Pers. masc. Sing. und Plur. an (die 2. Plur. fem. kommt nicht vor): יִקְטֹלְךָ, יִקְטֹלְכֶם; das sind dieselben Personen, die auch im Perfect eines Bindevocals entbehrten: קָטַלְךָ, קָטַלְכֶם. Es erhellt hieraus, dass für das Bedürfniss nach einem Bindelaut beim suffigirten Imperfect die Existenz oder Nichtexistenz eines solchen bei der entsprechenden Perfectform bestimmend eingewirkt hat.

Dass die 2. Pers. Sing. des Imperativs consonantisch schloss, ist ohne Weiteres sicher. Wenn sie nun mit Suffixen Formen wie יִקְטֹלְךָ, יִשְׁחַדְךָ u. s. w. bildet, so erklärt sich dies wieder aus der Analogiebildung nach den entsprechenden ל"ה-Imperativen נִחַיְךָ, עֲנֵנִי u. s. w., die die regelrechten Suffixformen von נִחַיְךָ, עֲנֵנִי waren.—Diese Vorgänge bei suffigirten Verbalformen sind also mit denen beim Nomen im Suffix נִיְךָ, נִיְךָ (oben S. 200) parallel.

Associative Vorgänge verwandter Art liegen m. E. auch einigen suffigirten Formen im *Syrischen* zu Grunde. Der Imperativ 2. Pers. Sing. masc. des starken Verbs setzt bekanntlich Suffixe durch Vermittlung von *ai* an (*q^otol-ai-nⁱ*, *q^otol-ai-n*, *q^otol-ēh*,⁴⁸ dies aus *q. . ai-h[ā]*), welches aus dem consonantisch endigenden Imperativ des starken Verbs nicht stammen kann.⁴⁹ Das Syrische besitzt aber in den Imperativen von ܢܝܝܢ: ܢܝܝܢ, ܢܝܝܢ von Verben mit *i*-Perfect, deren ersteres transitiv ist, und neben dem sicher einst im Syrischen eine grössere Anzahl

⁴⁸ Vgl. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* 2, S. 139.—Ich finde aber auch *habai h* "gib sie!" Exod. 22:26 (Oroom.).

⁴⁹ Auch nicht aus der Endung des hebr. imperativischen קָטַלְךָ, an die Nöldeke (*ZDMG.*, Bd. 23, S. 295) erinnert hat. Denn selbst wenn man diese auch als einst im Syrischen vorhanden annehmen wollte, ist doch die Entsprechung von ܢܝܝܢ und *ai* nicht beweisbar, und die hebr. Endung, die ja auch im Imperfect erscheint, ist als Aequivalent derjenigen des arab. Subjunctivs anzusehen, also = *a*, nicht *ai*.

vorhanden waren, Bildungen, die an ihren diphthongischen Ausgang leicht Suffixe anfügten und darum die Analogiebildung der obigen suffigierten bewirkt haben werden.

Mit Suffix der 3. Pers. Sing. masc. bildet das Syrische **ܡܝܬܟܝܐ**. Diese Form folgte m. E. den ehemaligen Imperativen von Verben tertiae hamzatae, von denen jetzt im Peal nur noch tā "komm" erhalten ist, während die 2. Pers. masc. der Imperative der vermehrten Conjugationen von **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ** ihnen ebenfalls durchweg gefolgt sind: gallā, 'aglā u. s. w. Auch im Peal liegt sie überall den anderen Personen zu Grunde: g^olā-i, g^ola-u, g^olā-jēn.

Eine Personalendung ēn der 3. Pers. Plur. fem. tritt im Syrischen sowohl im Perf., als im Imperativ auf: **ܡܝܬܟܝܐ**, **ܡܝܬܟܝܐ**. Keine andere Sprache bietet ein Aequivalent für sie; dass sie eine jüngere Bildung ist, beweist auch, wie Nöldeke hervorgehoben hat, die Erhaltung des offenen Paenultima-*a* im Perfect. Ihr Ursprung erklärt sich aus denselben Imperativen mit diphthongischem Ausgang **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**, **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ** und den ehemaligen anderen Formen dieser Art. Trat an diese die ursemitische Endung na von **ܩܬܠܢܐ** = arab. uqtul-na an, so ergaben sich durch den regelmässigen Abgang des Schlussvocal im Syrischen Formen 'eštai-n, imai-n, deren Endung nach dem bekannten syrischen Gesetz zu ēn werden musste. Vom Imperfect aus wurde sie, deren Ursprung nun unkenntlich geworden, auf das Perfect übertragen. Ob für diese Uebertragung die gleichfalls jüngere masculine Perf.-Endung qetal-ūn, ebenfalls mit einem n, aber hier vom Imperfect her, den Anlass gegeben, oder umgekehrt das Feminin für dieses Masc., bleibe dahingestellt; ein Zusammenhang beider Vorgänge besteht jedenfalls.

V.

Ein Suffix eigener Art ist das masc. **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**, fem. **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**, welche an das syrische unvermehrte Imperfect antreten, wie **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**, **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**⁵⁰ u. s. w., und die eine befriedigende Erklärung bisher nicht gefunden haben. Das t kann kein ursprünglicher Auslaut des Imperfects gewesen sein, weil die einfache Imperfectform bei keiner Classe auf t ausging. Auch ist jede Deutung, die darauf

⁵⁰ Auch bei der 2. Pers. Sing. Perf. **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**, **ܬܝܬܝܬܝܐ**. Hier liegt der Fall aber nicht klar, weil das Verb auf t endigte, und dadurch die reine Form des Suffixes nicht zu erkennen ist.

THE EMPHATIC STATE IN ARAMAIC.

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There are not many phenomena in the Semitic languages the origin of which is as much in question as is that of the so-called Emphatic State in Aramaic. One may learn this fact from the variety of opinions on the Emphatic State which are given. On the one hand, some scholars do not venture to express an opinion upon the derivation of the form in question. Among these is Marti, who in his *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache* (1896), § 70, observes a profound silence in regard to the rise of the Emphatic State. The same cautiousness is observed by H. Zimmern in his *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (1898), § 57, *g*, who simply says that the stem which has developed into the termination of the Emphatic State is an obscure one.¹ On the other hand, many scholars offer a derivation of the Emphatic State, but they differ greatly in their attempted solutions.

One party thinks that it is the accusative of the Old Semitic languages which has developed into the Emphatic State. This opinion has been set forth by me in my *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache*, Vol. II (1895), p. 431. Hubert Grimme has also remarked in his *Grundzüge der hebräisches Accent- und Vocalehre* (1896), p. 41, Anm. 1, that the Emphatic State in Aramaic can hardly represent anything else than an obsolete accusative. Nor is G. Kampffmeyer, in a very interesting paper recently published,² less inclined to approve this solution of the problem.

Another circle of students holds that the Emphatic State represents the union of the noun with an original demonstrative syllable. In this way the question is answered, for instance, by the following scholars: Noldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, § 216;

¹ H. Zimmern's words read: "Im Aramäischen erfolgt die Determination durch ein, seinem Ursprung nach dunkles, am Wortende antretendes Element a."

² G. Kampffmeyer on "Sädarabisches," *ZDMG.*, 1900, p. 630.

Syr. Gram., § 70, and *Die semitischen Sprachen* (2d ed., 1899), p. 40; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (1880), p. 249; Kautzsch, *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1884), § 52; W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1890), p. 152; J. Barth, in *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XIII (1896-97), p. 12; Strack, *Gram. des bibl. Aramäischen* (1897), § 7; M. Schultze, *Die aramäische Muttersprache Jesu* (1899), § 41.

Let us now examine which of these two ways is to be chosen in order to find the true solution to this enigma.

1. It is a well-known fact in the history of languages that the accusative yields a new and fuller form to the nominative. In fact, documents illustrating this remarkable process are at hand.³ Is not the form *πατρίδα*, which everyone recognizes as the accusative of the word *πατρίς* in Old Greek, the nominative in the Neo-Hellenistic language? Is not the phrase "the fatherland" expressed through *ἡ πατρίδα*? Is the French *raison* not an echo of the Latin accusative *rationem*? The psychological cause of this phenomenon is to be sought, in all probability, in the circumstance that the accusative indicates the goal to which the majority of all the verbs point. Hence it is easily understood that the accusative form of the nouns received the first place in the so-called linguistic consciousness of a people. From the same source is to be derived the widespread use of the accusative to indicate extension, manner, or the indefinite *relation*, either of an act or of a state. The various uses of the accusative which are called "the vessel" (*aḡ-ḡarfu*), "the circumstance" (*al-ḡālu*), and "the specification" (*at-tamjīzu*) in the Arabic grammar are illustrated by a mass of Hebrew and other examples in my *Syntax*; cf. §§ 328, *c*; 332, *a*; 326, *d*; 332, *a*, *g-l*; 338, *x*; and §§ 328, *c*, *g*; 333, *b*, *β*; cf. § 336, *h-k*. Thus it could happen that the accusative form of the nouns took upon itself the function of the former nominative.

Semitic languages show the following evidences of this development of the old accusative. There are passages in the writings that belong to the Middle Age of the Arabic literature in which nouns with the accusative ending *an* are read, whereas we should

³ A large number of examples of this linguistic process, taken from the Greek and the French languages, will be found in my little book entitled *Hebräisch und Semitisch. Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der semitischen Sprachen, nebst einem Exkurs über die vorjordanische Sprache Israels und den sprachlichen Charakter der Pentateuchquelle PC* (1901), pp. 15 sqq.

expect the nominative. Both Spitta-Bey⁴ and K. Vollers⁵ have established this phenomenon. Within the Old Hebrew scriptures, again, words ending in *ā*⁶ are met with quite frequently. A complete list of all these words is given in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 432 sq. It is not only that the form of these words has become a fuller one by this ending *ā*, but the meaning of these words also possesses a great emphasis.⁷ In one passage, at least, such a form signifies the absolute degree of a conception, viz., Jon. 2:10b, where the words *יְשׁוּעָה לַיהוָה* should be rendered "the salvation belongs to the Lord." (Cf. the other passages collected in my *Syntax*, § 269, a-c.) Thus, we may say, these forms fulfil to some extent the function of nouns provided with the definite article. Moreover, this termination *ā* is an echo of the accusative ending *an*, which is reduced to the simple sound *a*, when the word is in some way determined. This origin of the Hebrew *ā* has been explicitly acknowledged by J. Barth.⁸ If we would appeal, with W. Wright,⁹ to an older syllable *a*, the phonetical relation between Arabic and Hebrew would demand that the termination in question possess the vowel *o*. Further Old Testament passages where the accusative, indicated by the preposition *לְ*, represents the subject of a sentence are set forth in my *Syntax*, § 270, a-c. There may also be found there the traces of this tendency in the use of the accusative which are met with in the Neo-Hebrew and the later Aramaic literatures (§ 270, f).

These facts, occurring in the history of the accusative, furnish a sufficiently strong motive for asking the question whether the

⁴ Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten* (1880), p. 147.

⁵ Vollers in his "Beiträge zur lebenden arabischen Sprache in Ägypten" (*ZDMG.*, 1887, pp. 365 seqq.) says: "Die Accusativendung findet sich an Stellen, wo syntactisch der Nominativ erwartet wird."

⁶ Already in my *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* I have commended the following mode of indicating the length of the Semitic vowels: (α) The long vowels whose lengthening is due to the accent are provided with a simple horizontal line; e. g., *ā*. (β) When the length of a vowel is caused through a phonetical transformation of the syllable in question, a Greek circumflex is to be employed; e. g., *ā̂*. (γ) In the cases where the length of a vowel is an original one I put the common circumflex over the vowel; e. g., *ā̃*. Now again I plead for this manner of characterizing the different kinds of long vowels in Semitic. This method, in my opinion, is very instructive.

⁷ Besides, it is falsely said that the words ending in *ā* were used in order to effect the regularity of the rhythm. See on this point my *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur comparatively dargestellt* (1900), p. 333.

⁸ J. Barth in his paper "Über die Casusreste im Hebräischen" (*ZDMG.*, 1899, p. 599). Some other opinions proposed in this paper are examined in my book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch*, etc. (1901), *passim*.

⁹ Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 143.

Aramaic forms ending in *ā* do not contain either a direct or an indirect remnant of the Old Semitic accusative forms. There is no doubt, for instance, that the former words *malkan* and *malkatan* can have been preserved in *malkā* “(the) king” and *malk^otā* “(the) queen.” But can it be made verisimilar that the emphatic plural form *malkè* “(the) kings” is a reduced form of an earlier *malkaina*?

The termination *aina*, to be sure, is to be presupposed as the ending of the oblique case of the so-called masculine plurals¹⁰ in Old Aramaic. This results from the *ai*, the actual termination of the construct state of the plural forms in Syriac.¹¹ The *-aina*, thus attested, was the genitive and accusative form of *-āna*. This termination indicated the nominative of the masculine plural, as is seen from the Ethiopic ending *ān* of the masculine plural, and the same *-ān* is probably to be recognized in such a form as, for instance, *besmānè*, the plural of *besmā* “odor.”¹² Now, the above-mentioned ending *-aina* could be transformed into *è* through a triple process. The *-aina* could lose its second *a* just as easily as this sound has become silent in many other endings. (Compare the Old Arabic *-ina* with the Modern Arabic *-in*, etc.) The *ain*, thus won, could be differentiated from the dual termination *-ain* (cf. the Syriac *terèn* “two,” etc.) by neglecting the nasal sound in the same manner as in the case of the *n*, which is often lost in the plural ending *in*.¹³ Finally, the existence of the diphthongal termination *ai* in the construct state of the plural (for instance, *malkai*) might argue for the pronunciation of the *ai* of *ain* as the monophthong *ae* or *è*. The same pronunciation *malke* or *malki* is today heard in the Modern Syriac.¹⁴

Of course, the derivation of the Emphatic State of the feminine plural would not make any difficulty. The form *malkatan* could be the prototype of *malkātā* “(the) queens.” Or did the

¹⁰ Many Semitic words which are of the masculine gender express the plural number through the termination *āt*, and *vice versa*.

¹¹ Compare the derivation of this *ai* given in *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 435.

¹² Brockelmann in his *Syrische Grammatik* (1899), § 121, derives the above-mentioned syllable *ān* in the same way.

¹³ The simple *ʾ* as the sign of the termination in the *absolute* state of the plural is found in the Zengīrlī Hadad and Panammu inscription. All the examples (אִלְיָהוּ, etc.) are found in M. Lidsbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898), p. 397. The other traces of *i* and *ē* as the terminations of the *absolute* state of the plural found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, etc., are collected in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 435.

¹⁴ Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (1896), § 18, 1.

plural ending *ātun* not possess an accusative form *ātān*? This question is answered in the affirmative by the Ethiopic accusative termination *āta* (cf. furthermore my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 429).

If we suppose this to have been the origin of the Aramaic ending *ā*, it is by no means surprising that the absolute position and the emphasis, hence resulting, in the use of nouns terminating in such an *ā* were easily neglected. Indeed, they are not determined in Old Syriac,¹⁵ and the modern Syrians look on the so-called Emphatic State of nouns as "the normal one."¹⁶ These nouns could have the same fate as obsolete accusatives of other languages.

Yet are there not obstacles which prevent altogether this derivation of the Emphatic State?

These difficulties are, in the first line, connected with the Emphatic State of the plural forms ending in *i(n)*. Did their Emphatic State end originally with the *ē* of *malkē*? Did the termination of this form not consist formerly of the syllables *aijā*?

In Syriac the small group of plural forms ending in *aijā* embraces, for the most part, such words as *benaijā* "(the) sons," and other "biliteral" nouns." May we not find in such forms an old increment of the small volume of these words? Cannot the extension of the body of such words be akin to the increment which is exhibited, for instance, in *'abāhātā* "(the) fathers"? Furthermore, one of the Syriac words terminating in *aijā* is indeed a secondary one; the form *'appa* "(the) face," when the ending was still pronounced diphthongally, prolonged itself according to the analogy of other emphatic forms, and thus the word *'appaijā* "(the) curtain" arose.

Yet it is necessary, again, not to neglect the following fact: Forms ending with *aijā* occur in such old texts as the Zengīrli inscriptions. There we read, for instance, מלכיא.¹⁷ Is this fact not a cogent proof that the termination *aijā* is the primary one? But we must not forget that the same inscriptions contain phenomena of a doubtless secondary character. Here is one instance,

¹⁵ Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, § 98.

¹⁶ Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (1895), § 16.

¹⁷ Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.*, § 117: "Zweiradicalige Nomina."

¹⁸ In the so-called "Bau-Inschrift," l. 14.

at least: the masculine plural of the imperfect has in these inscriptions no other ending than the mere *û*; e. g., יקדו, etc.

Finally, the following circumstance is not to be disregarded. The Palmyrene inscriptions, dating from the last century B. C. to the third century A. D.,¹⁹ offer such forms as מלכא, etc., side by side with such forms as יוניא, etc. From this fact is not the conclusion to be drawn that the ending *ê*, which is wanting in the Zengîrli inscriptions hitherto found, is the later one? This conclusion is, however, not an absolutely certain one. The following objection may be brought forward: All the forms of the masculine plural of the imperfect have the ending *ûn* in the Palmyrene inscriptions.²⁰ Now, beyond any doubt this termination *ûn* is the prototype of the mere *û* occurring in the Zengîrli inscriptions. Consequently there is the possibility that the plural forms מלכא, etc., represent an older stage in the evolution of the Emphatic State of the so-called masculine plural.

In Syriac, too, the ending *ûn* reigns throughout in the plural of the imperfect. Is it, then, impossible that the termination *ê* which characterizes the Emphatic State of the so-called masculine plural in the same language should mark a former stadium in the development of Aramaic dialects?

Moreover, a few words are to be added regarding the emphatic forms of the demonstrative pronouns. One reads זנ and זנא in the sense of the masculine "this" in the Zengîrli Panammu inscription, l. 22, etc.²¹ These fuller forms *zenâ*, etc., offer no difficulty, if we accept the explanation of the Emphatic State which is detailed in the above remarks.

2. The second way of deriving the Emphatic State in Aramaic leads to the following solution of the problem. One sees in the Emphatic State the combination of the noun with a demonstrative syllable. Let us now examine the difficulties which result from this opinion.

(a) A first difficulty is to be seen in the following fact: It has been shown above from the words of Brockelmann and of Maclean that the so-called emphatic forms do not possess a determination either in the older Syriac or in the modern Syriac. Did it, therefore, happen that the language chose a special mark of

¹⁹ Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen*, 2d ed. (1899), p. 36.

²⁰ See Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 400.

²¹ On the corresponding forms *dên* and *denâ* one may consult Kautsch's *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 20, and Nöldeke's *Syr. Gram.*, §§ 67 sq.

the determination only in order to neglect this mark? It does not seem to be easy to answer this question in the affirmative.

(b) A similar objection proceeds from the following circumstance: If we decide that the Emphatic State grew out of the postposition of a demonstrative *a*, we must concede that this syllable has been dropped in a great number of these forms (מלכא, etc.). The case would be as follows: The syllable *a* would have been added on purpose to secure a longer form, and then this ending would have been cut off again.

To be sure, an explanation of this subsequent abbreviation is proposed. Appeal is made commonly to the so-called "nomina gentilicia," or nouns indicating a relation, which in Aramaic end with the syllable *āj*. This explanation is offered, for instance, by Brockelmann in his *Syrische Grammatik* (1899), § 100. There we read that *jaunājaijā*, the regular form, which is to be expected in the plural Emphatic State of the word *jaunaj* "Greek," was shortened to *jaunājè*. However, it is a question whether this form is the more original one or is only an abbreviation of *jaunājaijā*. Why could not this fuller form be preserved? Was the similarity of the last two syllables a sufficient motive to shorten the word?

But let us suppose that such forms as *jaunājè* or *kasdājè* (Dan. 2:5), etc., were created through an abbreviation; nevertheless the opinion is not a quite natural one that this abbreviation was imitated by all the other nouns. If the shortened form of nouns like *jaunājaijā* was caused by the similarity of their last two syllables, would not this process be perspicuous enough? Why, then, has this single class of words (*jaunājè*, etc.) wielded such an extraordinary influence? Why has the analogy of the above-mentioned forms, *benaijā*, etc., in spite of their frequency, not exercised the same influence? It is not easy to answer these questions, and the opinion that the forms *mal-kaijā*, etc., were shortened is the more difficult, because the construct state, *malkai*, etc., existed. Did this form not contain a protest sufficiently loud against the shortening of the form *malkaijā*, etc.?

(c) To which form of the so-called masculine plurals²² was the demonstrative syllable *a* postfixed?

Was the *a* annexed to the "construct state"? This question is answered in the affirmative both by Brockelmann and by

²² See above, p. 210, note 3.

Kautzsch.²³ Yet such an annexion cannot have been the original idea of the language. Such an annexion is in opposition to the natural relation of substantives and demonstratives. Whenever a substantive is determined by a demonstrative, both are coördinated. Look to the so-called *mimation* and *nünation*, and you have the best evidence. There the *m* or *n* is, in the first line, annexed to the absolute state of the nouns. Compare the Arabic form *malikū-na* "kings."

Or can it be presupposed that the ending *ai* of *malkai* was formerly the termination of the *absolute* state of the plural? This opinion was indeed accepted by G. Hoffmann in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* (1887), p. 605.²⁴ He gives no basis for it, however, and I think that a basis cannot be found in the Assyrian. In this language there are forms of the absolute state of the plural which do not terminate in *a*, but in an ending to be pronounced either as *i* or as *e*.²⁵ H. Winckler holds in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1892), p. 169, that this plural termination, according to the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, had no other pronunciation than *i*. At any rate, to suppose that the original ending of the so-called masculine plurals in Syriac is preserved only in the Emphatic State is very questionable.

(d) A last difficulty will be met with by us as we now proceed to examine the origin of the syllable *a* itself.

(a) No doubt there is a complex of demonstrative elements which is pronounced 'a. One finds this syllable in the Hebrew adverbs *זֶה*, *זֵה*, etc.,²⁶ whilst the Phœnician *זֶה* "this"²⁷ and the Aramaic *זֶה*²⁸ probably contain a mere prothetic sound,²⁹ rather than the above-mentioned syllable 'a. At all events, this syllable cannot have possessed from the beginning a long vowel. Such a one would, in Hebrew, be transformed into *o*. Hence it would be

²³ Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.*, § 100, writes: "Der Pluralis masculinus hat die Endung [in], st. constr. [ai], emph. [aija];" and Kautzsch, *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 52, says explicitly: "Das determinirende *a* tritt an die (im Syrischen noch erhaltene) ursprüngliche Endung des Status constructus — [ai] an."

²⁴ G. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, says that "der Status constructus pluralis ist für einen ehemaligen Status absolutus zu halten."

²⁵ Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 67a.

²⁶ Cf. my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 249, 365.

²⁷ Bloch, *Phœnicisches Glossar*, pp. 27 sq.; Lidsbarski, *Handbuch*, etc., p. 264.

²⁸ *זֶה* is detected by J. Barth and others in the Zengirli Panammu inscription, l. 2.

²⁹ See the instances of such a prothetic sound which are cited from the Old Testament, the Mišna, the Mandaic (ܐܝܬܐ), etc., in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 498 sq.

a somewhat audacious opinion if we were to find the source of the ending of the Emphatic State in the syllable 'a.

(β) Appeal has been made to the syllable ha occurring in the Arabic hādā, etc., "this," etc. For instance, W. Wright (*Comparative Grammar*, etc., p. 152) derives "gubrajja from גּוּבְרַיְיָ + הָא." Yet this syllable ha always preserved its *spiritus asper*, for instance in the Syriac hānā "dieser," or in the feminine הָאָהָא, or in hādā, etc., but the same syllable ha would have lost its *spiritus asper* when annexed to nouns. This difficulty has not been overlooked by J. Barth in his article in this JOURNAL (Vol. XIII, p. 12). After he had found for himself the source of the Emphatic State's ending in this syllable ha, he added a remark which destroys the edifice constructed previously by himself. Hear his own words:

Nicht als ob man ohne weiteres das aramäische a des Emphaticus als ein angehängtes ha ansehen dürfte. Denn in diesem Falle müsste jedes ܐ des Emphaticus singularis feminini ein hartes t haben, weil es aus t + ha kontrahiert wäre, und Endungen mit aspiriertem ܐ, wie in ܐܠܡܢܐ ["profit" or "income"] und in allen gleichgebildeten Formen sowie in den Nomina auf ܐܢܐ, ܐܢܐ, etc., wären kaum erklärlich. Soviel zeigen wenigstens diese und die ähnlichen Fälle, dass das Aramäische sich keiner Endung ha, sondern nur einer Endung ܐ bewusst war.³¹

³⁰ הָאָהָא is written in an Aramaic inscription, found at Teima in Arabia, which is reproduced in Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 447, where in l. 15 we read הָאָהָא ܐܢܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

³¹ The same syllable ha, occurring in the Arabic hādā, in the Aramaic הָאָהָא, etc., is said by J. Barth (in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, pp. 8 sq.) to be the prototype of the *Hebrew article*. But (a) first let us not overlook the following two circumstances: (a) A long vowel ā is, as a rule, transformed into ō in Hebrew. The exceptions, viz., קָרַב, etc. (cf. my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 140 sq., 355), are caused through the circumstance that these words, קָרַב, etc., bear a character more Aramaic than Hebrew. (β) After a long vowel the doubling of the following consonant would not be expected. Barth, indeed, appeals to the doubled consonants which are met with sometimes after מָרַב. But the vowel a of מָרַב, as to its quantity, is a short or an anceps one (see the full discussion of this point in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 368, rem. 1).—(b) Furthermore, there is certainly in Arabic the demonstrative syllable al, and the pronunciation hal has been heard by Wallin (*ZDMG.*, Vol. VI, p. 217). The same syllable al is a component of the Arabic alla dī, with which the Hebrew אֵלֶּיךָ corresponds, in spite of Barth's objections. The Arabic syllables al or hal, therefore, are the nearest analogies of the *Hebrew article*. A similar phenomenon is the syllable han, which is read in the lihyanic inscriptions found at el-Oela in north Arabia (see the discussion of this han undertaken in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 369).—(c) Barth, indeed, thinks (in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, p. 9) that, if one combines the Arabic and the Hebrew article, the forms אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ, etc., contain "eine Verbindung des Artikels mit dem Personalpronomen," and this pretended connection is called by him a monstrous one. But this judgment appears to me an erroneous one. If the Hebrews chose phrases like אֵלֶּיךָ, etc., the demonstrative אֵלֶּיךָ has received the function of an attribute. Have we not the same case with the Latin *is*, or *ille*? Are these words not employed partly as self-dependent words (i. e., as pronouns) and partly as attributes (i. e., as adjectives)? At any rate, the syllable ܐ (ha), employed in phrases like bayyōm ha hū', is the article, whencesoever this ha is to be derived.

According to these words, Barth himself has to forego the syllable *hā* as the original termination of the Emphatic State. Hence he has recourse to a syllable *'ā*. However, such a demonstrative syllable is altogether lacking in Aramaic or in Old Semitic. Barth, it is true, appeals to the *ā* which is spoken in the modern Arabic *ā-di* "this here," etc. (Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, p. 76). Yet an Old Semitic phenomenon is, in my opinion, to be illustrated through forms which belong to the same stage in the evolution of the same language.

Of course, there is a syllable *hā* which, in Ethiopic, characterizes the accusative of a class of nouns. But we have seen in the above treatise that a syllable commencing with a *spiritus asper* is scarcely the germ whence the termination of the Emphatic State grew up. If the Semitic ending of the accusative, the vowel *a(n)*, has its origin in the Ethiopic *hā* (see on this point my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, p. 428), this process contains nothing but a hint as to the *ideal* relation which exists between the accusative and a noun, conjoined with a demonstrative syllable.

(γ) Lately another source for the termination of the Emphatic State is thought to have been discovered. Its ending *ā* is said to be the echo of the south Arabic termination *hān* or *ān*. This is the view of Hommel.²²

Now, the consonant *n* that is written in the end of nouns in the Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions may be regarded with a high grade of probability as having grown up out of the postfixed demonstrative *hān* (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 57). Hommel, to be sure, concedes (§ 17 at the end) that the existence of a south Arabic demonstrative *hān* is not yet settled. Yet this existence results verisimilarly from the Minæo-Sabæan forms of the dual. To-wit, there are south Arabic forms of the dual which in Minæan inscriptions terminate in the consonants *nī-hn*, and in Sabæan inscriptions in the consonants *n-hn* (Hommel, § 66), and these forms are to be taken for the "Status Emphaticus or forms with the article." It cannot be denied that these forms, in whose terminations the consonant *h* (𐤇) is read, include the demonstrative *hān*. This opinion is commended especially

²² Hommel has commended this view in his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Vol. I (1892), p. 112, and in his *Südarabische Chrestomathie* (1893), § 57.

through the forms of the dual which end with the letters *hîn*, i. e., the syllables *haini* or *hain*.²³

For a long time I have investigated the question whether these south Arabic dual forms with *h* and the south Arabic nouns whose ending consists of a mere *n* (𐤎)²⁴ can be separated from each other. I think this separation is not possible, because the strange fact that the *h* of *hân* in dual forms is written and in other forms is wanting is not altogether inexplicable. Perhaps the *h* of *hân* is retained after the dual termination *-ânai*,²⁵ because near the *ân* of *ânai* the mere *ân* was disdained. At any rate, I cannot agree with G. Kampffmeyer,²⁶ who lately has proposed the thesis that this south Arabic ending *ân* is an old termination of the accusative. He thinks he can regard the words ending with *ûn*, *în*, or *ân* as a triad of old case-forms.

As to the nouns which terminate in *ân*, Kampffmeyer's thesis is the variation of a view already suggested by Hommel. Although this, as we have seen above, supposed another origin of the south Arabic termination (a)n, he conjectured that the post-fixed article met with in south Arabic left behind a remnant in north Arabic too. This remainder was sought by him in the diptotic character of the adjectives ending with *ânû*.²⁷ Yet do all nouns terminating in *ân* follow the diptotic declension? No, one knows that not even all the adjectives ending in *ân* are diptotic, but only those whose feminines have the termination *ây*.²⁸ Now, a quality belonging to a single *portion* of a class cannot be based on a peculiarity characteristic of the whole class. Barth, in a very instructive article upon the diptotic

²³ Compare the form of the oblique cases, which is derived from the dual of the Arabic demonstrative ٱَيْن, viz., *daini*.

²⁴ 𐤎 is written in the end of the masculine and the feminine singular and of the so-called broken plural (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 57).

²⁵ This is the ending of the dual in Minæan, whilst this ending seems to be a mere *-ânî* in Sabæan (Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, § 65).

²⁶ G. Kampffmeyer, in his paper on "Südarabisches," *ZDMG.*, 1900, pp. 621 sqq.

²⁷ Hommel, *Südarab. Chrestomathie*, § 57: "Der angehängte Artikel des Südarabischen hat im Nordarabischen noch eine Spur zurückgelassen in dem diptotischen Charakter der Adjectiva auf ٱَأْن."

²⁸ Cf. Caspari's *Arabische Grammatik*, 5. Aufl., bearbeitet von Aug. Müller, § 307, 2, d: "Die Adjectiva derselben Form mit Fem. ٱَأْن sind triptota, wie ٱَأْن 'Tischgenosse.'" Adjectives of the type *fu'lân* follow throughout the triptotic declension.

flexion," has suggested that the diptotic character of the adjectives in question depends upon the form of the feminines corresponding to them. At all events, the nominal affixes *ānun* or *ānu*, in my judgment, are not to be separated from the series of the other syllables through whose annexion nouns are derived in Semitic languages. The affix *ānun*, therefore, cannot be isolated from the affix *iyyun*, etc.

Nor is it, I believe, possible to prove the thesis of Kampffmeyer, that an old case-termination (*ān*) has been received in the series of the nominal affixes. I can be the less ready to admit this opinion, since its author has not succeeded in offering any positive arguments which would require this new view. On the contrary, there are considerable difficulties dissuading us from this judgment. Moreover, is it not a presupposition purely hypothetical that the vowel of the endings of cases anywhere in Semitic was a long one? Furthermore, in Phœnician³⁹ and Hebrew we should have, then, a double group of remnants of the case-terminations, viz.: first, *ō*, *ī*, *ā* (see above, p. 219); and, secondly, the nominal affixes *ān*, *īn*, *an*.⁴¹ Therefore, Kampffmeyer does not seem to me to have thrown a fresh light upon the south Arabic termination (*a*)*n*.

If, then, the Minæo-Sabæan (*a*)*n* is, with Hommel, to be reduced to the demonstrative syllable *hān*, it remains precarious to see in this south Arabic ending the prototype of the *ā* in which the Emphatic State in Aramaic terminates. Let us briefly consider the difficulties rising against this view. If we should recur to the syllable *hān*, its *spiritus asper* would lead to the same objections which are considered above (p. 217) as to the syllable *hā*. In Aramaic, again, we have the demonstrative *hān* with the sound *n*. And are there any positive traces of a peculiar relation between the south Arabic and the Aramaic branches of the Semitic languages? I have found, to be sure, such a trace.

³⁹ Barth in his paper on "Die diptotische Flexion," *ZDMG.*, 1892, pp. 684 sqq., 694 sq. A new hypothesis on the Arabic diptota is set forth by Reckendorf in his book, *Die syntactischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (1898), pp. 170 sqq. In his opinion the so-called Elative forms (أَفْعَلٌ) were the starting-point of the diptotic declension in Arabic.

⁴⁰ Stade, "Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnischen und dem Hebräischen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades," in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, 1875, p. 192.

⁴¹ The Semitic nouns which possess these affixes are collected in my *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. II, pp. 99 sqq., 405, and the quantity of the affix *an* is discussed in detail in my little book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch*, etc. (1901), pp. 59-61.

We have in Minæo-Sabæan, as well as in Aramaic, the demonstrative 𐤀.⁴² But the *n* of this demonstrative is found in Phœnician, too,⁴³ and the word 𐤀 has in Aramaic also preserved its *n*. However, the termination of the Emphatic State in Aramaic would have lost the sound *n*; that is to say, that very element would have been neglected which is said to have indicated the determination of nouns.

Considering all these difficulties, I venture to raise the question whether the solution of the problem proposed above is not to be preferred.⁴⁴

⁴² In the Zengīrlī inscriptions we read 𐤀 and 𐤀𐤀 (Lidsbarski, *Handbuch*, etc., p. 284).

⁴³ 𐤀 is written in the large inscription found at Byblos and reprinted in Lidsbarski's *Handbuch*, etc., p. 416, l. 4, etc.

⁴⁴ Finally I beg the pardon of the kind readers for some Germanisms found in this paper which I have composed myself in English.

SOME UNPUBLISHED RELIGIOUS TEXTS OF ŠAMAŠ

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Until within a comparatively short time the publication of Assyrian Religious Texts has been of a desultory character, few attempts having been made systematically to bring out complete series of texts. Among continental scholars three marked exceptions may be mentioned. To Tallqvist for his publication of *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, and to Zimmern for his publication of *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, as well as to Knudtzon for his *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, students of Assyrian and Babylonian religion are deeply indebted. Among English Assyriologists a similar debt is due to King for his careful editing of *The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand*, and to Thompson for *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*. Such work as these men have done has been greatly facilitated by the appearance, two years ago, of the fifth volume of the *Catalogue*, but there remains a vast amount of material yet to be brought to light. In his preface to *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, King well says: "Although so much has been done in recent years to explain their religious literature, no finality in the matter must be expected for some time to come, certainly not as long as any important religious text remains unpublished." For this reason, then, these religious texts relating to the worship of Šamaš have been published, in the hope that they may form a small contribution to the history of Babylonian religion, the writing of which, as Zimmern has remarked in the *Vorwort* of his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, is "today as yet a thing impossible."

The texts which are given in the following pages comprise all of the hitherto unpublished Šamaš Religious Texts, which are classified in the fifth volume of the *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* as "Incantations and prayers and hymns to the Sun-god" (p. 2053),

as "Hymns to Šamaš" (p. 2044), and as "Prayers to Šamaš" (p. 2153). For two reasons it was not thought best to include those texts which have already been published. In the first place, with two or three exceptions they are all given in the second edition of Vol. IV of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, which means that very few corrections to these plates could be found. Secondly, the present piece of work is only preliminary to a more extended discussion of the Šamaš Religious Literature, which will include a transliteration and translation of all the Šamaš texts, together with exegetical notes and glossary, and an introduction. In the case of one text already published, K. 3182, so many fragments have been added to it as to make it almost a new text. For this reason, and also the fact that it is one copy of a very important hymn, it has been included. In the case of K. 4872, the numerous duplicates of this valuable incantation text have been published, thus making possible the restoration of a large portion of the tablet, although the incantation to Šamaš occupies only the first column and half of the second.

The greater number of the tablets are in the Assyrian character, and are quite easily read where not mutilated. In one or two tablets, as for example in K. 3286, some of the characters approach the Babylonian. Seven tablets, K. 2132, K. 2296, K. 2883, K. 4795, K. 5982, K. 10527, and Bu. 91-5-9, 132, are written in the Babylonian.

As for the language, it is for the most part Assyrian. The following texts are bi-lingual: K. 2605, K. 4872 and duplicates, K. 5982 and duplicate, K. 11789 duplicate of K. 4803, S. 690, Rm. 129 duplicate of K. 3343, Bu. 91-5-9, 180 duplicate of K. 256. Two of the texts, K. 3462 and K. 4795, are Sumerian.

With regard to the classification given in the *Catalogue*, it must frequently be considered as merely tentative. For instance, K. 11768 is classified as a hymn, and K. 9830 as an incantation and prayer, but they have both been joined. In many cases, owing to the smallness of the fragment or to the indefiniteness of the contents, it was impossible to give it a more definite classification than that of a "religious text." Again, in the case of many tablets, the classification into incantations, prayers, and hymns is a purely arbitrary one, the dividing line between such religious texts being very vague. A single text will often partake of the character of both a hymn or prayer and an incantation, or

even of all three of these. There is only one pure hymn among the Šamaš Religious Texts.

Three tablets, K. 5900, K. 12000, and Rm. 601, are quite different in the phraseology of the first line from any other Šamaš religious text. They all begin: ¹¹ Šamaš bēl di-nim. Comparing this with the first line of the prayers to Ramman (Adad) and Šamaš, it is probable that these tablets should be classified under the latter head. In the first line of Rm. 601 enough of the name of the god Ramman (Adad) appears to make this quite certain as far as this tablet is concerned. In a few tablets, K. 3204, K. 3214, K. 3928, K. 3286, and K. 3394, so much of ritual appears that it would seem better to put them under some other classification, such as "Prayers and Directions for Ceremonies."

The following joins were made: (1) K. 4654 + Rm. 2, 213; (2) K. 4922 + K. 11953; (3) K. 9830 + K. 11768; (4) S. 690 + S. 2070. From a careful comparison of the following duplicates of K. 4872 it is probable that they are fragments of the same tablet, K. 4922 + K. 11953 and K. 5069 being on the obverse, and K. 5248 and K. 8934 on the reverse. For the same reasons K. 3214 and K. 3928 are evidently portions of the same tablet. K. 13256 is possibly a fragment of the same tablet as K. 8457. K. 10527 is a duplicate of K. 5982, a fact which is not noted in the *Catalogue*.

In a number of places which are marked in the text as *scratched* it was almost impossible to ascertain the true reading, owing to the careless cleaning of the tablets by former readers, a practice which was by no means confined to this class of literature, as will be seen by reading the closing paragraph of Thompson's review of Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, in *AJSL.*, April, 1901, p. 167.

The Šamaš Religious Texts which have already been published are as follows: K. 256 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 17; K. 2860 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 19, No. 2; K. 3343 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 20, No. 2; K. 4803 in IV R., 2d ed., plate 28, No. 1; K. 4872 in V R., plates 50 and 51; 33328 in Abel and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 59, 60.

For convenience, a list of duplicates in the following texts is added: of K. 256: Bu. 91-5-9, 180; of K. 3182: S. 1033, 83-1-18, 472; of K. 3343: Rm. 129; of K. 4803: K. 11789; of K. 4872: K. 3138, K. 3462, K. 4610, K. 4654 + Rm. 2, 213,

K. 4830, K. 4922+K. 11953, K. 4986, K. 5069, K. 5135, K. 5248, K. 8934, S. 166, S. 728; of K. 5982: K. 10527; of S. 787: K. 8457+K. 8926.

I wish to thank Dr. Weissbach, of Leipzig, for his kindness in pointing out to me three duplicates of K. 4872, viz., K. 3138, K. 3462, and K. 4654, and another Šamaš text, K. 2380, none of which are noted in the *Catalogue*.

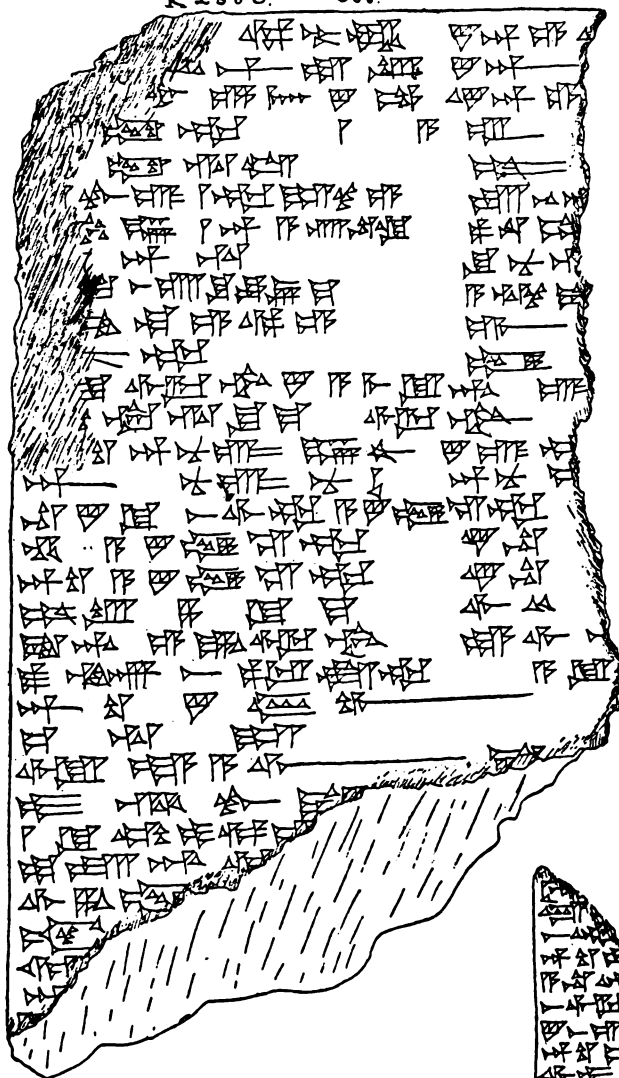
I am also under obligations to Dr. E. Wallis Budge, the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. Leonard W. King and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, assistants in the Department, for their courtesy and for the great assistance which they afforded me during my stay in London.

I am especially indebted to my instructor, Professor Robert Francis Harper, for valuable suggestions and help in my study of these texts. For the results as presented, however, I alone am responsible.

INDEX.

	PLATES		PLATES
K. 273	XII	K. 5248	XX
K. 2132	XII	K. 5900	VIII
K. 2296	XIX	K. 5982	VIII
K. 2380	III	K. 6034	IX
K. 2563	V	K. 8457	XX
K. 2565	IX	K. 8934	XX
K. 2605	IX	K. 9380	IX
K. 2883	XII	K. 9830	III
K. 3138	XVI	K. 10527	VIII
K. 3182	I, II	K. 11789	XIII
K. 3204	VIII	K. 12000	X
K. 3214	VII	K. 13256	X
K. 3286	III	S. 166	XII
K. 3387	X	S. 690	VI
K. 3394	VII	S. 728	X
K. 3462	XV	S. 787	IV
K. 3928	VII	S. 1033	XIX
K. 4610	XVIII	S. 1310	X
K. 4654	XV	S. 1612	VIII
K. 4795	XIII	Rm. 129	XIII
K. 4830	XIV	Rm. 601	XI
K. 4922	XIV	83-1-18, 472	XIX
K. 4986	XVII	Bu. 91-5-9, 132	XX
K. 5069	XV	Bu. 91-5-9, 180	XIII
K. 5135	XVII		

K 2380. Obv.

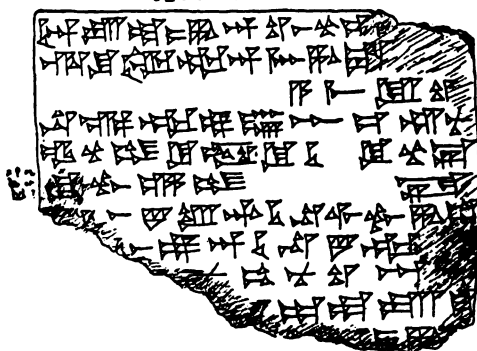


K 2370. Rev.



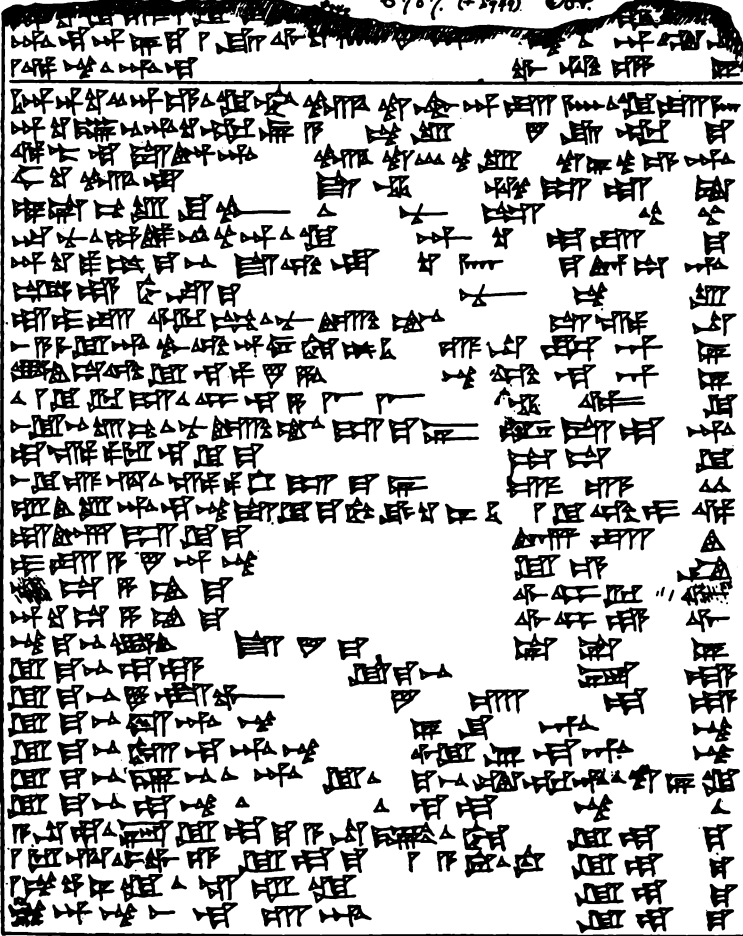
Plate III.

K 3256. Obv.



K 9530. (K. 11705)
Rev.

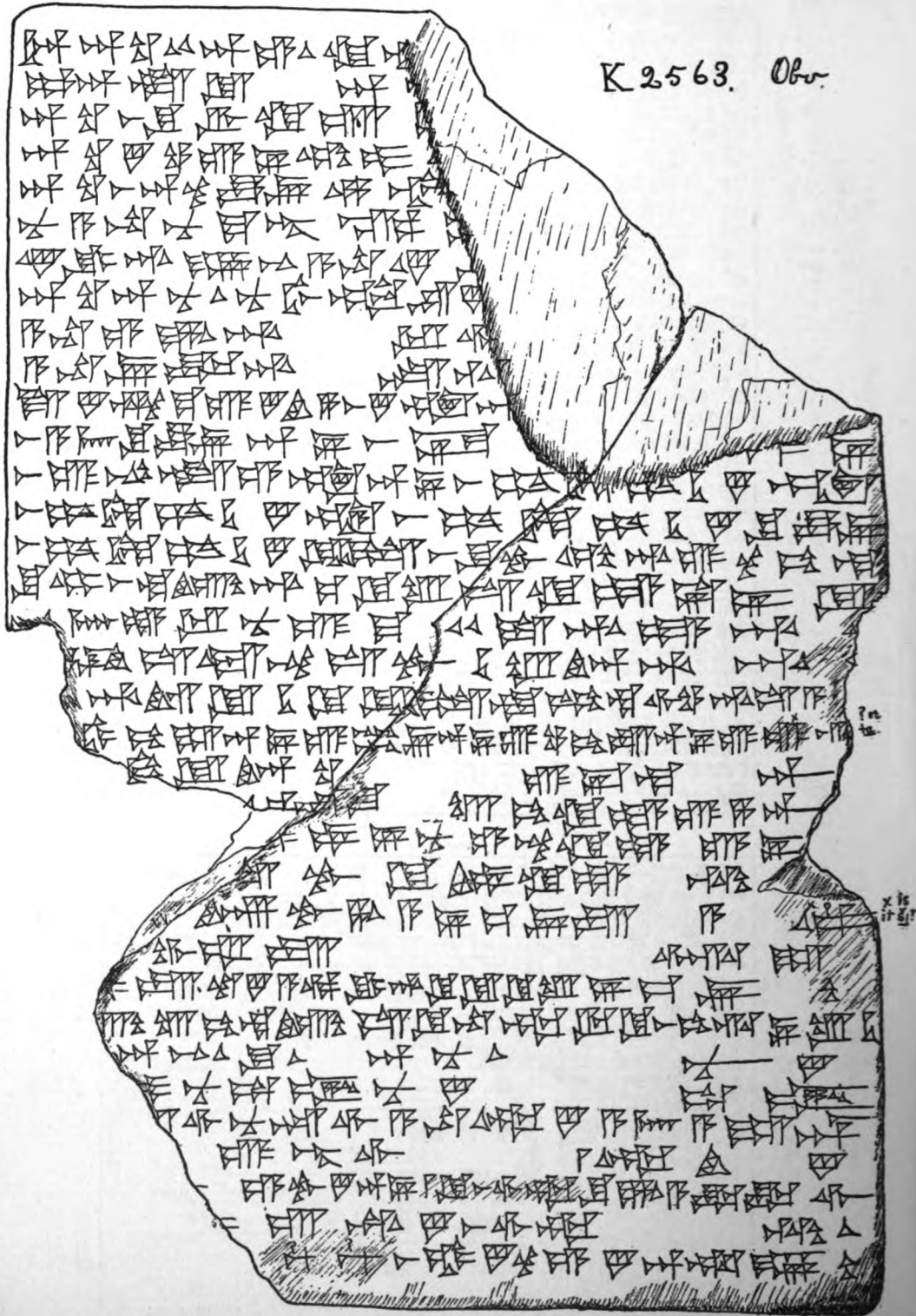


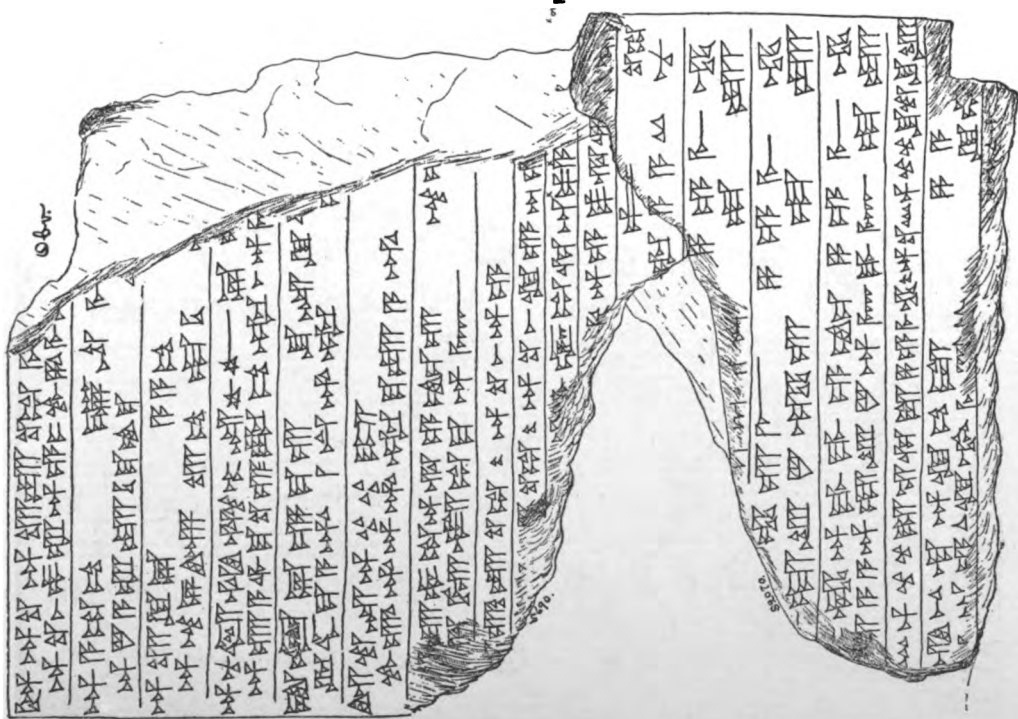


Rev.

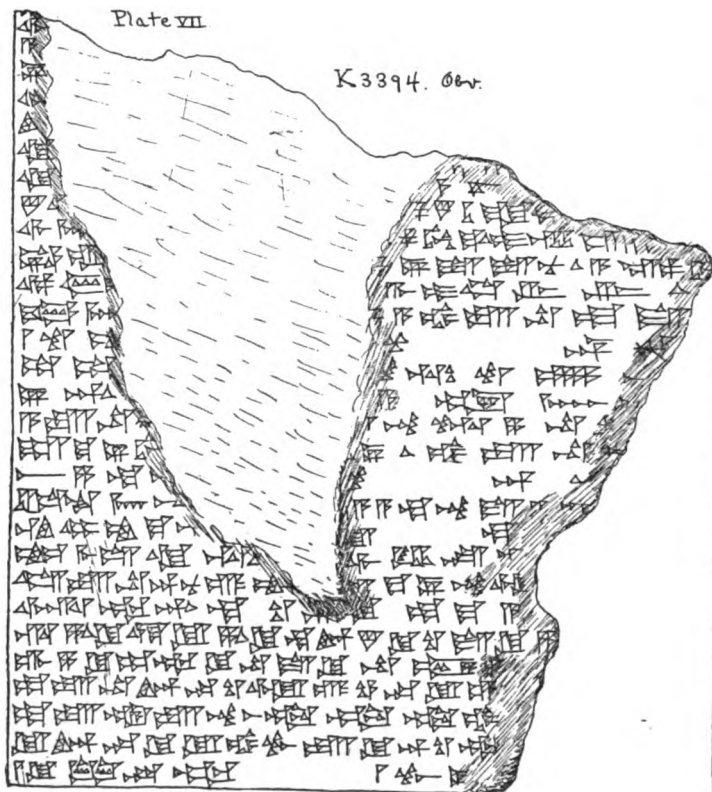


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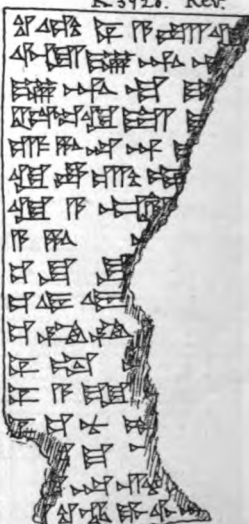
K 3394. Obv.



K 3928.
Obv.



K 3928. Rev.



K 3394. Rev.



K 3214. Obv.



K 3214. Rev.

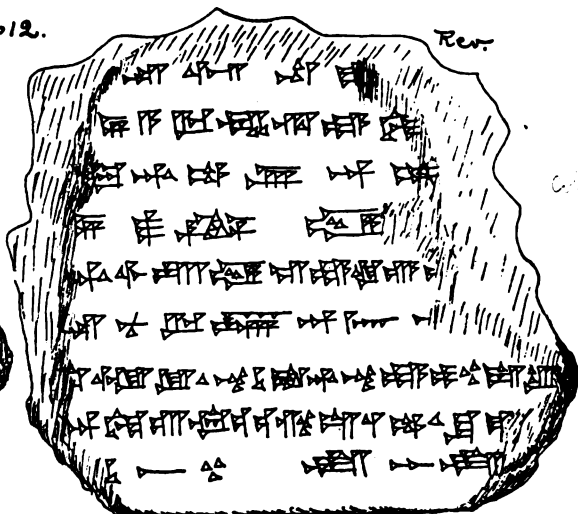


S1612.

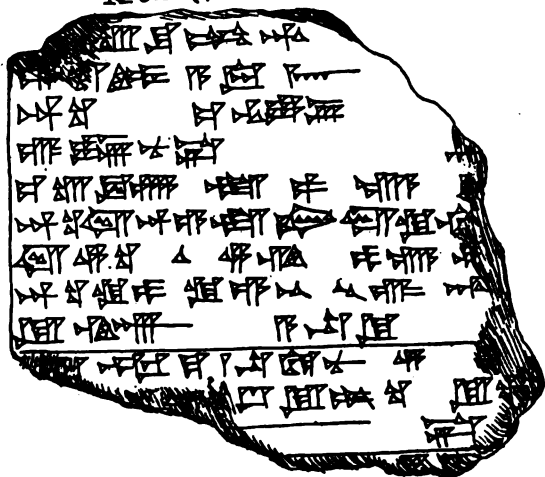
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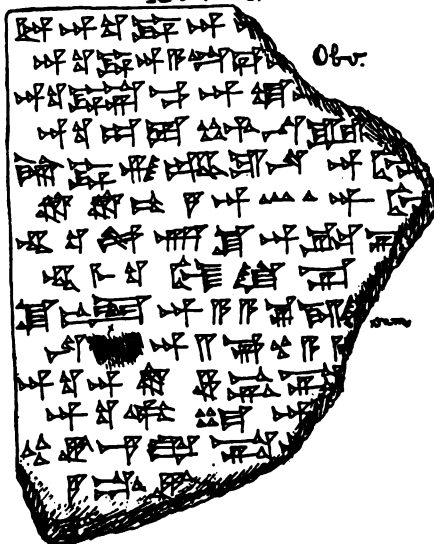
Rev.



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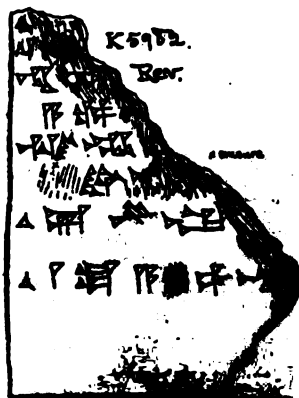


K 5982.

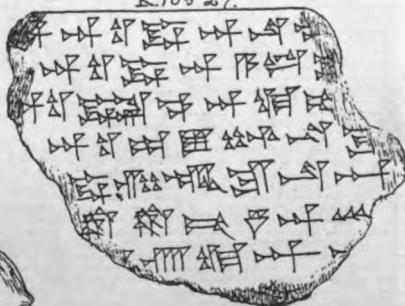


K 5972.

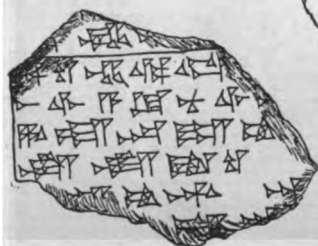
Rev.

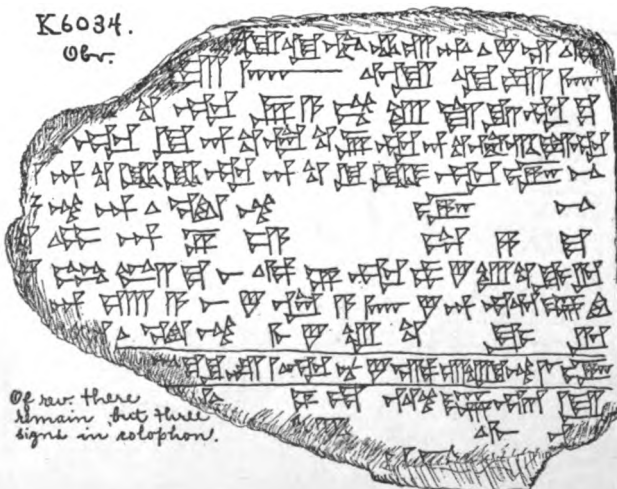
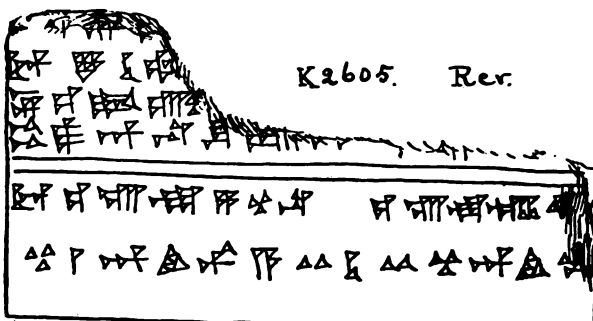
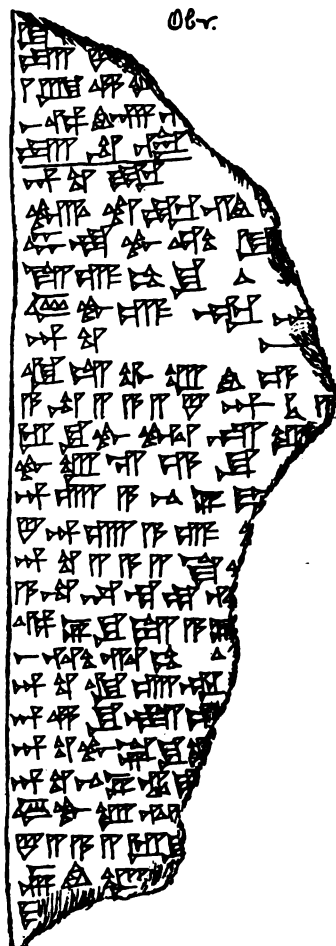
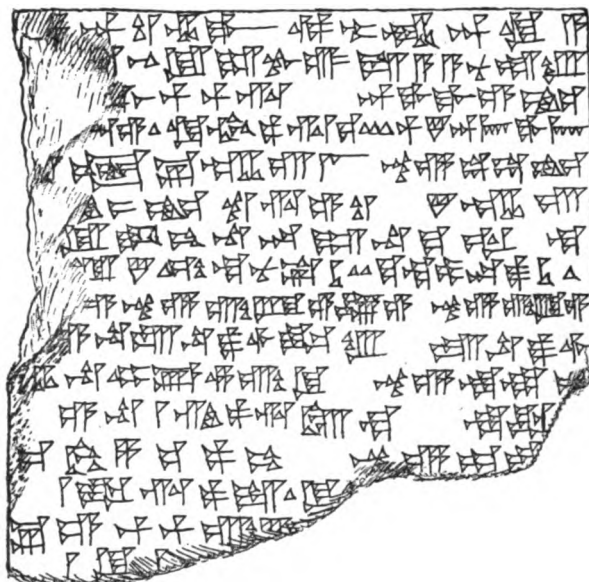


K 10527



K 5900.

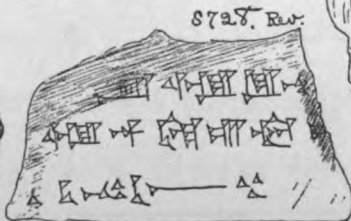
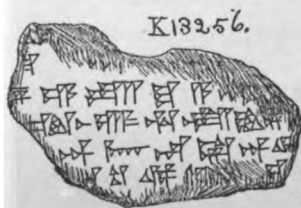
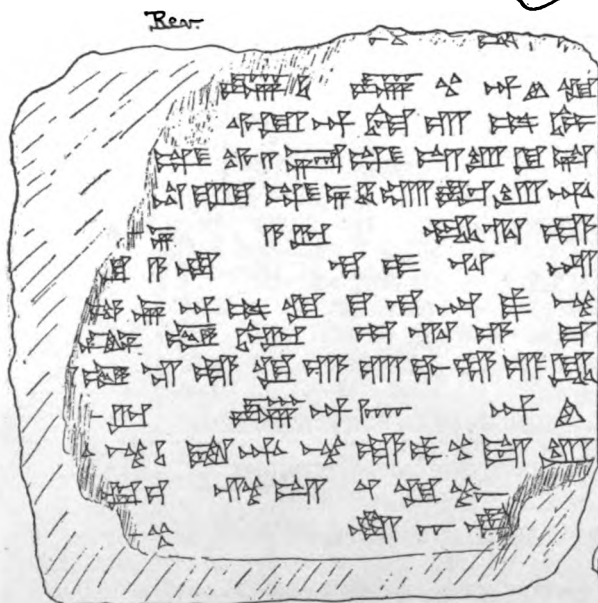
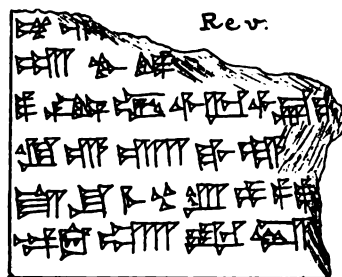
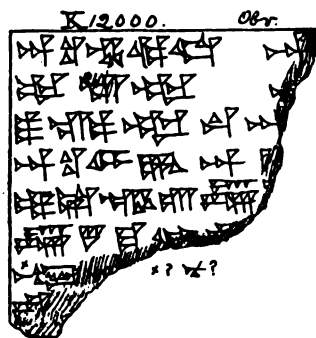
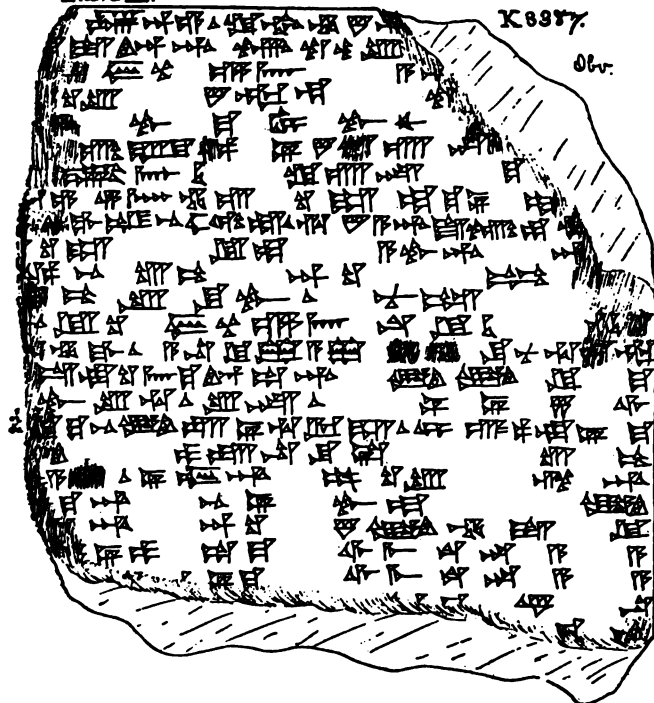




Of rev. there
remain but three
signs in colophon.



Plate X.



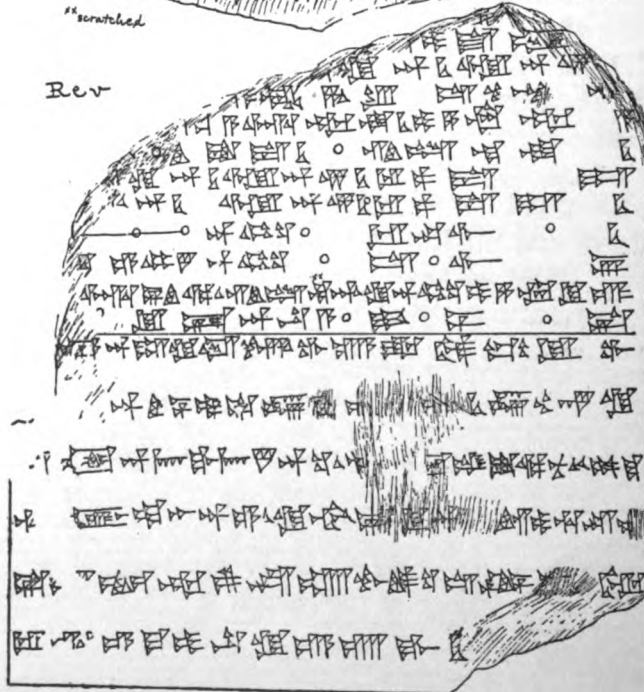
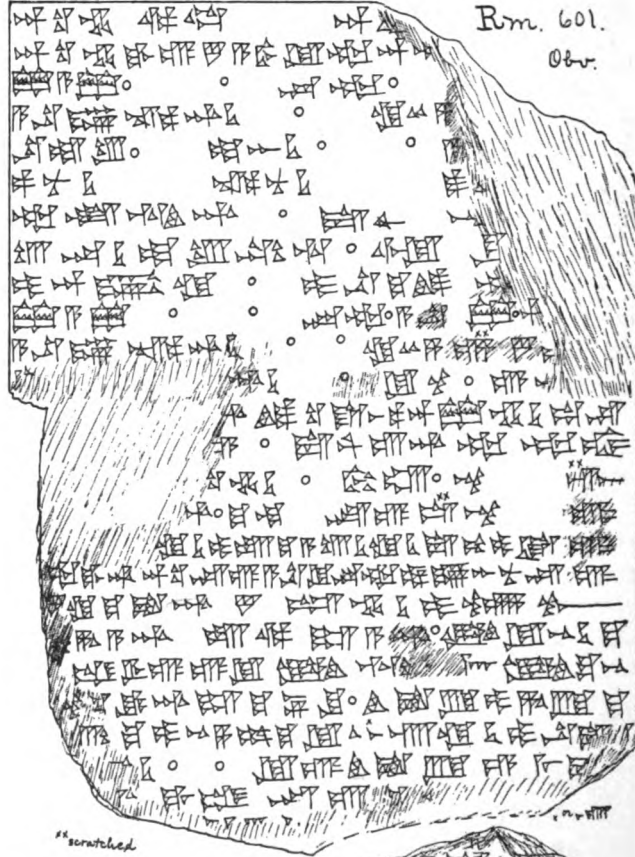


Plate XII

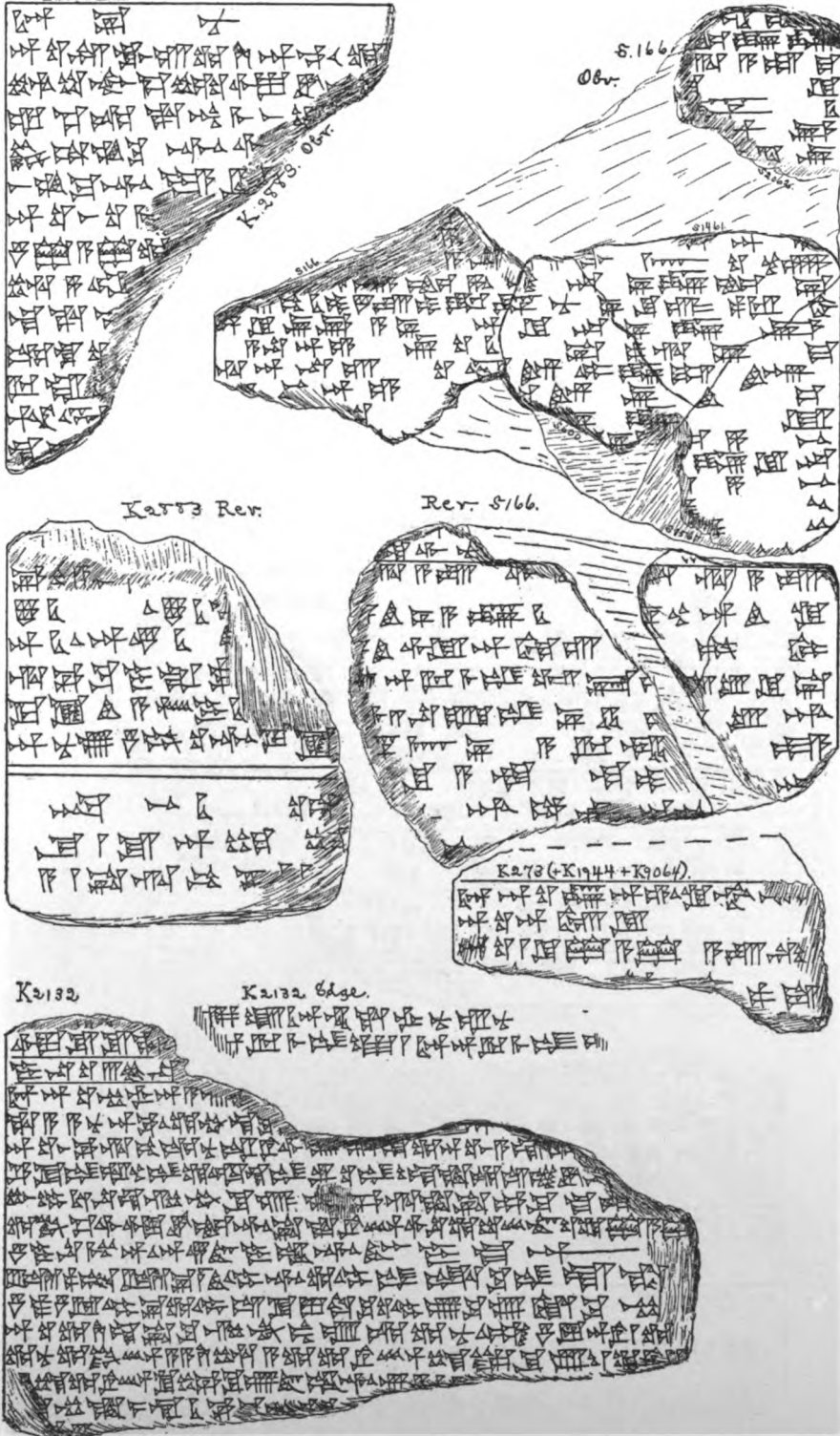
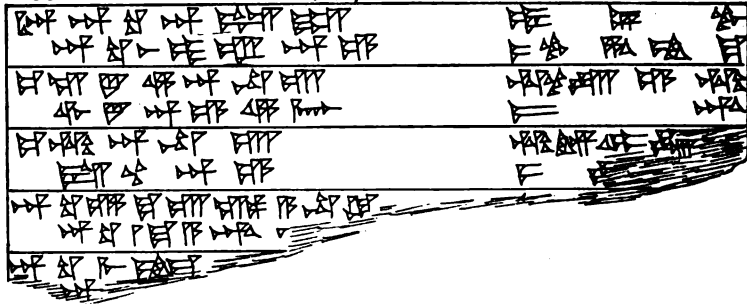


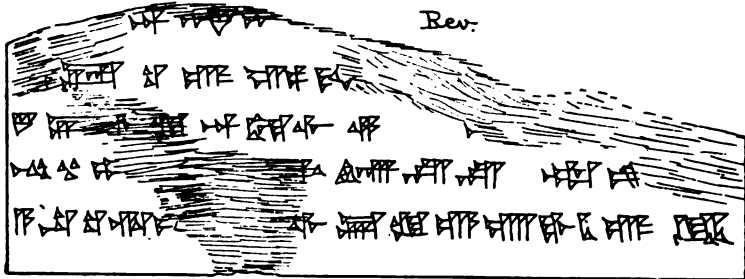
Plate XIII

Bon. 129.

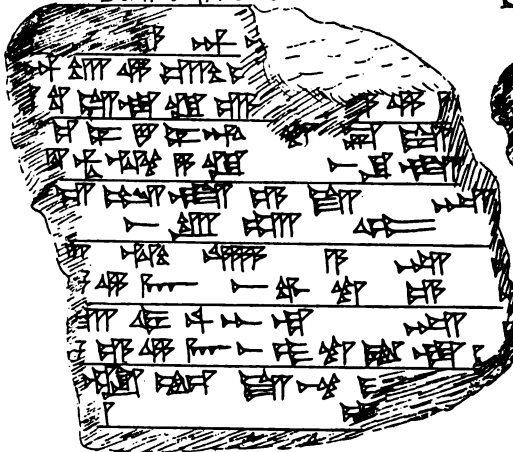
Obv.



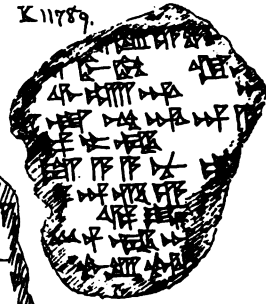
Rev.



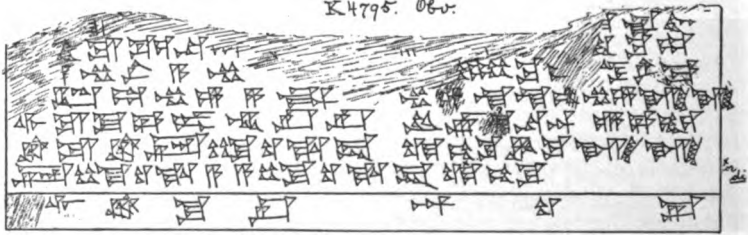
Bu. 91-5-9. 150. Obv.



K 11789.



K 4795. Obv.



Rev.

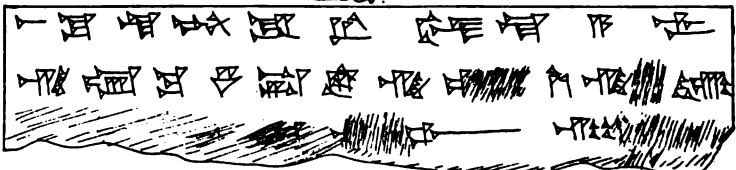


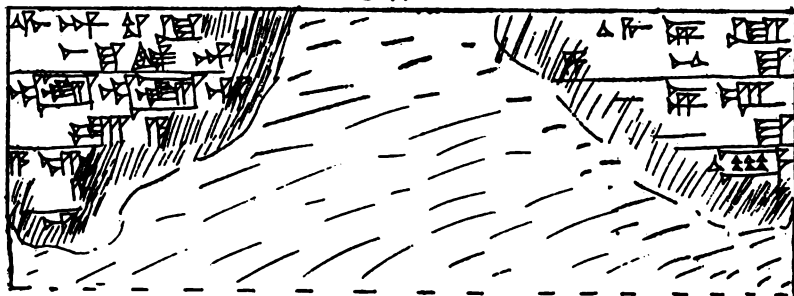
Plate XIV.

K4830.

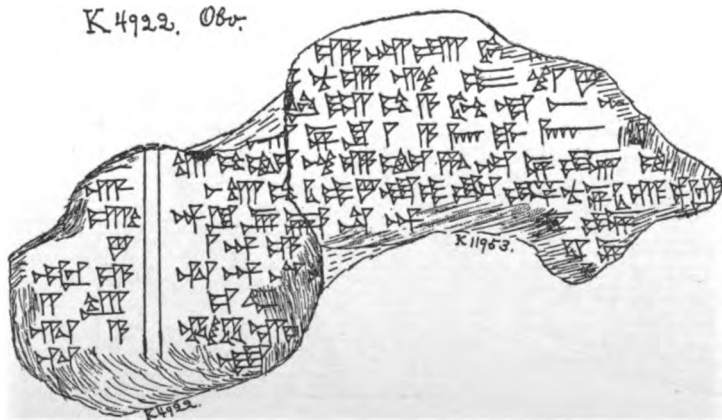
Obv.

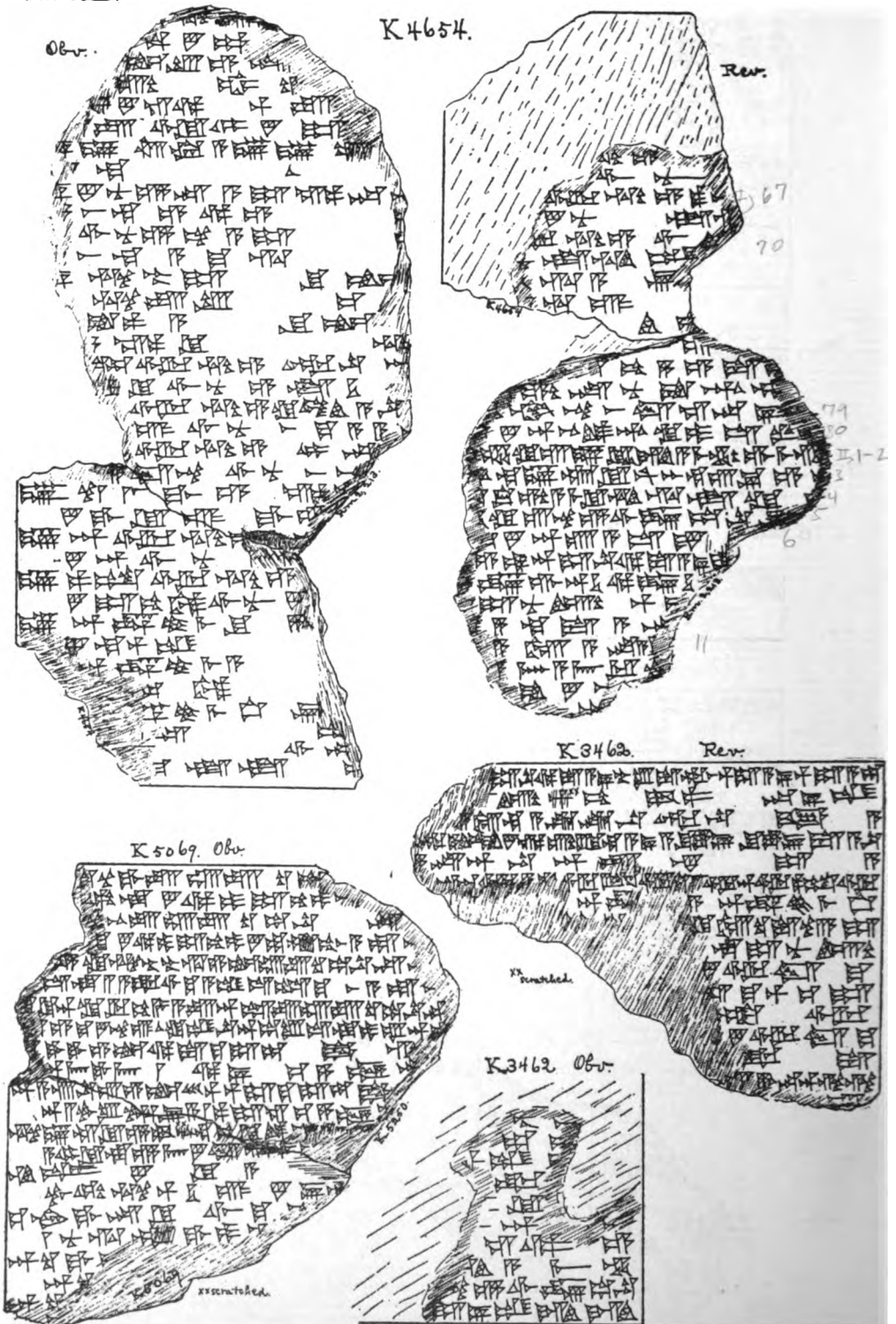


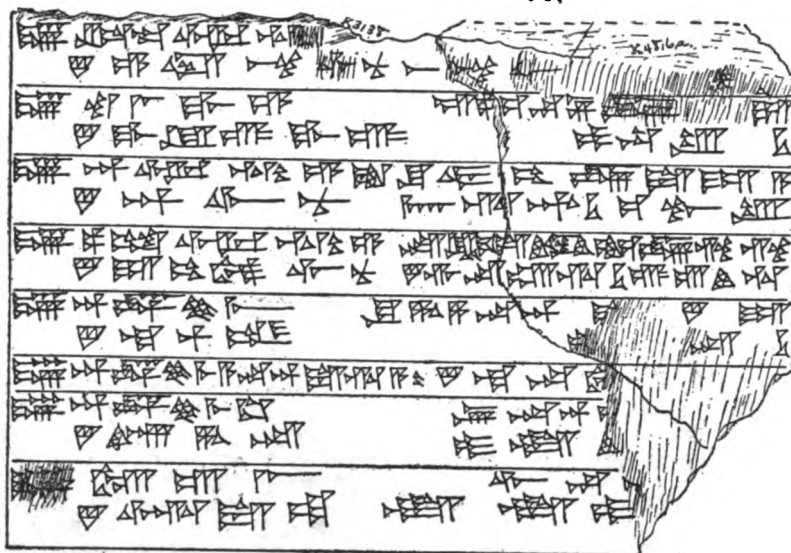
Rev.



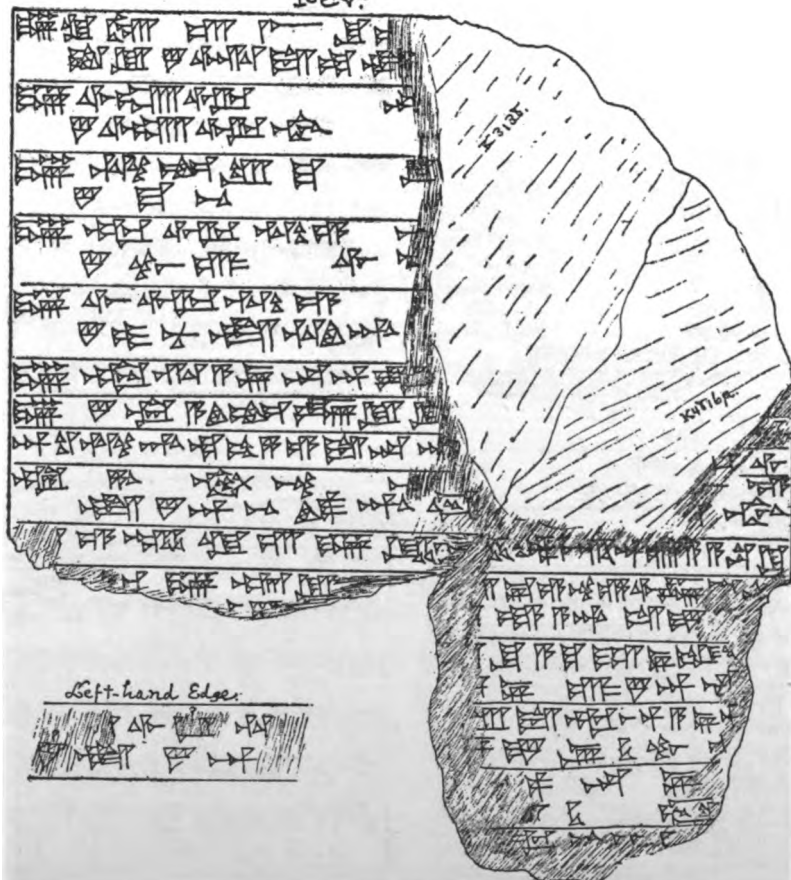
K4922. Obv.







Rev.



Left-hand Edge.

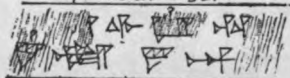
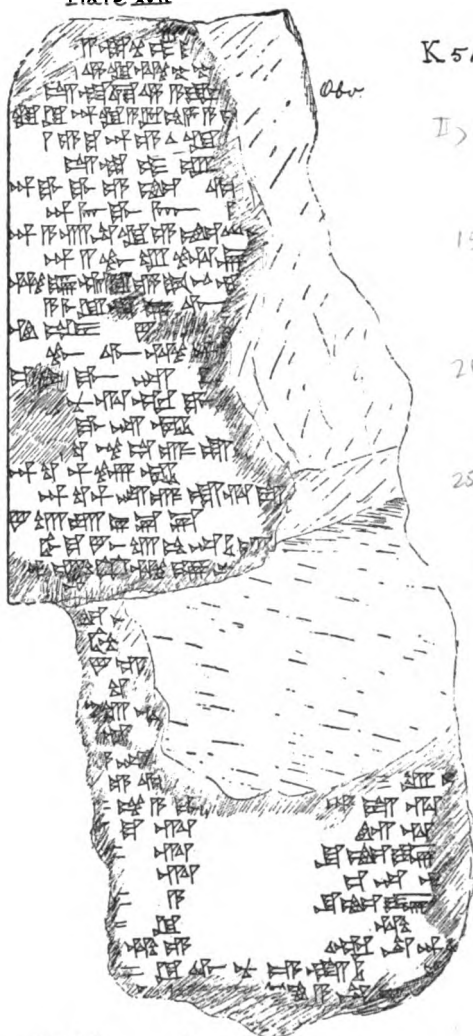


Plate XVII

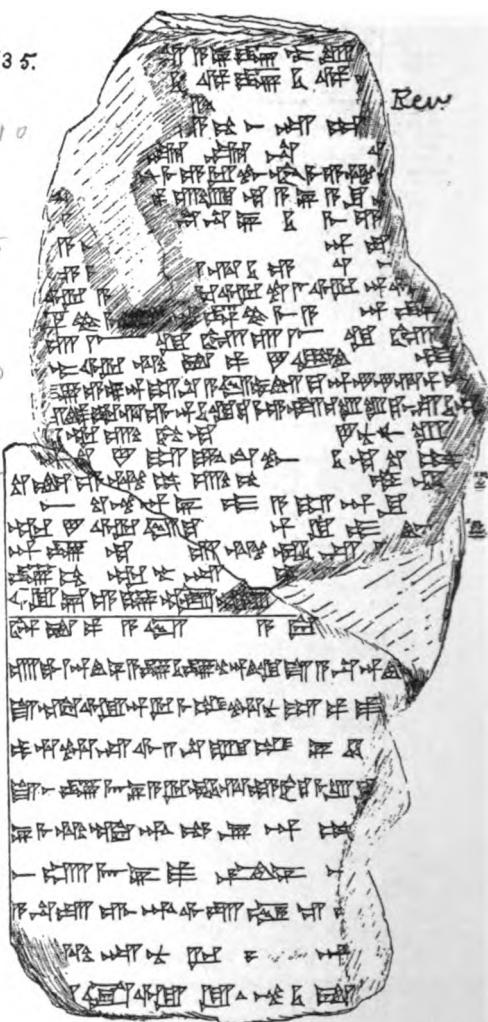


K 5135.

15

20

25

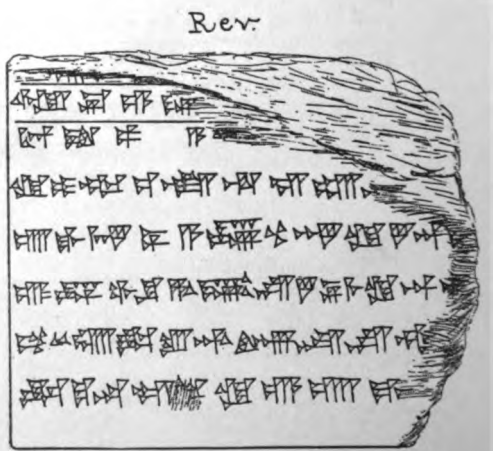


Rev.

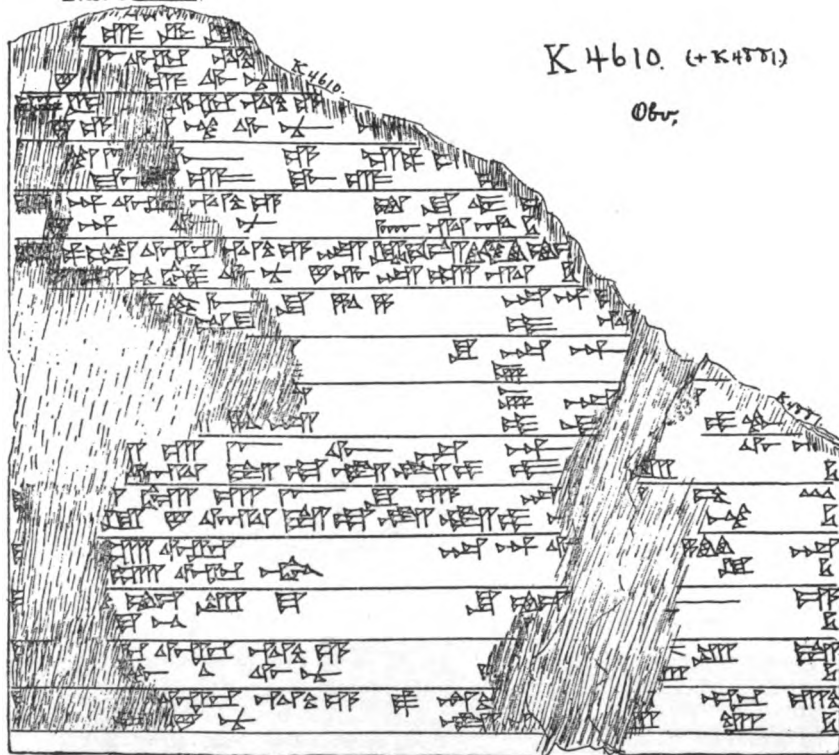


K 4986.

Obv.



Rev.



Rev.

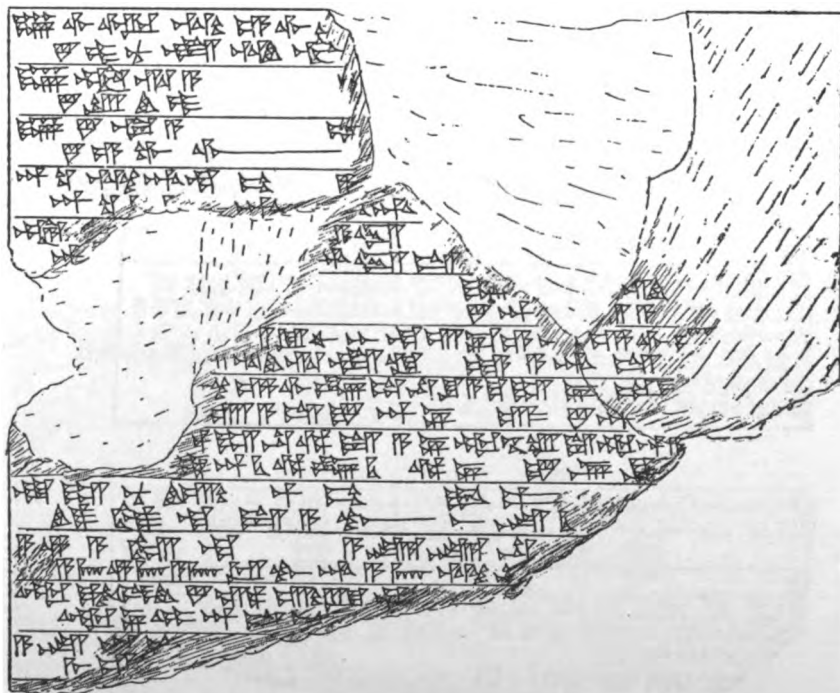
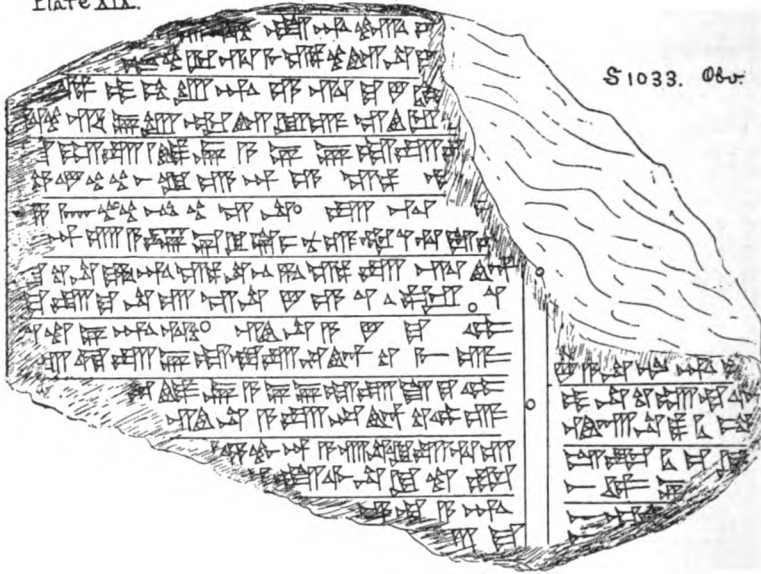


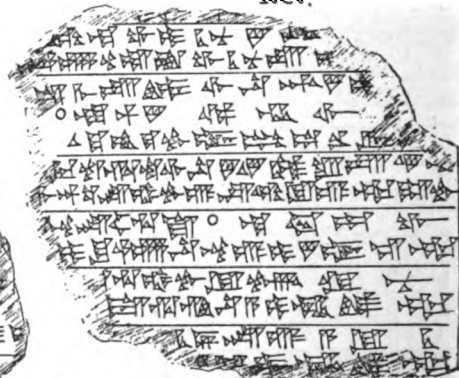
Plate XIX.



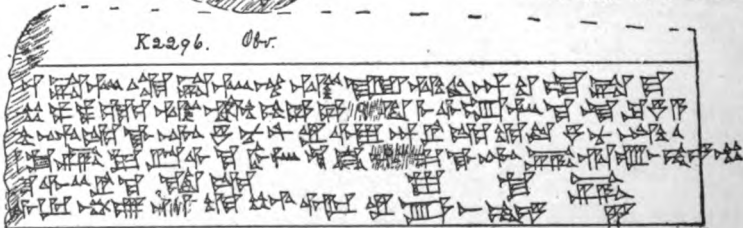
73-1-17. 473. Obv.



Rev.



K2296. Obv.



Rev.

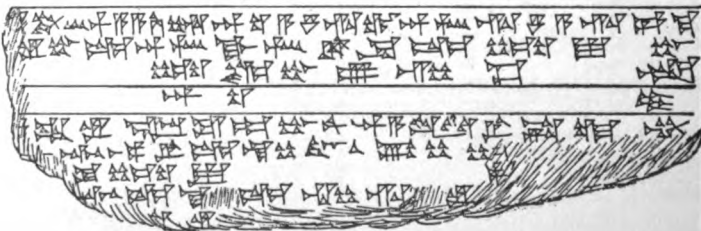
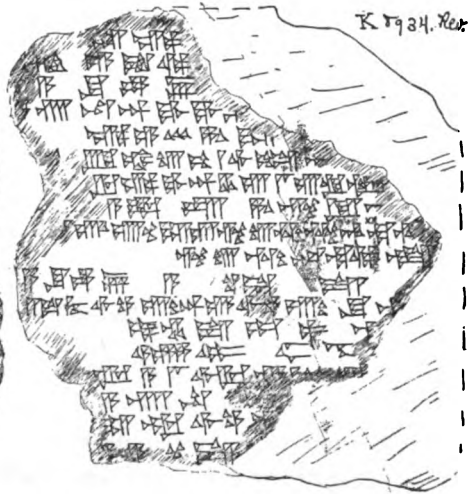


Plate XX.



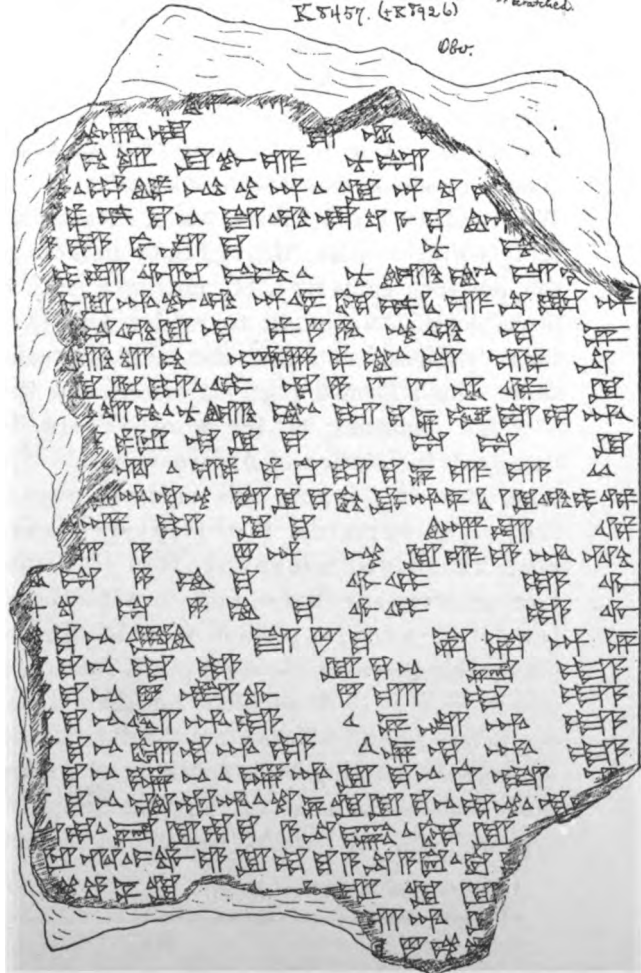
K5457. (K7926) "marked."

Obv.

Bu. 91-5-9, 132. Obv.



Rev.



ON A NOT UNCOMMON RENDERING OF THE WORD ÍKALLU.

By C. BOUTFLOWER,
Terling, Witham, Essex, England.

At the close of the Tablet Inscription from Nimrud¹ Tiglath-pileser III. gives a very full account of the palace built by him at that place, how it stood on a loftier mound than the palaces of his predecessors, and was built on a grander scale than "the palaces of all lands." In l. 83 the description continues as follows: Ana šubat šarrûtia admanša ašši, nisikti abni šipir arma kiribša. Íkallat hidati, naša higalli, kariba šarri, mulabbiru ipišišin, ana šumí-šin abbi, "For the dwelling-place of my royalty I raised its abode, precious stones the work of I placed within it. The íkallat I called their names, Pleasures, Holding abundance, King's graciousness, Making their builder grow old." Now, as the previous context, l. 83, mentions only one abode, it seems probable that we ought to render íkallat by "halls" rather than "palaces," and that the king is speaking of four halls of state, which formed portions of one and the same palace.

This rendering of the word íkallu is confirmed by the Standard Inscription of Assurnatsirpal.² Speaking of his buildings, also at Nimrud, this monarch says: Íkal (iṣu) írini, íkal (iṣu) šurmíni, íkal (iṣu) daprani, íkal (iṣu) urkarini, íkal (iṣu) miskanni, íkal (iṣu) buṭni u (iṣu) tarpi' ana šubat šarrûtia ana multa'it bilûtia ša darâtí ina libbi addi; a passage on which Professor D. G. Lyon, in his useful *Assyrian Manual*, p. 67, remarks: "The repetition of this word (íkal) is peculiar, for there seems to have been but one palace built." True; but the difficulty is at once removed, if we suppose the king to be speaking of different halls and reception rooms of the same palace, "the hall of cedar," "the hall of cypress," etc. A parallel passage to the one just given is to be

¹ *Western Asia Inscriptions*, II, 67.

² *Layard's Cuneiform Inscriptions*, plate 1.

found in the so-called Hunting Inscription,³ in which Assurnatsirpal, describing the "new palace" built by him at the old capital of Assur, speaks in the same way of its four "halls": íkal (iṣu) írini, íkal (iṣu) urkarinu, íkal (iṣu) buṭni, íkal (iṣu) tarpi'.

The above passages from the inscriptions of Assurnatsirpal are very useful in helping us to understand Sargon's description of his palace at Khorsabad, the remains of which form the most perfect specimen that we possess of an Assyrian royal residence. In the Cylinder Inscription,⁴ l. 49, Sargon tells us how, induced by Ea with a wisdom beyond that of his royal predecessors, he had "planned day and night to erect sanctuaries as a dwelling-place for the great gods, and halls (íkallāti) the residence of my royalty." Then in l. 63 the description of these "halls" is carried on as follows: íkal šin píri, (iṣu) ušu (iṣu) urkarinu (iṣu) musukkanni (iṣu) írini (iṣu) šurmíni (iṣu) daprani u (iṣu) buṭni. Here, guided by the passages from Assurnatsirpal, we must supply íkal before each of the descriptions, and understand the king to be speaking of eight halls of state in his new palace, "the ivory hall," "the ušu hall," etc. In the Great Triumphal Inscription of Sargon, ll. 158, 159, there is a similar description of these eight "halls," and in l. 166 the king expressly calls them íkallāti, and tells how he adorned them with bas-reliefs depicting his conquests. The passage, which, as we shall see presently, is of some importance in determining the sense in which íkallu is used, runs thus: dadmí matitan ša ultu šitan adi šillan ina imuk Ašur bília akšudduma ina šipir (amílu) UR-RA-ku-ti ina kirib íkallāti šatina aštakkana simāti, "The people of all lands, which from the rising to the going down of the sun by the might of Asur my lord I had conquered, by the craft of the sculptor in those halls I placed as adornments."

Turning now from the inscriptions to the pages of Perrot and Chipiez,⁵ we meet with a perfect illustration of the truthfulness of the above description and at the same time a strong confirmation of our rendering of the word íkallu. In Vol. II, p. 426, a fairly perfect ground plan is given of the palace at Khorsabad. On this plan will be seen a square court marked *J*. This

³ *W. A. I.*, I, 28, col. II, ll. 14, 15.

⁴ *W. A. I.*, I, 36.

⁵ Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*.

court is described in the letterpress as forming the center of the seraglio, or palace properly so called, as distinguished both from the harem, the apartments for the women and children, and from the khan, the offices and servants' quarters. On its northeast side this court *J* is shut off from a smaller court, *I*, by a long gallery measuring 45 meters by 5.80, apparently the longest room in the palace. On the remaining three sides of the court *J* are seven other principal apartments, described as being all about the same size, viz., 32 meters by 8, and as being characterized by the same lavishness of decoration, to-wit, sculptured thresholds, gateways flanked with colossi, and walls covered with bas-reliefs, so much so that M. Place designates the whole of this part of the palace as "*la partie sculpturale*."⁶ Now, as a visitor, coming into the palace by the state entrance, would have to cross the court *I* and traverse a part of the long gallery in order to reach the central court *J*, we may hazard the speculation that this gallery represents the *īkal šin piri*, which stands first on Sargon's list, and then the seven other large apartments would represent the *īkal (iṣu) ušu*, the *īkal (iṣu) urkarinu*, etc., both the number of the apartments and the richness of their mural decorations agreeing exactly with Sargon's own description as given above.⁷

With regard to the eight halls, it is a curious fact that a building adjoining the northern angle of the palace, not in direct communication with the seraglio, but entered from the same court of honor in which stands the state entrance into the seraglio, also contains eight large apartments. This building M. Place believes was intended for Sennacherib, the heir-apparent who had come to man's estate at the time when his father built the palace at Khorsabad.⁸

The names which Sargon gives to his palace halls, *ušu*, *urkarinu*, etc., are perhaps best understood of the wood employed in the decoration of the ceiling and upper parts. For though the enormously massive walls were faced with stone slabs below and covered with plaster above, yet it is highly probable that on their broad tops, between wall and ceiling, there was a low covered walk guarded by wooden balustrades and with pillars of

⁶ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, pp. 430-33.

⁷ In Place's *Ninive*, plates 3 and 4, the long gallery is marked 27, and the other seven halls are numbered 19, 20, 25, 26, 33, 37, 34, the last being rather smaller than the rest.

⁸ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, p. 434.

wood or brick supporting the ceiling.⁹ This part of the building, through which came the light and air, would admit of very effective decoration, as well as the ceiling itself, on which a strong horizontal light would be thrown through these openings. The ceiling, being thus the best-lit part of the room, could not fail to strike the eye of the beholder. Hence nothing would be more natural than to name each apartment after the wood employed in its highly decorated ceiling. In the case of the *íkal šin piri* we must suppose that the decorations were effected by thin layers of ivory, either inlaid or used as a veneer. The name itself is interesting because of the *הִיכָלִי שֵׁן* of Psalm 45:9 (8). See also 1 Kings 22:39; Amos 3:15, and Cant. 7:4.

To return, however, to our main issue: by far the strongest argument for giving to *íkallu* in certain passages the sense of "hall" comes to us from the Old Testament, where the Hebrew *הִיכָל* is certainly used in this sense. Thus in the account of Solomon's temple, as given in 1 Kings, chaps. 6 and 7, a passage in which we should expect architectural terms to be used with some exactness, it will be found that the temple itself is invariably styled *הַבַּיִת* "the house," agreeably to the corresponding use of the Assyrian *bītu*, whilst *הִיכָל* is the term employed throughout to denote the larger chamber, the holy place, as distinguished from *דְּבִיר* the oracle or holy of holies, and *אוֹלָם* the porch. Compare Gesenius, *Thesaurus, in loco*, "*הִיכָל* sensu arctiori, ædis Hierosolymitanæ pars major et occidentalis inter adytum *דְּבִיר* et vestibulum *אוֹלָם*;" and, again, on Dan. 5:3, "*הִיכָלָא* arctiori sensu ponitur quam domus Dei." So then in 1 Kings 6:3 instead of "the temple of the house" it would be better to render "the hall of the temple." And, indeed, had our revisers seen their way to translate *הִיכָל* throughout that passage by "hall" instead of "temple," the whole description would have been rendered much clearer. The same remark applies to the parallel passage in 2 Chron., chaps. 3 and 4, and also to the description of Ezekiel's temple, even though it is evident that in Ezek. 41:15 and 42:8 the word is used in a somewhat larger sense. In 2 Chron. 3:5 the holy place is called *הַבַּיִת הַקָּדוֹשׁ*, a name which at first sight bears a close resemblance to the Akkadian original of *íkallu*, viz., E.G.A.L "great house." As, however, this is a Hebrew way of expressing comparison, the resemblance may be only apparent,

⁹ Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. II, plates 39 and 76.

and our present translation correct. In the sublime vision of Isa. 6:1 we meet with a most interesting use of the word הֵיכָל, combining the three senses of "temple," "palace," and "hall." The prophet sees Jehovah sitting on his throne high and lifted up, and therefore in his palace. But this palace is a temple, for there is an altar, vs. 6, standing hard by; and this temple is one vast hall or throne-room, filled from end to end with the flowing robe of the divine glory. Hence Delitzsch's remark *in loco*: "Hēkāl: lit. a spacious hall, the name given to the temple as the palace of God the king;" and so T. K. Cheyne on the same passage: "The palace—Heb. hēkāl = Assyr. ikallu = 'great house' (through the Akkadian). A great hall must have been the primary conception of a temple. Jehovah's heavenly palace or temple is meant here." Thus it will be observed that these two great authorities attach to the Hebrew הֵיכָל the very sense claimed in this article for the Assyrian ikallu.

But whilst as an architectural term הֵיכָל like ikallu appears to denote a large room or "hall," it is not meant to deny that "temple" is its commonest meaning in Scripture, whether used of the tabernacle,¹⁰ Solomon's temple, or the heavenly sanctuary;¹¹ more rarely it signifies "palace."¹² On the other hand, ikallu is most frequently used in the sense of "palace," whilst occasionally it signifies "temple." For this latter usage compare the inscription on the Gates of Balawat, col. v, 6, ana Ísagil íkal ilanišu ina ḫurban ina maḥri Bīli u Bīlti iḫḫt innamir, "in behalf of Isagil, the temple of his gods, he appeared sacrificing with offerings before Bel and Beltis;" and so on the Black Stone of Esarhaddon, col. iv, 16, Ísagila íkal ilani. In the Babylonian account of the deluge, as given in the Nimrod Epos, Tablet xi, 96, ikallu is used in one place of the ark: ana píḫi ša (išu) ilippi ana Puzur (ilu) KUR-GAL (amīlu) malaḫi íkallu attadin adi bušišu, "to the steersman of the ship, the sailor Puzur-KUR-GAL, I handed over 'the palace' and its contents." From the signification of "palace" ikallu very naturally came to signify "the court," and is found so used on some of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, e. g., B 45, ll. 15, 16, ianu amīlu ša ibalu duppia ana íkali "I have no servant to carry my letter to the court." Compare the similar use of הֵיכָל in Ezra 4:14, as pointed out by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, "inde

¹⁰ 1 Sam. 1:9 and 3:3.¹¹ Ps. 11:4.¹² 2 Kings 20:18.

pro aula tanquam sede imperii." Further instances of íkallu in the sense of "hall" will be found in the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, col. vi, 42, 43; also in Esarhaddon's Cylinders, A and C, col. v, 29. Again, on the Monolith of Shalmaneser II., in col. ii, 80 we read, ilānia ana íkallātišu lušīrib tašiltu ina íkallātišu lu aškun, a passage which Professor Peiser renders: "Meine Götter liess ich in seine Tempel einziehen, hielt ein Festmahl in seinen Palästen ab." But would it not be better to give the word the meaning of "halls" in both cases instead of taking it in two different senses? After all, the images of the gods of Assyria may very well have been placed in the palace halls of a conquered foe.

In conclusion, then, it is claimed that the Assyrian íkallu, like the English word "hall" and the Greek μέγρον, denotes, not only a large house, but also a large room in a house, and that this latter meaning is all the more deserving of notice because it appears to be the sense in which the word is used in architecture.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The editors call attention to the fact that Th. Friedrich, "Die Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli und das bit ḫillāni," in Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, pp. 227-78 (1900), has reached the same conclusions as Mr. Boutflower.]

CHALDÆANS AND CHALDIANS IN ARMENIA.

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Belck and Lehmann, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1892 *sqq.*, while discussing the history of the Ḫaldi, the Assyrian Urartu, have incidentally made a few references to the occurrence of Χαλδία. These references are of considerable value, since they indicate the survival of the name long after the people itself had completely disappeared. Of these interesting relics of a perished people the present paper furnishes a more complete list.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the forms Χαλδαία and Χαλδία, with their cognate forms Χαλδαῖοι and Χάλδοι, we note first the word Ἀλαρόδιοι, used by Herodotus.¹ This, as long since recognized by Rawlinson,² is merely another form of the Assyrian Urartu, of which the Hebrew Ararat and the Armenian Airarat are only variants.

The early Greek writers seem to have used only the form Χαλδαία, thus confusing the Ḫaldi of Armenia with the Kasdu or Kaldu of the South, and so giving rise to many strange theories. Of these writers the first to use our word is Sophocles, who, in his lost *Tympanistae*,³ said something about

Κόλχος τε Χαλδαῖός τε καὶ Σύρων.

This reference has already been mentioned by Belck and Lehmann.⁴ Of about the same date is the hitherto unnoticed passage of Hellanicus, the first book of whose *Περσικοί* is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium to show that the inhabitants of this land are called Χαλδαῖοι, while the land itself bears the title of Χαλδαϊκή. It is barely possible, however, that the clause containing the quoted words is merely a gloss of Stephen.⁵

¹ III, 94; VII, 79.

² Herodotus, IV, p. 230.

³ Quoted by Stephen Byz., *sub* Χαλδαῖοι; cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Lipsiae, 1886.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 131.

⁵ Steph. Byz., *sub* Χαλδαῖοι.

Of all the classic writers Xenophon, as might be expected, gives us the most valuable information.⁶ His writings throw more light on the condition of the Haldi in later times than do those of all the other Greek writers combined. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to note Xenophon's use of *Χαλδαῖοι*, especially as Belck and Lehmann have already discussed these notices at considerable length.⁷

It is just possible that Dicæarchus (fl. 320 B. C.), in the first book of his *Ἑλλάδος βίος*, used the word *Χάλδοι*, since Eustathius of Thessalonica quotes him as saying that the *Χάλδοι* who live near Colchis have been called by some *Χαλδαῖοι*, a trisyllabic word.⁸ But, since the form of quotation is loose, and since Stephen, in quoting this very passage, uses only the form *Χαλδαῖοι*,⁹ we may well suspect the accuracy of the reading *Χάλδοι*.

The earliest apparent use of *Χαλδία* is to be found in the fragment from the *Periplus* of Menippus, an Augustan writer, quoted by Stephen.¹⁰ Here again we may suspect Stephen's reading, although, on the whole, it seems more rational to attribute the word to Menippus himself.

The last classical references are those of Strabo and Plutarch. The first is to be noted for his labored effort to connect *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλύβες*,¹¹ the other for his use of *Χαλδαίων ἐρημίαν*, significant as showing that the Haldi had already been driven into the wildest part of the country.¹²

The references of Stephen of Byzantium bridge over the space between those of the classical writers and those of the Byzantine Greeks. To his research we owe the references to Sophocles, Hellanicus, Dicæarchus, and Menippus. As an original author he furnishes little. Although he distinguishes in his two succeeding articles between the *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλδία*, he does not see that the *Χαλδαῖοι* of the latter portion of the first are the inhabitants of the *Χαλδία* of the second.

Once more we lose sight of the *Χάλδοι*. It is the ninth century before they reappear. *Χαλδία* is then one of the most

⁶ *Anab.*, IV, 3. 4; V, 5. 17; VII, 8. 25; *Cyrop.*, III, 2 *seq.*

⁷ *Verhand. Ber. Anth. Ges.*, 1895, pp. 585 *seq.*

⁸ *Com. ad Dion.*, 761; cf. *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, Frag. 8, Vol. II.

⁹ *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*; cf. *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*.

¹¹ XII, 3. 18-20, 23, 29. Belck still believes, wrongly, in my opinion, in this identity. (*Verh. Berl. Anth. Ges.*, 1900, p. 65.)

¹² *Lucullus*, XIV, 2.

important parts of the empire. References are numerous. *Χαλδία* forms one of the great frontier themes, the eighth, according to Constantine VII. (912-57).¹³ Its capital was Trapezus.¹⁴ The *στρατηγὸς Χαλδίας* was sixteenth in rank at the imperial court.¹⁵

Notwithstanding the general use of the more correct *Χαλδία*, it is still confused with *Χαλδαία*. Eustathius of Thessalonica, as already noted, has made some learned investigations, and therefore follows Strabo in identifying the *Χαλδαῖοι* with the *Χαλύβες*.¹⁶ Constantine attempts to prove that the Samaritan captives were settled in *Χαλδία* and that "*Χαλδία* takes its name from the appellation of the Persians and from their ancient fatherland *Χαλδία*, whence they are also called *Χαλδαῖοι*."¹⁷ The most interesting and instructive case, however, is that of Michael Attaliota,¹⁸ who gravely talks to us of *Μεσοποταμία τε καὶ Χαλδία*, thus showing clearly how *Χαλδία* had taken the place of *Χαλδαία*, now used only by professional scholars.

Since *Χαλδία* was a border province, we find several references to its military affairs. In the reign of Basil I. (867-86) we find Byzantine troops attacking *τοὺς Χάλδους καὶ Κολωνιάτας* in the war with Tephric.¹⁹ Constantine VII. spent some time in the province,²⁰ while expeditions against the Saracens under the charge of the prefects of Armenia, Colonia, Mesopotamia, and *Χαλδία*,²¹ and also of a certain Constans, patrician and *dungarius* of the fleet, passed through the theme in this reign.²²

Of personages connected with *Χαλδία* we note the following:

Genesius mentions *Χάλδος τις ὃ Τζιφιναρτίτης ἐπώνυμον*.²³ A study of this name might be of some value.

Of rulers of *Χαλδία* we first note a certain Bardas, governor of this province during the reign of Nicephorus II. (963-9), but deposed and banished to Amasia by his successor, John I. (969-76).²⁴ Of more importance is Theodore Gabras, who, about 1091, drove out the Turks, quarreled with Alexius I. (1081-1118), and made himself practically independent. According to Anna Comnena, *ὄρμητο οὗτος ἐκ Χαλδαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω μερῶν*.²⁵

¹³ *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Admin.*, 43, p. 185.

¹⁵ Constantine, *Cer.*, II, 52, p. 711.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 45, p. 199.

¹⁶ *Com. ad Dion.*, 767.

²² *Ibid.*, 50, p. 228.

¹⁷ *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

²³ IV, 51A, p. 106.

¹⁸ P. 78.

²⁴ Leo. Diac., *Hist.*, VI. 2.

¹⁹ *Theop. Cont.*, V, 40, p. 269.

²⁵ *Alex.*, VIII, 9, p. 417.

We learn that Andronicus I. (1183-5), before his accession, had led a wild life in *Χαλδία*, so we hear Ephræmius speaking of him

ὅτε προσῆλθε ἀνακτ' ἐκ τῆς Χαλδίας.²⁶

Finally, we have the reference of Nicetas to a certain Saltuchus who ruled Colonia and *Χαλδαία*.²⁷

To this same Nicetas we owe a description of the *Χαλδαϊκῇ καμίνῳ ἣν ἀνέκαυσε νάφθα*, a description paralleled by modern accounts of the vicinity of Batum on the Caspian.²⁸

Finally, we note that there were both Armenians and *Χάλδοι* in the army which supported Thomas in his rebellion against Michael II. (821-9),²⁹ and that the Turma of Keltzine was a part of *Χαλδία*.³⁰ With the reference of the Continuator of Theophanes to *Ἀρμενίων Χάλδων Ἰβήρων* the list comes to an end.³¹

Few of these references throw any light upon the actual condition of the *Χάλδοι* in post-Assyrian times. They are rather valuable as showing how the name survived long after the *Χάλδοι* themselves had been utterly forgotten.

²⁶ L. 4869.

²⁷ *Man. Com.*, IV, 93A, p. 185; cf. *Rec. de Hist. de Crois.*, *Hist. grec.*, I, p. 298.

²⁸ *And. Comn.*, I, 200A, p. 404.

²⁹ *Const. Admin.*, 46, p. 209.

²⁹ *Genesisius*, II, 15A, p. 33.

³¹ II, 12, p. 55.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following articles and books on the subject of Chaldæans and Chaldians in Armenia have appeared within the last few years: P. Jensen, "Die Sitze der Urarto-Chaldæer zur Zeit Tiglathpileser's I. nach Belck und Lehmann," *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306-9; Belck und Lehmann, "Zu Jensen's Bemerkungen betreffs der Sitze der Chalder," *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 113-23.—P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898; xxvi+255 pp.—P. Karolides, *Die sogenannten Assyro-Chaldæer und Hittiten von Kleinasien*. Athen: Barth & Hirst, 1898; 175 pp.—M. Streck, "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan u. Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Inschriften," *ZA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 57-110, 203-72.—Also Belck and Lehmann's "Reiseberichte" on their expedition to Armenia, published in several periodicals during the years 1899 and 1900; and the literature clustering around their report.]

Book Notices.

PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR-MISKAR.¹

Professor Berger, the successor of Renan at the Collège de France, and well known as one of the greatest living authorities on Phœnician inscriptions, has published the text with translations of the elaborate commentary to an important Punic inscription found at the ruins of the temple of Hathor-Miskar at Maktar. The inscription itself consists of ten columns, which may be divided into two sections, the first consisting of three columns and the second of the remaining six. The first part contains the dedication of the sanctuary and the second the names of thirty-two persons, forming a kind of religious corporation, who have erected the temple. A Punic inscription of forty-four lines is exceptional, and it is, therefore, not surprising that it offers various points of interest. The very first word of the inscription, "Mizrach," may be taken as an illustration. The explanation of this rather curious word is due to the eminent Clermont-Ganneau, who has shown that it is the name of the religious corporation which has erected the sanctuary. The ordinary meaning, "east," attached to the word is evidently not in place, and Berger is probably right in deriving it from a stem signifying "to blossom forth;" our own word "seminary" (from *semen*, "seed") offers a parallel. M. Berger is not so happy in his attempt to identify the mysterious word "tat" with the Egyptian god "Thot." It would be rather strange to encounter this god at so late a period, and the difficulty is increased by the description of "tat" as the god Ammon.

The thirty-two proper names constitute, perhaps, the most interesting part of the inscription, and there are a number that appear here for the first time. As usual with Punic names, we find a strange mixture of Roman and genuine Phœnician names. Corresponding to this mixture we also find in the religious ideas reflected in the inscription a mélange of old Phœnician customs with the Roman institutions, and, indeed, the very idea of a religious corporation seems to be directly due to Roman influence. Berger, to be sure, is of the opinion that this institution belongs to the early period of Punic cults, but the very fact that we encounter it for the first time in this inscription lends plausibility to the supposition of its being borrowed. Besides the larger inscription, two smaller ones have been found at Maktar, and M. Berger includes in his monograph a description of these. They are unfortunately somewhat mutilated and so brief as to add very little to the information

¹ MÉMOIRE SUR LA GRANDE INSCRIPTION DÉDICATOIRE ET SUR PLUSIEURS AUTRES INSCRIPTIONS NÉO-PUNIQUES DU TEMPLE D'HATHOR-MISKAR A MAK TAR. Par M. Philippe Berger. Paris: Klincksieck, 1899. 48 pp. Fr. 4.

gleaned from the first. As usual, M. Berger is very happy in his restitutions of mutilated passages, although in regard to a number of these, particularly in the second inscription, scholars will probably hold various views. The importance of excavations and explorations undertaken by French scholars during the last decade in north Africa cannot be too highly rated, and there is every reason to hope that the continuation of these labors will lead eventually to a solution of the many philological and archæological problems that have been raised by these explorations.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

A DICTIONARY OF THE TECHNICAL TERMS IN THE TALMUDS AND MIDRASHIM.¹

Dr. Bacher, well known by his numerous lexicographical and grammatical publications, has placed all students of rabbinical literature under great obligations by the very useful compilation of the technical terms used in the two Talmuds and the Midrash literature. One of the great difficulties which students encounter in entering upon this very difficult field of investigation consists in the almost bewildering use of terms and phrases for which even the dictionaries offer inadequate help. Dr. Bacher has gathered these together in alphabetical order and has attached to each one an elaborate and clear explanation, together with illustrations of the use to which the terms in question are put. Incidentally he adds remarks and comments which will be of use also to more advanced students and to specialists. His work will be found invaluable to Semitic students in general, and Dr. Bacher's well-known accuracy makes it quite superfluous to add that he is a thoroughly reliable guide.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

IBN WALLĀD'S KITĀB AL-MAKSŪR.²

Dr. Brönnle has formed the ambitious plan of publishing a series of manuscripts bearing on Arabic philology, and as a first volume offers the text of Ibn Wallād's treatise known as Kitāb al-Maksūr. The part published contains only the text, and until the second part appears, which will furnish the introduction and commentary, together with the preface and bibliography, opinions as to the value and accuracy of Dr. Brönnle's work must necessarily be postponed. The Kitāb al-Maksūr is a lexicographical treatise containing verbal and nominal forms derived from stems containing what are ordinarily termed weak letters. The meanings of these words are explained as well as the forms, and their use illustrated by copious quotations from the Arabic poets. Naturally most of the material collected by Ibn Wallād is embodied in various of

¹ DIE ÄLTESTE TERMINOLOGIE DER JÜDISCHEN SCHRIFTAUSLEGUNG. Ein Wörterbuch der bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten. Von Dr. Wilhelm Bacher. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. 207 pp. M. 8.50.

² THE KITĀB AL-MAKSŪR WA'L-MAMDŪD BY IBN WALLĀD. Being a Treatise, Lexicographical and Grammatical, from Manuscripts in Berlin, London, Paris. Edited, with Text and Critical Notes, Introduction, Commentary, and Indices. By Dr. Paul Brönnle. London: Luzac & Co.; Leiden, 1900.

the lexicographical compilations made by native Arabic scholars, so that probably the most useful part of Brönnle's publication appears in the quotations from Arabic poetry and the interpretation given to the stanzas adduced as illustrations. The text has been carefully edited and the variant readings of the manuscript elaborately noted.

We look forward with interest to the second part and reserve further comments until that shall have appeared.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE "ORIGINAL HEBREW" OF ECCLESIASTICUS.¹

With this little pamphlet of twenty small quarto pages Professor Margoliouth sought to turn back the tide of criticism and to reduce the reputed fragments of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus to the humble position of a secondary version or worse. His theory, since advocated by him with much ingenuity and learning, and not a little acrimony, would make of these Hebrew fragments a retranslation made later than 1000 A. D. from Syriac and Persian versions by a man whose native language was Arabic. That this is the solution of the riddle, and that the Hebrew is neither original nor even intelligible, Professor Margoliouth argues entertainingly enough, though with an occasional fling at criticism which rises to the sinister dignity of a taunt in his closing paragraph. "This, then," Professor Margoliouth disagreeably concludes, "is the miserable trap in which all the Hebraists of Europe have been ensnared. It was I that decoyed them into it, it is I that let them out of it. Driver and Noldeke are not quite the men to be caught napping; but owing to a controversy in which we had been engaged, they had an *interest* in thinking this rubbish genuine; and it was this interest which put them off their guard. Mrs. Lewis by her precious discovery has hit biblical criticism harder than it ever was hit before or is ever likely to be hit again. For the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street boys call out to us, 'You who misdate by 1,300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms?'"

It is much too late to cry moderation to Professor Margoliouth; but a less truculent paragraph than this one might well repel a reader in search of a judicial and tolerant presentation of both sides of a question. Professor Margoliouth has indeed made things look dark for the Hebrew text, but the alternative he presents seems far from probable, and above all the highly belligerent manner of presentation makes one suspect distortion of the evidence, and at the most suspend judgment. Professor Margoliouth's astounding tactics have not availed to overthrow the Hebraists' confidence in their new monument, and his loud challenge will remain chiefly interesting as a warning example of how not to deport oneself in scholarly debate.

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¹ THE ORIGIN OF THE "ORIGINAL HEBREW" OF ECCLESIASTICUS. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 20 pp.

GENERAL INDEX.

VOLUME XVII.

Amos, Notes on Some Passages in (3:12; 4:3; 4:5; 5:6) - -	170
Arabic Grammar, Socin's - - - - -	116
Arabic Literature, Brockelmann's History of - - -	185
Arabic Translation of Molière's Femmes Savantes, Kern on -	117
Aramaic, Emphatic State in - - - - -	209
Armenia, Chaldæans and Chaldians in - - - - -	250
Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, Robert Francis Harper's -	160
Assyrian Grammar, A New - - - - -	123
Assyrian words explained:	
abkallu šikla - - - - -	63
aḥamu - - - - -	173
aḥāraḥāni - - - - -	150
ikallu - - - - -	244
assemi - - - - -	150
atal mātati - - - - -	62
birti - - - - -	166
daili - - - - -	163
diḳtu - - - - -	173
ḥannaka - - - - -	149
uṣ-tak-ti-ma - - - - -	64
la-bir - - - - -	122
liqqā - - - - -	150
nūnu ša šitni - - - - -	150
undiṭtu - - - - -	64
nidu - - - - -	62
supuru - - - - -	62
pāgu - - - - -	174
paššūru - - - - -	174
tarbaḡu - - - - -	62
Assyrio-Babylonian Myths and Epic Poems, Jensen on - -	121
Assyrische Lesestücke, Delitzsch's - - - - -	172

Assyro-Babylonian, Stylistic Parallels between the, and Old Persian Inscriptions - - - - -	151
Astrological-Astronomical Texts, Craig's - - - - -	107
Babylon, Early history of - - - - -	180
Babylon, Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and - - -	61
Babylonian priests - - - - -	60
Babylonian religion, Contributions to the knowledge of - -	60
BÁRTA, ALOIS, Syntax of the Sentences in Isaiah 40-66 - -	22
BARTH, J., Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemitischen - -	193
<i>Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemitischen</i> , J. Barth - -	193
BERRY, GEORGE RICKER, A Note on Gen. 6:3 - - - - -	128
BEWER, JULIUS A., Lexical Notes - - - - -	168
<i>Blessing of Moses: Its Genesis and Structure</i> , Henry Hayman -	96
BOOK NOTICES:	
Adler, Student's Hebrew Grammar - - - - -	118
Bacher, Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung - - - - -	255
Berger, Mémoire sur la grande Inscription Dédicatoire et sur plusieurs autres inscriptions néo-puniques du Temple d'Hathor-Miskar à Maktar - - - - -	255
Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur - - -	185
Brönnle, The Kitāb al-Maksūr Wa'l-Mamdūd by Ibn Wallād -	255
Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke - - - - -	172
Diettrich, Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer -	125
Hartmann, Der islamische Orient - - - - -	189
Horovitz, De Waqidii libro qui Kitāb al Mağāzī inscribitur -	190
Jensen, Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen - - -	121
Kern, Innisā'u-l'ālimāt von Muḥammad Bey 'Osmān Galāl -	117
King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḥammurabi - - -	174
Lewis, Agnes S., and Gibson, Margaret D., Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels - - - - -	191
Radau, Early Babylonian History - - - - -	180
Rosenberg, Assyrische Sprachlehre und Keilschriftkunde für das Selbststudium - - - - -	123
Sayce, Babylonians and Assyrians - - - - -	177
Schulthess, Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen - - - - -	119
Socin, Arabische Grammatik - - - - -	116
Stein, Geschichte der Juden in Schweinfurt - - - - -	127
Thompson, Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon - - - - -	61
Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion -	60

GENERAL INDEX

259

<i>Book of Thekla</i> , Edgar J. Goodspeed - - - - -	65
BOUTFLOWER, C., On a Not Uncommon Rendering of the Word <i>ikallu</i> - - - - -	244
BUDGE, E. A. W., On Rosenberg's Assyrian Grammar - - -	125
CARRIER, AUGUSTUS S., Notes on the Psalms - - - - -	54
<i>Chaldeans and Chaldeans in Armenia</i> , A. T. Olmstead - -	250
CONTRIBUTED NOTES :	
A Note on Gen. 6:3 - - - - -	128
Lexical Notes - - - - -	168
Notes on Some Passages in Amos - - - - -	170
<i>Craig's Astrological-Astronomical Texts</i> , R. Campbell Thompson	107
Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke - - - - -	172
DEUTSCH, G., Review of Stein, Geschichte der Juden in Schweinfurt	127
Ecclesiasticus, Original Hebrew of - - - - -	256
Editorial Notes - - - - -	249, 253
<i>Emphatic State in Aramaic</i> , Ed. König - - - - -	209
GATES, OWEN H., Notes on Isaiah 1:18b and 7:14b-16 - - -	16
Genesis 6:3, A Note on - - - - -	128
GOODSPEED, EDGAR J., The Book of Thekla - - - - -	65
Review of: Lewis and Gibson, Palestinian Syriac Lectionary	191
Margoliouth, Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus - - -	256
GOODSPEED, G. S., Review of King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi - - - - -	174
Grammar, Adler's Hebrew - - - - -	118
Rosenberg's Assyrian - - - - -	123
Socin's Arabic - - - - -	116
GRAY, CLIFTON DAGGETT, A Hymn to Šamaš - - - - -	129
Some Unpublished Religious Texts of Šamaš - - - - -	222
GRAY, LOUIS H., Stylistic Parallels between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian Inscriptions - - - - -	151
Gudean Cylinders, Notes on the Pantheon of - - - - -	47
Hammurabi, Letters and Inscriptions of - - - - -	174
HARPER, R. F., on Assyrian and Babylonian Letters - - -	160
HARPER, R. F., Review of Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke -	172
HARPER, WILLIAM RAINEY, The Structure of Hosea 1:2-8:5 -	1
Review of Adler, Student's Hebrew Grammar - - - - -	118
Hartmann, Martin, on the Mohammedan Orient - - - - -	189
HAYMAN, HENRY, The Blessing of Moses: Its Genesis and Structure	96

Hebrew :

אֹרֶחַ	- - - - -	169
אֲשֶׁר Isa. 1:17	- - - - -	169
אֲחֵה Deut. 33:21	- - - - -	169
בְּדִמְשֶׁק Amos 3:12	- - - - -	170
דָּפָה	- - - - -	128
וְקָטֵר מִהַמָּזֶן חֹדֶה Amos 4:5	- - - - -	171
זֶר Isa. 1:7	- - - - -	170
הִכְלֵל	- - - - -	247
יָדוֹן Gen. 6:3	- - - - -	128
יִצְלַח Amos 5:6	- - - - -	171
פָּחַח Isa. 42:22	- - - - -	170
פְּרִצִּים Amos 4:3	- - - - -	171
רִגְמָה Ps. 68:28	- - - - -	170
שִׁמֵּר Amos 1:11	- - - - -	168
Hosea 1:2—3:5, Structure of	- - - - -	1
Hosea's call	- - - - -	4
<i>Hymn to Šamaš</i> , Clifton Daggett Gray	- - - - -	129
ikallu, On a Not Uncommon Rendering of	- - - - -	244
Isaiah 1:18 <i>b</i> and 7:14 <i>b</i> —16, Notes on	- - - - -	16
Isaiah 40—66, Syntax of the Sentences in	- - - - -	22
JASTROW, MORRIS, JR., Review of: Bacher, <i>Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung</i>	- - - - -	255
Berger, <i>Mémoire sur la grande Inscription Dédicatoire et sur plusieurs autres inscriptions néo-puniques du Temple d'Hathor-Miskar à Maktar</i>	- - - - -	254
Brönnle, <i>The Kitāb al-Maksūr Wa'l-Mamdūd by Ibn Wallād</i>	- - - - -	255
Jensen, P., on Assyro-Babylonian Myths and Epic Poems	- - - - -	121
Jews in Schweinfurt, History of the	- - - - -	127
JOHNS, C. H. W., Review of Sayce, <i>Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs</i>	- - - - -	177
JOHNSTON, CHRISTOPHER, <i>A Letter of Šamaš-šum-ukīn to His Brother Sardanapalus</i>	- - - - -	146
KÖNIG, ED., <i>The Emphatic State in Aramaic</i>	- - - - -	209
<i>Letter of Šamaš-šum-ukīn to His Brother Sardanapalus</i> , Christopher Johnston	- - - - -	146
Letters, Assyrian and Babylonian	- - - - -	160
and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi	- - - - -	174
of Šamaš-šum-ukīn	- - - - -	146
Lewis and Gibson on the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary	- - - - -	191
<i>Lexical Notes</i> , Julius A. Bewer	- - - - -	168

MACDONALD, DUNCAN B., Review of: Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i> - - - - -	185
Hartmann, <i>Der islamische Orient</i> - - - - -	189
Horowitz, <i>De Wāqidii libro qui Kitāb al Magāzī inscribitur</i> -	190
Kern, <i>Innisā'u-l-'ālimāt von Muḥammad Bey 'Osmān Galāl</i> -	117
Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon - - -	61
Margoliouth on original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus - - -	256
MARGOLIS, MAX L., <i>Notes on Some Passages in Amos</i> - - -	170
Review of Diettrich, <i>Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer</i> - - - - -	125
Moses, <i>Blessing of, Its Genesis and Structure</i> - - - -	96
Muhammad, <i>Al-Wāqidi's Life of</i> - - - - -	190
MUSS-ARNOLT, W., Review of: Jensen, <i>Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen</i> - - - - -	121
Rosenberg, <i>Assyrische Sprachlehre und Keilschriftkunde für das Selbststudium</i> - - - - -	123
Thompson, <i>Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon</i> - - - - -	61
Myths and Epic Poems, Assyro-Babylonian - - - - -	121
Nineveh and Babylon, <i>Magicians and Astrologers of</i> - - -	61
<i>Notes on Isaiah 1:18b and 7:14b-16</i> , Owen H. Gates - - -	16
<i>Notes on Some Passages in Amos</i> , Max L. Margolis - - -	170
<i>Notes on the Pantheon of the Gudean Cylinders</i> , Ira Maurice Price - - - - -	47
<i>Notes on the Psalms</i> , Augustus S. Carrier - - - - -	54
Old Testament passages:	
Gen. 6:3 - - - - -	123
Gen., chap. 49 - - - - -	99
Deut. 27:12, 13 - - - - -	99
Deut., chap. 33 - - - - -	96
Deut. 33:21 - - - - -	169
1 Kings 6:3 - - - - -	247
2 Chron. 3:5 - - - - -	247
Ezra 4:14 - - - - -	248
Ps. 2:1, 2 - - - - -	57
Ps. 2:4 - - - - -	56
Ps. 8:1 - - - - -	54
Ps. 16:11 - - - - -	55
Ps. 23:1 - - - - -	55
Ps. 24:2 - - - - -	57

Old Testament passages :

Ps. 42: 8	- - - - -	54
Ps. 46: 10	- - - - -	56
Ps. 49: 8-10	- - - - -	58
Ps. 68: 28	- - - - -	170
Isa. 1: 7	- - - - -	170
Isa. 1: 17	- - - - -	169
Isa. 1: 18b	- - - - -	16
Isa. 6: 1	- - - - -	248
Isa. 7: 14b-16	- - - - -	18
Isa., chaps. 40-66	- - - - -	22
Isa. 42: 22	- - - - -	170
Hos. 1: 2-3: 5	- - - - -	1
Amos 1: 11	- - - - -	168
Amos 3: 12	- - - - -	170
Amos 4: 3, 5	- - - - -	171
Amos 5: 6	- - - - -	171
OLMSTEAD, A. T., Chaldeans and Chaldeans in Armenia	- -	250
<i>On a Not Uncommon Rendering of the Word tkallu</i> , C. Boutflower	- - - - -	244
Orient, The Mohammedan	- - - - -	189
Persian Inscriptions, Stylistic Parallels between Assyro-Babylonian and Old	- - - - -	151
PRICE, IRA MAURICE, Notes on the Pantheon of the Gudean Cylinders	- -	47
Review of: Radau, Early Babylonian History	- - - - -	180
Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion	- -	60
Psalms, Notes on the	- - - - -	54
Radau on Early Babylonian History	- - - - -	180
<i>Robert Francis Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> , R. Campbell Thompson	- - - - -	160
Šamaš, A Hymn to	- - - - -	129
Unpublished Religious Texts of	- - - - -	222
Šamaš-šum-ukīn, A Letter of	- - - - -	146
Sardanapalus, Letter of Šamaš-šum-ukīn to	- - - - -	146
Sayce on Babylonian and Assyrian Life	- - - - -	177
Schulthess on Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen	- - - - -	119
Socin on Arabic Grammar	- - - - -	116
<i>Some Unpublished Religious Texts of Šamaš</i> , Clifton Daggett Gray	- - - - -	222

<i>Structure of Hosea 1:2—3:5</i> , William Rainey Harper	- -	1
<i>Stylistic Parallels between the Assyro-Babylonian and the Old Persian Inscriptions</i> , Louis H. Gray	- - - -	151
Suffixes in North Semitic	- - - - -	193
<i>Syntax of the Sentences in Isaiah 40-66</i> , Alois Barta	- - -	22
Syriac, Homonymous roots in	- - - - -	119
Syriac Massorah, Eastern and Western	- - - - -	125
Syriac, Palestinian Lectionary	- - - - -	191
Thekla, Book of	- - - - -	65
THOMPSON, R. CAMPBELL, <i>Craig's Astrological-Astronomical Texts</i>		107
<i>On the Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon</i>	- - - - -	61
<i>Robert Francis Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i>	-	160
TOY, C. H., <i>Review of Socin, Arabische Grammatik</i>	- - -	116
WILSON, R. D., <i>Review of Schulthess, Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen</i>	- - - - -	119
Zimmern's <i>Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion</i>	-	60

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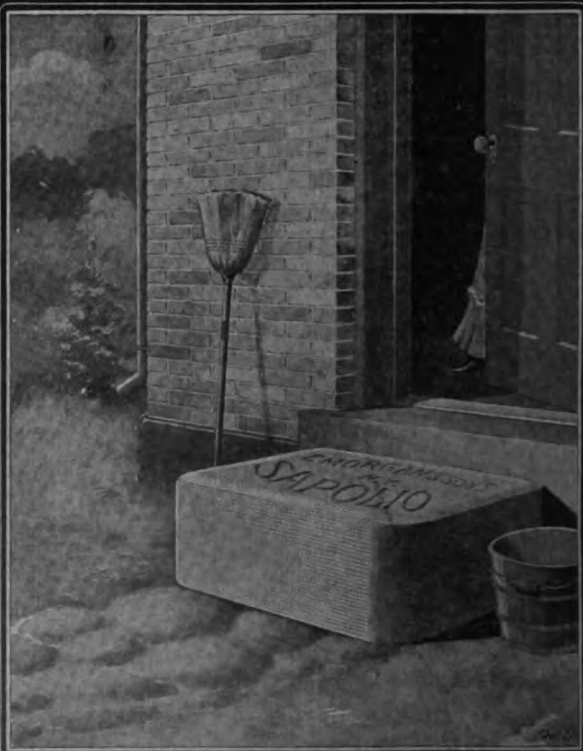
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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1900

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES:

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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- BOLLERT. Materie in Kants Ethik. *AGPh*, XIII, 4
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- BRIGHT. Potential things. (With ed. reply.) *Mo*, Ja
- BROWN. Prof. Ladd's theory of reality. *NW*, S
- BUTTI. Le idee su l' arte di Nietzsche. *NA*, 16 Mr
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- Schopenhauer & present tendencies. *NW*, D
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- The wants of psychical research. *A*, D
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- RITCHIE. Truth-seeking in matters of religion. *IJE*, O
- SMITH. Genesis & outlook of religion. *CR*, D
- STORY. The religion of childhood. *MR(N)*, J1
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- WEBER. Fichtes Atheismusstreit u. d. Gottesbegriff d. positiven Christentums. *ITTk*, Ja, Ap
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 — אֶבְרֵי תַחֲתֵי; Phinehas; Putiel. *OLZ*, D
 DENIO. Genitive in Hebrew. *YBL*, XIX, 107-14
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 GRIMM. The double accentuation of the decalogue *Johns Hopk Circ*, My
 HOMMEL. Babyl. origin of Kharṭummim. *ET*, F
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 — Earliest language of the Israelites. *ET*, N
 Against KÖNIG, *ibid*, O
 JASTROW. Name of Samuel & the stem שָׁמַל. *YBL*, 88-105
 KÖNIG. Did the Israelites down to the time of Joshua speak "a pure Arabic dialect"? *ET*, D
 Agst. Hommel
 LAMBERT. Dittographies verticales; la racine רָגַשׁ. *REJ*, Ap
 LEGGE. Armageddon. *PSBA*, 121, 122.
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 LEVESQUE. Ps. 2: מִדִּידוּ; בְּרִיָּה; רָגַשׁ. *RB*, Ja
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— Cain's wife.—Cherubim. *ET*, Mr
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- KÖNIG. Zur Pentateuchfrage. *ThLb*, 28
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- VOLLERS. רִדְדָן, Gen. 6: 3. *ZA*, XIV, 349-56
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- LEV. Jesaia 7: 25. *ZATW*, 95-6
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- NESTLE. Joel 1: 17. *ZATW*, 164, 165
- ORFÈLE. Leberschau Hesek. 21: 26. *ZATW*, 311-14
- PRINCE. Isa. 44: 14. *YBL*, 1-4
- RIEDEL. Amos 9: 10. *ZATW*, 332
- SCHMIDT. The book of Jeremiah. *NW*, D
- SCRIMGOUR. Jeremiah. *IER*, Ja
- SEYDL. Das Jonalied. *ZkTh*, Ja — Strophik von Jesaja 12. *ThQ*, H 3
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 See, however, NESTLE, *ibid*, Mr

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priester u. Gott; Gealbter, später Sohn des hl.
Geistes u. der Jungfrau. v. Die Himmelfahrt

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See HAUPT, *StKr*, H 1; SCHMAUCK, *LC&R*, Ja; SCHODDE, *HR*, My; WEISS, *T&R*, F; MOORE, *PRR*, Ap
— Forschn. z. Gesch. d. neutestam. Kanons u. der altkirchl. Literatur. L-D vi. 1. Apostel u. Apostelschüler in der Provinz Asien. 2. Brüder u. Vettern Jesu (376) 10; see WOHLBERG, *ThLb*, '01, nos 7 ff
- BACON. Ramsay on the incidence of Passover & the use of German authorities. *Exp*, J1
— Tatian's rearrangement of the iv. gospel. *ATh*, O
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- COOVER. Bibl. quotat. in N. T. & their relation to inspiration. *LQ*, J1
- COUARD. Cölibat u. das N. T. *KM*, D
- D. M. A misused Scripture text. *ET*, Ap
- DODS. Survey of Engl. lit. on the N.T. *Exp*, Ag
- EDMONDS. Gospel parallels from Pali texts. *OC*, F, Ap, Je
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- HOLTZMANN. Z. Thema "Jesus u. Paulus." *PRM*, D
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— La théorie documentaire dans le N. T. *Et*, 5 My
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- MOORE. Luke or McGiffert — which is the blunderer? *BSI*, J1
- NESTLE. Das N. T. *ZNTW*, H 3
— Die Fünfteilung im Werk Papias u. im 1. Evangelium. *Ibid*, H 3
- ODLAND. Daaben i det N. T. *NT&T*, Mr
- PREUSCHEN. Idee oder Methode? *ZNTW*, H 1
- Recent N. T. commentaries. *CAQR*, O
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- SCHOLZ. Zu den Logia Jesu. *ThQ*, H 1
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- BERNARD. Judean ministry of Jesus. *ET*, O, D; 101, F
- BEYSCHLAG. Gleichn. v. d. Lohnarbeitern (Matt. 20: 1-15). *DEB*, O
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- Christ's solution of the great problems of religion & life. *Ibid*, J1
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- CREITZ. The sermon on the mount. *RChR*, Ja
- DAVIS. Practice of sermon on the mount. *ET*, My
- DAWSON. The nature of Christ. *Exp*, My
- DEWAR. Jesus' conception of nature. *BW*, Je
- DODS. Jesus as healer. *BW*, Mr
- ENDEMANN. Die Brüder des Herrn. *NkZ*, N
- FAVRE. Le Christ historique d'après W. Herrmann. *RTkP*, S, N
- FORREST. Did Jesus pray with his disciples? *ET*, My
- FRIES. Jesu Vorstellungen v. d. Auferstehung d. Toten. *ZNTW*, H 4; see also *ET*, 101, Mr
- GENUNG. Glimpse of the inner life of Christ's time. *BW*, N
- GISEN. Jesus u. d. Phariseer. *D-AZThK*, S
- GLOVER. The dress of the Master. *BW*, My
- HAAS. Selbstbewusst, Jesu. *KZf Iowa*, S
- HENDERSON. Names & titles of Christ. *BS*, S
- HERRON. Message du Christ aux riches. *RChR*, S, My
- HERSMAN. Parable of the unjust steward. *BS*, D
- HERZOG. Die Sendungsworte des auferstandenen Christus an seine Jünger. *YTh*, J1
- HILGENFELD. Der gnost. u. d. kanon. Johannes über d. Leben Jesu. *ZwTh*, H 1
- HOLTZMANN. Jesus u. Paulus. *PrM*, D
- HÖNIG. Die Versuchungsgeschichte. *PrM*, S, O
- HORWILL. Christ & the O. T. *ET*, J1
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- JOHNSON. The last journeys to Jerusalem as descr. by Luke. *BS*, S
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- LUND. Referat af Jülicher: Die Gleichnisreden Jesu. *TT*, 318-25
- MACGREGOR. Christ's three judges. *Exp*, Je-Ag
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- NEBE. Die Groschen im Gleichnisse v. d. Arbeitern im Weinberg. *MGE*, H 1
- NESTLE. "Unser täglich Brod." *ZNTW*, H 3
- The 7 words from the cross. *ET*, J1
- Neueste Streit um die Auferstehung Jesu Christi. *AE-LKZ*, nos 5, 6, 7
- NÜLSEN. Jesu Beten. *D-AZThK*, no 1
- OFFERHAUS. Het woord van Jesus: "Wat noemt gij mij goed?" *G&V*, no 5
- PATTERSON. The Redeemer's miracles. *HR*, Ap
- PEABODY. Teaching of Jesus concerning the rich. *NW*, Je
- PEERY. Jesus with the doctors, Lk. 9: 41-52. *LQ*, O
- PETERS. Der ungerechte Haushalter u. d. Gleichnisfrage. *ZSchw*, H 3
- PEYTON. The crucifixion as an evolutionary force. *CR*, Ap, My
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- PURVES. The virgin-birth. *BS*, Ja
- Christ's woes on the cities of Galilee. *Ibid*, J1
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- RAE. Parable of the oil-lamp. *HR*, S
- REISCHLE. Die leibl. Auferstehung Jesu Christi. *ChW*, no 1
- RIGGS. Later Galilean ministry as a whole. *BS*, J1
- SAMTLEBEN. Hat Christus schon von seiner Erlösungstat geredet? *KM*, D
- SANDAY. A new work on the parables. *YTh*, S, Ja
- SCHICK. Durch welches Thor ist Jesus am Palmsonntag in Jerusalem eingezogen? *ZDPV*, 1, 2
- SCHIELE. Jesus als Saturnalienkönig. *ChW*, no 15
- SCHMAUCK. Life of Christ as written by different biographers. *LChR*, J1
- STALKER. Our present knowledge of the life of Christ. *CR*, Ja
- STEWART, A. Did Christ pray with his disciples? *ET*, J1
- STEWART, G. W. Jülicher on nature & purpose of the parables. *Exp*, Mr, Ap, Je

- TAURIT. Die Sprache Jesu nach Th. Zahn. *M & N. EKR*, Ja
 — Ueber den Descensus Christi ad inferos. *Ibid*, Ja
 TERRIEN. La maternité divine, principe, centre et clef de tous les privilèges de Marie. *Et*, 5 Ap
 THAYER. Ethical method of Jesus. *JBL*, 146-65
 THOMAS. Evidence of the resurrection. *MR(N)* J1-Ag
 TOMLINSON. Moral character of Jesus. *LQ*, Ap
 TORREY. Syriac-Arabic narrative of the miracles of Jesus. *AJSJL*, Ap
 WARFIELD. Human development of Jesus. *BSI*, Ja
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 WITTE. Höllenfahrt Christi. *Theol Zeitbl*, S
 WOODS. Jesus & little children. *BSI*, N
 WORTHINGTON. Our Lord's modes of reasoning. *HR*, N
 WREDE. Τὸ αἶμά μου τῆς διαθήκης. *ZNTW*, H 1
 WÜNSCHE. Das Kreuzholz Jesu als Lebens- u. Erkenntnisbaum d. Paradieses. *BAZ*, nos 92, 93

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 ZAHN. See p 37, col 1
 ACHELIS. Spuren des Urchristentums auf den griechischen Inseln? *ZNTW*, H 2
 BACHER. Les Athéniens à Jérusalem. *REJ*, Ja
 BELSER. Zur Chronologie d. ev. Gesch. *ThQ*, H 1
 BLEISTREU. Thomas. *HK*, no 6
 BRIDEL. L'harmonie des contrastes dans le caractère de l'apôtre Paul. *LChr*, 15 S
 CARR. First act of the apostles—the election of Matthias. *Exp*, My
 CHAJES. Barabbas. *ZwTh*, H 2
 COEN. La persecuzione neroniana dei cristiani. *Atene & Roma*, S, O, N
 CROSS. Luke & Josephus. *ET*, S
 DESSAU. Kalender d. Provinz Asien. *Hermes*, H 2
 DIETRICH. εὐαγγελιστής. *ZNTW*, H 4
 ELLIOT. Conversion of Paul. *MR(N)*, My
 FALCONER. Early visits of Paul to Jerusalem. *ET*, Ag
 FINDLAY. Letter of the Corinthian church to Paul. *Exp*, Je
 FLOURNOY. Peter, not the rock. *BSI*, N
 GRAFE. Paulus u. sein Evangelium. *ChrW*, 2, 3
 HARNACK. Der "Heiland der Welt." *ChrW*, no 2.—See *ibid*, '99, no 51; transl. in *Ind*, 25 Ja.—Greek text publ. in *Mitth des deu Arch Instituts*, Athen, Abt. XXXIII, 275 ff.—See also ORTINGEN, *Alter Glaube*, no 12
 HARRIS. Did Judas really commit suicide? *AJTh*, J1
 HAVERFIELD. Census of Sulpicius Quirinus. *Class Rev*, J1
 — The σπαρτηγοί of Philippi. *JTS*, Ap
 HILGENFELD. Noch einmal d. Essäer. *ZwTh*, H 2
 KNOFF. Soziale Zusammensetzung der ältesten beiden christl. Gemeinden. *ZThK*, no 5
 LACEY. Sifting of Simon. *IER*, O
 LAMY. L'apostolat. *RdM*, 1 O
 MACPHERSON. Was there a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome? *AJTh*, Ja
 MACRORY. Gospels in early church. *Irish Ecc Rev*, Ap ff
 MILLER. Peter's despair, John 21: 17. *ET*, J1
 O'DONOVAN. Was Paul in Spain? *ACQ*, Ap
 RAMSAY. The Pauline chronology. *HR*, D
 — Removal of Paul to Rome 59 A. D. *Exp*, Ag
 REID. Missionary methods of the apostles. *ET*, Ja, F, My-S
 RHIJN, VAN. Luke 1, 39; birthplace of John the Baptist. *ThSt*, no 5
 RIGGS. Types of Judaism in times of Jesus. *BW*, F
 — Publicans in Jewish lit. & the N. T. *BSI*, D
 SALMOND. Peter, the rock. *BSI*, S
 SCHICK. Geburtsort Johannes des Tüfers. *ZDPV*, 1 & 2
 SCHIELE. Aquila u. Priscilla. *ZMR*, D
 SEEBERG. Ἀπολλῶς ὁ καὶ Σακκίας. *ThLb*, no 20

- SLEDD. Paul & Seneca. *MR(S)*, Mr
 SOLLERTINSKY. Death of John the Baptist. *JTS&S*, J1
 STANTON. "Gospel of Peter" & the recognition in the church of the canonical gospels. *JTS&S*, O
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 THOMPSON. The Samaritans. *ET*, My
 TIPPY. Synagogues of the dispersion & early Christianity. *MR(N)*, My
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 ZENOS. The Herods. *BS&S*, J1-S
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See also *PQ*, Ap
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 MONCHAMPS. L'écrit d'Algerus (d. about 1131) sur la dignité de l'église liégeoise identifié avec l'appendice du liber officiorum ecclesiae leodiensis. *Bull de la comm roy hist de Belgique*
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 BOWEN. Eccles. Latin poetry. *MR(S)*, J1
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 LOUIS. See p 10, col 1
 LUCAS. Fra Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98). St Lo-Herder (508) 2
 MARTENS. Letzte Kaiserkrönung in Rom 1452 (Friedrich IV.). *ID* L (85)
 MAY. Behandlungen d. Sage v. Eginhard u. Emma. *ID* Br (35)
 MENKEL. Ottos I. Beziehungen z. d. deu. Erzbischöfen sein. Zeit u. d. Leistungen d. letztern für Staat, Kirche u. Kultur. *GPr* Magdeburg (28)
 MEYER. Das Staufische Burggrafentum im 12. u. 13. Jahrh. *ID* L (50)
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 ——— De Philippi Beroaldi junioris vita et scriptis (1478-1518). *ID* P-Lr (127)
 PETERSEN. Maximilian v. Baiern u. d. Kurwürde. *GPr* Luckau (25)
 PFLUGK-HARTTUNG. Der Johanniter- u. d. deu. Orden im Kampfe Ludwigs d. Bayern mit d. Kurie. L-D&H (274) 6
 PROOSDIJ. Jacques Le Fèvre d'Étaples. Le-Donner (93, portr) 0.65
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 REINKE. Frankreich u. Papst Johann XXIII. *ID* M (66)
 RIEHL. See p 10, col 1
 SALEMBIER. Une double élection pontificale à la fin du xiv^e siècle: Urbain VI et Clément VII. P-Sueur-Charruey (47)
 Savonarola et la critica tedesca. Firenze-Barbèra 4
 SCHEFFER-BOICHORST. Gesetz Kaiser Friedrichs II. "De resignandis privilegiis." B-R (30) 1
 SCOTT. Cathedral builders. Story of a great masonic guild. Lo-Low (462) 21
 STEIN. See p 10, col 2
 TAUBE. Ludwig d. Aeltere als Markgr. v. Brandenburg (1323-51). III. *ID* B (40)
 TENKHOFF. Die Paderborner Bischöfe v. Hathumar bis Rethar (806/7-1009). *GPr* Pa (47)
 TÖNNIES. Würzburger Bildschnitzer Tilman Riemenschneider, 1468-1531. *ID* Hd (65)
 TROSTORFF. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Niederrheins m. bes. Berücksichtigung d. Kirchen- u. Klostergesch. u. d. Gesch. einzelner Adelsgeschl. 4. u. 5. Tl. Düsseldorf-Schmitz & Olbertz (224) 6
 TURINAZ. Un pape savoisien. Nancy (120)
 Panégyrique du bienheur. Innocent V, Pierre de Tarentaise. . . . suivi d'une étude sur la patrie, les ouvrages et les sermons d'Innocent V (d. 1276).—See MOTHON, Les deux traditions sur les orig. et le culte du bienh. Innocent V. Aoste (43)
 TÜRNU. Rabanus Maurus, praeceptor Germaniae. *ID* M-Lindauer (72) 0.80
 VIERTEL. Petrarca de viris illustribus. *UPr* G (36)
 Beitrag z. Geschichte der humanist. Studien
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 His abbey of Hyde, Athelney, Shaftesbury
 WEIS. Julian von Speyer († 1285). M-Lentner (162) 3.60
 Forschungen z. Franziskus- u. Antoniuskritik, z. Gesch. d. Reimoffizien u. d. Chorals
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 WYLIE. Council of Constance to the death of John Hus. NY-L (195) 2
 ZUCKER. Albrecht Dürer. Hl-N (189, ill) 6
 D'ALTON. Irish church from the Danish to the Anglo-Norman invasion. *DuR*, O

- ARNSPERGER. Einfluss d. kirchl. Unionsversuche des 13., 14. u. 15. Jahrh. auf die philos. Renaissance des Abendlandes. *NHJb*, IX, no 1
- BAUNARD. L'église gallicane et les premiers précurseurs de l'unité romaine. *RScE*, F
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- BERI. Caterina da Siena e il suo tempo (1347-80). *NA*, 1 My
- BLUMENTHAL. Johann XXIII., seine Wahl u. Persönlichkeit. *ZKG*, H 4
- BORDET. Le pape Honorius. *ScC*, no 5
- BRETHOLZ. Bischof Paul von Oimütz über den Abschluss der Basler Compactaten. *MIÖG*, XXI, 4
- BREYSSIG. Das erste Vierteljahrhundert europäisch. Politik im Zeitalter d. Renaissance (1494-1519). *BAZ*, 17., 18., 19. Ja
- BUCKHAM. Savonarola & Jesus. *BS*, O
- CERASOLI. Gregorio XI e Giovanna I, regina de Napoli. *ArchStorNapoli*, Vols XXIII, XXIV, 1-4; XXV, 1
- CLEMEN. Ketzerverfahren Johanns v. Wesel (died 1487). *HVS*, O
- COMMER. Girol. Savonarola. *JbPh&SpTh*, XIII, 301 ff, 460 ff; XIV, 55-109
- DELSILE. La vraie chronique du religieux Saint-Denis, par Delaborde. *JS*, O
- Mandements épiscop. impr. à Tréguier au 15^e siècle. *BiblEcChartes*, 61, 1
- DÉPREZ. Les funérailles de Clément VI et d'Innocent VI. *Mél d'arch et d'hist*, Ap
- DRÄSEKE. Nikolaos von Methone im Urteile der Friedensschrift d. Joh. Bekkos. *ZwTh*, H 1
- Johannes Phurnes bei Bekkos. *Ibid*, H 2
- Bischof Anselm v. Havelberg u. s. Gesandtschaftsreisen (1135) nach Byzanz. *ZKG*, XXI, H 2
- ENRLE. Der Cardinal Peter de Foix, der Aeltere, d. Acten seiner Legation in Aragonien u. sein Testament. *ALKGMA*, VII, 3 u. 4; VIII, 3 u. 4
- EYMIEU. La mission de Thomas d'Aquin. *UC*, Ap
- FISHER. Bischof Johannes aus Irland († 1066) erster Märtyrer Amerikas? *ZkTh*, O
- FITA. Los judios Mallorquines y el concilio de Vienna. *Boletín de la Real Acad de la Hist Madrid*, M
- FORST. Angebl. Schenke rheinischer Kirchen an d. Bist. Osnabrück durch Kaiser Arnulf. *Westden Z f Gesch u Kunst*, XIX, 2
- FRANZ. Ist Kardinal Capranica Verfasser des *Speculum artis bene moriendi*? *Kath*, F
- GAV. Les diocèses de Calabre à l'époque byzantine d'après un livre récent. *RHLR*, My
- GLOSSNER. Savonarola u. Renaissance im Spiegel d. "histor. Theologie." *JbPh&SpTh*, 427-42
- GUGLIA. Die Türkenfrage auf dem 5. Lateranconcil. *MIÖG*, no 4
- HAGENMEYER. Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100). *ROL*, nos 1 ff
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- HAUPT. Joh. v. Drändorfs Verurtlg. durch d. Inquisit. z. Heidelberg (1425). *Z f Gesch des Oberrheins*, XV, 3, 4
- HEINE. Burchard v. Schraplau, gen. "der Lappe," Erzbisch. v. Magdeburg, 1307-25. *Neue Mitt aus d. Geb. hist.-antiqu Forsch.*, 3, 4
- HORDIJK. Wat weeten wij omtrent den Hl. Adelbert van Egmond? *Bijdr v. Vaderl. Gesch.*, IV, no 1
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- LOß. Uita et script. Alberti Magni. *AB*, XIX, no 3
- Appendix: Vita Alberti circa 1483 conscripta
- MANDONNET. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kardinals Giovanni Dominici. *HJb*, nos 2, 3
- MORIN. Un concile inédit tenu dans l'Italie méridionale à la fin du 9^e siècle. *Rbd*, no 2
- NAU. Le croisé Lorrain Godefroy de Ascha d'après 2 docc. syr. du 13^e siècle. *JA*, My
- NESTLE. Thomas Becket in süddeu. Kalendern. *ZKG*, XXI, H 3
- NIEMEIER. Beziehungen Albrechts I. zu Bonifaz VIII. *Hist Stud*, XIX, 174
- NILLES. Innocenz IV. (1243-54) u. d. glagolitisch-slavisches Liturgie. *ZkTh*, H 1
- NUCCIO. I papi e la Sicilia nel medio evo. *Arch Stor Ital*, XXV, 1
- PARIS. La mort de Siger de Brabant. *Romania*, Ja
- PAULUS. Ueber Wessel Gansfort's Leben u. Lehren. *Kath*, JI-S
- Raimund Peraudi als Ablasskommissar. *HJb*, H 4
- Peasants' rising in 1381, The. *EdR*, Ja
- PFLUGK-HARTUNG. Das zum Originale gewandelte Konzept einer Bulle Calixts II. (1119-24). *HVS*, H 2
- Anhang, Gegner u. Hilfsmittel Ludwigs des Bayern in s. Kämpfe mit d. Kurie. *ZKG*, XXI H 2, 4
- RAHLWES. Arnold v. Brescia. *DPBl*, nos 35-7
- RENAUDIN. Christodule, Higurène de Saint-Jean à Patmos (1020-1101). *ROChr*, no 2
- ROOVEN. Jacob van Maerlant (13th cent.) in zijn strijd tegen de geestelijkheid. *StWV*, My
- SAGARY. L'église et les papes à la fin du moyen âge. *RScE*, O
- SCHIRMER. Cyrillo-methodeische Denkmäler u. Traditionen in Mähren. *ITh*, Ja
- Evangelienexodex v. Reims u. der nationalkirchl. Gedanke in Böhmen u. Mähren. *Ibid*, JI
- SCHNITZER. Alexander VI. (1492-1503). *HJb*, H 1
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- SCHÖNFELDER. Joh. Diaconus in der vita S. Gregorii II, 17. *Kath*, D
- SICKEL. Kirchenstaat u. Karolinger. Staatsrechtl. Bemerkungen. *HZ*, 385-409
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- Königskrönung Wratislavs v. Böhmen u. d. angebl. Mainzer Synode d. Jahres 1086. *MIÖG*, XX, 382-90
- STEINHEKZ. Schisma von 1378 u. d. Hältg. Karls IV. *MIÖG*, XXI, H 4
- TROUILLARD. Requête de Gaston IV, comte de Foix, à archevêque de Reims, Juvénal des Ursins, réformateur du domaine royal (1446). *Ann de Midi*, O
- UHLIRZ. Errichtg. d. Prager Bistums. *MVGDB*, H 1
- VEDDER. Origin & early teachings of the Waldenses. *ATh*, JI
- VIDAL. Le pape Jean XXII, son intervention dans le conflit entre la Savoie et le Dauphiné, 1319-1334. *RQH*, O
- DE WAAL. Andenken an d. Romfahrt im Mittelalter; Lex christiana. *RQ*, nos 1, 2
- WINTERFELD. Die Dichterschule St. Gallens u. der Reichenau unter den Karolingern u. Ottonen. *Neue Jahrb f klass Altert*, H 5

Local Church History

- BONNARD. L'Abbaye de la Ste.-Trinité de Mauléon. Ligugé-Bluté (224)
- COMONT. Essai hist. et arch. sur Angerville-l'Orcher. Evreux (51)

- DUCHESNE. St. Jacques en Gallice. Toulouse (37)
 DUMONT (ed.). Geschichte der Pfarreien d. Erzdiocese Köln. Bd 34: Dekanat Münstereifel. Bn-Hanstein (352) 6.45
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 GORDON. Story of Assisi, illustr. Lo-Dent (252) 3-6n
 JOESTEN. See p 69, col 2
 LOOSHORN. Bist. Bamberg v. 1400-1556. Bamberg-Handelsdruckerei (1080) 20
 MARTIN. Hist. des diocèses de Toul, de Nancy et de Saint-Dié. T. 1: Des origines à la réunion de Toul à la France. Nancy (632) 7
 MICHAUD. St.-Maurice-la-Fougereuse et son prieuré millénaire. Parthenay-Cante (188)
 NANGIARD. Pouillé historique du diocèse d'Angoulême. T. 3. Angoulême-Despujols (590)
 PHILIPON. Les orig. du dioc. et du comté de Belley. P-Picard (182)
 REICHLING. See p 61, col 2
 SCHEIBE-MORINGEN. Feldelsloh. Gesch. d. Dorfes u. Klosters. L-Franke (48) 0.60
 SCHMIDT. Budweis u. d. Wittigonen bis zum Beginn d. Hussitenkriege. *GPr* Budweis (16)
 WEINER. Geschichte d. Ortes Kapellendorf. Wei-Thelem (106) 1.60
 WEISS. Hohentwiel u. Ekkehard in Geschichte, Sage u. Dichtung. St. Gallen-Wiser & Frey (352, 100 ill) 10
 ZIEGLER. Die kirchl. Zustände in Winterthur am Ende d. 15. u. Anfang d. 16. Jahrh. *GPr* Winterthur
 FIRMENICH-RICHARTZ. Der Meister des hl. Bartholomäus. Zur Gesch. der altköl. Malerschule. *ZChrK*, no 1
 HEMMER. Chronique d'hist. de l'église gallicane. *RHLR*, nos 3, 5
 NEUWIETH. Gesch. einiger Pragerkirchen aus einem Testamente v. J. 1392. *MVGDB*, H 1
 SPANGENBERG. Gründung d. Bist. Prag. *HJb*, H 4
 Scholasticism, Mysticism
 DARLEY. Accord de la liberté avec la conservation de l'énergie et St. Thomas. P-Lévy (14)
 DELACROIX. Le mysticisme spéculatif en Allemagne au 14^e siècle. P-A (304) 5
 DE WULF. Qu'est-ce que la philosophie scolastique? Louvain (74) 1.50
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 PUYOL. L'auteur du livre De imitatione Christi. P-R (646, 267) 10.—See p 80, col 2
 LASSALLE. Le prince de Thomistes (Aquinas). *RScE*, Ap
 STIGLMAYR. Der "Vater d. Mystik" im Lichte d. Neuplatonismus. *Hist-pol Bl f d kath Dew*, H 8, 9
 Government and Polity; Worship and Life
 DOBSCHÜTZ. Bibelkenntnis in vorreformat. Zeit. B-Paetel
 DE LA TOUR. Les origines religieuses de la France. Les paroisses rurales du iv^e au xi^e siècle. P-Picard (360) 5
 G., J. Die deu. Inquisition. *Volksaufklärung*, 32. Warnsdorf-Opitz
 GUMMERUS. Beitr. z. Gesch. des Buss- u. Beichtwesens in der schwed. Kirche des Mittelalters. I. Upsala (160)
 See *ThLs*, 'or, no 4
 HANSEN. Zaubervahn, Inquisition u. Hexenprocess im Mittelalter u. d. Entstehung d. grossen Hexenverfolgung (1400-1700). M-Oldenbourg (556) bd 10
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 RODOCANACHI. Le premier jubilé (1350). P-Picard (47)
 RUNGE. Lieder u. Melodien der Geissler d. J. 1349. L-Breitk & Härtel (229) 10
 Nach d. Aufzeichnung Hugo's von Reutlingen. Nebst einem Anhang über die italienischen Geisslerlieder von Schneegans, etc.
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 SCHMID. Kirchengesang nach den Liturgikern des Mittelalters dargestellt. Kempten (30) 0.60
 SOMMER. Deu. Frömmigk. im 13. Jahrh. Schleswig-Bergas (304) 4
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THE REFORMATION PERIOD (1517-1648)

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- HOENINGEN-HUENE. Petrus Canisius. *PrJb*, F
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- JOYCE. Archbishop Laud. *JTh*, O
- JUNGITZ. Bischofswahl des Bonaventura Hahn, 1596. *ZVGesch Schlesiens*, Vol 34
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- Karl V. u. d. Glaubensspalt. *Hist-pol Blätter*, no 10
- KAUFMANN. Die Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica. Der grosse Aufstand im Colleg. Germanic. zu Rom im J. 1554. *Kath*, Ja
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- Luther's uteinde. *Ma*, II, 2
- KAYSER. Luther og Jakobs. *TT*, no 6
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- Lutherforschung, Zur. *EKZ*, nos 20, 21
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- Thomas Sackville's message from Rome. *Ibid*, O
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- Burg Friedberger Taufformular aus d. Zeit des ausgehenden 16. Jahrh. *ibid*, N
- Judentaufformular aus d. angebl. "missionslosen" Zeit um die Wende d. 16. u. 17. Jahrh. *ZprTh*, no 4

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- Fleming's "In allen meinen Thaten." *Ibid*, S
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- ROUS. Mgr. Saiwet, évêque de Mende

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- AMELUNG. A. F. Chr. Vilmar. *Alte Glaube*, 8 ff. Cf. *AE-LKZ*, 47-49
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- BANNISTER. Browning's religion. *HR*, S
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- BAUMGARTNER. August Reichensperger. *StML* nos 3-5
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- BELLESHEIM. Ambrose Phillippis de Lisle. *Kath. My. Je*
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- BENDIXEN. Bedeutung Richard Rothe's. *T&Lb*, 37
- Karl Gerok, Prediger u. Dichter. *P&HKS*, O, N
- BEYSCHLAG. Deutschland im Laufe d. 19. Jahrh. *DEBI*, F
- BICKNELL. Dean Merivale. *Dial*, 1 Mr
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- FRITZMEIER. Henry Drummond. *D-AZ&K*, Ja
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- Hebel als Prediger. *Zp&Th*, no 3
- GRAFE. Karl Weizsäcker. *ChrW*, no 32
- HALE. James Martineau. *Ow*, 3 F
- HAUPT. F. L. Steinmeyer. *Hk*, Mr, Ap
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HOENSBROECH. Bischof v. Ketteler. *PrTh*, O
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JACKSON, A. W. James Martineau. *NW*, Mr;
NAR, O
JACKSON, S. M. George Müller of Bristol. *ChR*, Ag
JASTROW. Cornelius Petrus Tiele. *OC*, D
JEANJEAN. Vinet et la pédag. moderne. *RCAr*, Mr
KAUTZSCH. A. Socin. *ZDPV*, nos 1, 2
KOHLSCHMIDT. Ein Zeitbild der röm. Kirche von
heute nach einem histor. Bildercyclus aus d. Jah-
ren 1860-70. *DEBl*, Ap
KOLDE. Ueber d. Sektenbewegg. im 19. Jahrh. u.
ihre Bedeutung für die Kirche. *NkZ*, Mr
KROSE. Verschlebung d. Konfessionsverh. in
Deutschland im 19. Jahrh. *StML*, nos 6, 7
KRÜGER. David Friedrich Strauss. *AYTh*, J1
KUPKE. Die Audienz d. päpstl. Nuntius am Hofe
in Dresden, Monsignor Arezzo, bei Napoleon I.
in Berlin, Nov. 1866. *ZKG*, H 3
LACHENMANN. Die Hetze gegen d. Protestanten
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LEE. Tennyson's religion. *ACQ*, Ja
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Rev et histor, J1
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LINDNER. Fliedner u. Wichern. *FlBl d rank
Haus*, no 1
LOMBARD. Joseph de Maistre, théoricien de l'ul-
tramontanisme. *RThPh*, S, N
LONGHAYE. Lamennais. *Et*, 20 My, 5 & 20 Je
MANCHOT, James Martineau. *PrM*, F
Martineau, James. *MacMag*, Mr
McCORMACK. Friedrich Max Müller. *OC*, D
McFADYEN. Alexander Balmain Bruce. *BW*, F
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Benson). *AtlanticMo*, My
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YQR, Ja
MORGAN. Schleiermacher. *ET*, Je
O'KEEFE. Another aspect of Newman. *CW*, Ap
PLATT. Pusey as a devotional writer. *LQR*, O
RATHMANN. Zur Erinnerung an Westermeyer.
EKZ, no 27
RICHTERICH. Le père Girard, précurseur de la ré-
forme catholique-chrétienne. *YTh*, Ja
RIDDER. La question romaine en 1862. *RHE*, D
RIEKER. Die Krisis d. landesherrl. Kirchenregi-
ments in Preussen 1848-50, u. ihre kirchenrechtl.
Bedeutung. *DZKR*, X, H 1
RÖHM. Russland u. der hl. Stuhl in dem letzten
Jahrhundert. *Blf d kath Den*, 126, no 5
ROOKER. Bericht aangaande de Roomsche propa-
ganda in het ressort van den hulpprediker Van
Tondano e. a. *StW&V*, F
Roomsche geworden predikanten en Nederl. *Ma*, II, 1
SABATIER. Samuel Berger. *RCAr*, Ag
SALKOWSKI. Die "kath. Wissenschaft" u. ihr
neuester Vertreter [v. Hertling]. *DEBl*, Ap
SCHIRMER. Nachhallen d. Josephinismus in Oesterr.
bis über d. Mitte d. 19. Jahrh. hinaus. *YTh*, Ap
— Kardinal Rauschers Stellung zu Protestan-
ten u. Altkatholiken. *Ibid*, O
SCHMITTHENNER. Henrik Ibsen's frühere Dramen
nach ihrem religiös-ethischen Gehalt. *PrM*, Je
SCHREIBER. Der Diakonissen-Vater Theodor
Fliedner. *EM*, Ap
SPITTA. H. v. Herzogenberg. *MG&K*, N
STEPHEN. Thomas Henry Huxley. *NC*, D
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WARD, W. Two mottoes of Cardinal Newman. *FR*, J1
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WICKSTED. Personal impressions of Dr. Marti-
neau. *CR*, F
WILLMS. Klaus Groth. *Alter Glaube*, 7
WINDISCH. Nekrolog auf Albert Socin. *Verk d
k sächs Ges d Wiss*, 225-33
Local Church History: 1648-1900
BECKER. Gesch. d. Pfarreien des Dekana-
tes Münstereifel. Bn-Hanstein (378) 5
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nitorialordnungen von 1628 u. 1743 für
die Geschichte des Darmstädter Defi-
nitoriums. Gi-R (44) 1, 60
Aus: Festgruss Bernhard Stade dargebracht
DIETTERLE. Burkhardswalde, Ephorie
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FISCHER. Geschichte der kath. Pfarrei
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Aarau-Wirz (128) 1, 50
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derness. Rochdale (483) 1-16-6
FOHRINGER. Sociales Wirken d. kath.
Kirche in Diocese St. Pölten. W-
Mayer (438) 6
Glockenklänge von Klostergrab. *WEB*,
11 (14) 0, 10
HAMEL. L'église St.-Sulpice. P-L (516)
HEIDKÄMPER. Schaumburg-lippische
Kirche. Bückeburg (63) 1
HEPPE. Dom zu Metz. Metz-Scriba (108) 2
HÖCK. Das kirchliche Leben in Hamburg
vor u. nach den Freiheitskriegen. Hm-
Trümpfer (64) 0, 50
ILWOF. See p 61, col 2
JOESTEN. Zur Geschichte der Hexen u.
Juden in Bonn. Bn-Georgi (47) 1
KELLER. Kirchl. Chronik Döbelns. L-
Jacobi (75) bd 1, 50
KERN. Evang.-luth. Dreieinigk.-Gem. zu
Chemnitz. Dr-Steyer (23) 0, 30
Kirchengallerie, Neue sächs. L-Strauch
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(96, ill) 0, 80
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0, 50
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- CRÖNERT. Klostergrab (in Böhmen). *ChrW*, no 16
- JOLLES. Herinneringen aan de Hervormde Gemeente Amsterdam. *G&V*, XXXIV, 3
- MELON. Le français dans les vallées vaudoises du Piémont. *RCkr*, S
- SCHUBERT. See p 61, col 1
- Government and Polity; Worship and Life: 1648-1900
See also pp 75-9
- BASDEVANT. Des rapports de l'église et de l'état dans la législation du mariage, du concile de Trente au Code civil. P-Larose (240)
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- BANKS. A Protestant manifesto for the Church of England. *LQR*, Ja
- BAUMGARTEN. Der protestantische Lehrprozess. *ZprTh*, H 1
- BELLESHEIM. Rom in der ersten Hälfte d. Jubeljahres 1900. *Kath*, N, D
- BONUS. Im Kampf um eine Weltanschauung. *ChrW*, nos 19-21
- BOYLE. "The Russian schismatic ch." *CW*, Ap
- BRIGGS. Anglican crisis and ch. unity. *NAR*, Ja
- BUDDE. Zum Strassburger Gesangbuch im 18. Jahrhundert. *MCKK*, Ag
- CAMM. La crise religieuse dans l'église de l'Angleterre. *KBd*, nos 1, 2
- CHAPPUZEAU. Fall Weingart—Schluss? *ChrW*, no 13
— Die Ritschlianer im Fall Weingart. *Ibid*, no 29.—Gegen BEYSCHLAG, *DEBl*, Mr; see also *ChrW*, no 34
- Churches & statistics of churches in 1899. *Ind*, 4 Ja
- CLARK. Church of England. *Selfculture*, J1
- CLEMEN. Katholizismus u. Wissenschaft. *ChrW*, 6
— Die künftige unierte Freikirche von Schottland. *Ibid*, no 31
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- Congrès, Le, de Munich. *BLE*, D
- CONYBEARE. Popular Catholicism in France. *Nat'l Rev*, Ja
- CUTHBERT. England's conversion & the hierarchical jubilee. *CW*, O
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- DRAUSSIN. Le campagne anti-protest. en France. *LChr*, N
- DUDON. Les protestants de France. Doctrine et action. *Et*, 20 F
- EBRAY. La crise de l'église d'Angleterre. *RChr*, D
- Ecclesiastical situation in Scotland. *Blackwood's*, O
- EVERETT. Jesuit educators & modern colleges. *A*, Je
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- FIAMINGO. The democratic Christians & the Vatican. *OC*, Ag
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- GÜNTHER. Kath. Autonomie in Ungarn. *AKKR*, O
- HASELL. Evangelische Neigungen in den romanischen Ländern. *MSt&L*, Ja, F
— Die "Los von Rom"-Bewegung in Oesterreich. *Hist-pol Bl f d kath Dew*, Mr
- HAUTECLAIR. Le protestantisme contemporain. *Justice sociale*, no 6
- HERTEL. Gesch. des Kirchenliedes in der Sachsen-Meinigisch. Landesk. *Schriften d. Verf S-M Gesch*, H 35
- HOFFMANN. "Los von Rom." Le mouvement anti-cathol. en Autriche. *LChr*, Ja
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- KELLER. Die deutschen Gesellschaften des 18. Jahrh. u. d. moral. Wochenschriften. *MCG*, H 7, 8
- KÖSTER. Ein Versuch, auf die "Laienforderungen" zu antworten. *ChrW*, no 24
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- LEBUS. Aus d. kirchl. Leben Litlands. *MSSt&L*, no 2
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- MENEGOS. Französisch-evangelisches. *MG&K*, Mr
- MICHAŁOWITCZ. Entre Grecs et Russes. *ROChr*, no 1
- MICHAUD. L'ancien-catholicisme et le protestantisme. *ITTh*, O
- MIVART. Roman congregations (of cardinals) & modern thought. *NAR*, Ap
- MONRAD. Religiöses Volksleben in Norwegen. *ChrW*, no 5
- ORR & DENNEY. The union of the Free Church of Scotland & the Unit. Presbyt. ch. *LQR*, O
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- PRIPERS. Was lehrt der Fall Weingart? *DPBl*, nos 4, 5
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Zur Gesch. d. spätantiken u. frühchristl. Kunst Studien z. deu. Kunstgesch., 24, 25. Str-Heitz
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- WIEGAND. Archaeol. Studien. *ThLb*, 39
- WÜSCHER-BECCHI. Die mittelalterl. Wandgemälde in der Nordkapelle der Pfarrkirche zu Stein a. Rh. *ZChrK*, H 4

E. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

See also *History and Science of Philosophy; Religion and Religions; Comparative Theology; Biblical Theology of Old and New Testaments; Life of Christ; History of Theology; and Liturgics*

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STEUDE. Vaterlandsliebe u. Christentum. *Alter Glaube*, 6
SUPER. Evolution of ethics. *AA*, Mr
—— Archæology of ethical ideas. *Ibid*, My
—— Civilization & ethical standard. *Ibid*, N
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WHITEFOORD. Christ & human emotions. *Exp*, Mr
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— Personal character of the preacher. *Ibid*, JI
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- FORBES. What should the preacher preach? *Mi*, JI
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- SCHULZ. Der Geistl. u. mod. Gesellschaft. *Hk*, O
- SMITH. The pastor in his relations to God, *PQ*, Ja
- SONNTAG. Gesellschaftliche Stellung der evangel. Geistlichen. *PrM*, D
- STAINVILLE. Le prêtre cath. *Rev Bleue*, 7 JI, 4 Ag
- STUDER. Psychiatrie u. Seelsorge. *ZSchw*, H 1, 2
- SULZE. Wissenschaft in der Predigt. *PrM*, My
- Teaching ministry, The. *BW*, Mr
- WEBER. Evgl. Religionsunterricht auf d. höheren Lehranstalten u. seine Erschwerung durch die heutigen Zeitverhältnisse. *ZrRU*, 218-24
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- HEUCKE. Bedeutung d. kirchl. Trauung nach
B. G. B. DZKR, IX, 404-14
- HORN, E. T. Notes on the translation of the Col-
lects. L&R, Ap
- HORN, M. La tonalité et le rythme du chant gré-
gorien. RBd, nos 2, 3
- KLINGEMANN. Ein Blatt. z. Gesch. d. Osterliedes
"Christ ist erstanden." MG&K, J1
- KOLDE. Zur Gesch. d. Konfirmation in Oettingen.
BBK, VI, 126-33
- KREUTZER. Ein neues Gebetbuch. ZprTh, no 2
- Liturgien der Brüdergemeinde. Siona, Ag-O
- LUCHAIRE. La culte des reliques. Rev d Paris, no 13
- MAYDORN. Gemeindegottesdienst. KZ, N
- MOONEY; MÜHE. See p 95, cols 1, 2
- NASH. Easter-tide customs. Selfculture, Ap
- NEELY. Order of public worship. MR(N), Ja
- NELLE. Volkslied u. innere Mission. Fl Bl
a d rank Hause, nos 11, 12
- Hymnus Jesu dulcis memoria. MG&K, F
- PARSON. De usu sacramentorum. LQ, J1
- PRATT. Words of choir pieces. HSR, N
- ROSS. The living hymnist of English Puritanism.
HR, Mr
- Missionary hymns, old & new. Ibid, My
- SARTORIUS. Konfirmationspraxis. LQ, 32
- SCHULTZE. Zur Konfirmationsfrage. ZeRU, F
- SIMONS. Die Litanei. MG&K, N
- SMEND. Liturgische Forschungen von allgemeinem
Interesse. MG&K, J1
- SPENCER. Plain song & mediæval music. AER, Ag
- SPITTA. Kirchenoratorium. MG&K, Ap
- STRODACH. Luther's hymns. L&R, Ap, J1, O
- VAGANAY. Bibliogr. des sonnets relat. aux saints.
AB, no 4
- WRIGHT. See p 95, col 2

ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH

General

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- HIMES. The relation of children to the gospel.
L&R, Ap, J1
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ZThK, Ap, J1, O
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wart. EKKZ, nos 21, 22
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church. MR(N), My
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- BASSERMANN. Biblische Schöpfungserzählung u. der kirchliche Volksunterricht. *ZeRU*, J1
- BAUM. Religionsunterricht in der Volksschule. *ChrW*, 38
- DIRSTEL. Zur Frage nach dem Werte des Religionsunterrichts in der Schule. *ChrW*, 38
- EBELING. Erster Glaubensartikel in Luther's kleinem Katechismus. *StKr*, H 2
- FÜGNER. Religionsunterricht an höheren Schulen. *ChrW*, 36, 37
- HARRIS. Genesis & evol. of Su. sch. *LQR*, Ap
- JÄGER. Erfordernisse u. Vorbedingungen eines guten katechetischen Unterrichts. *KZ*, O
- Main purpose of the Sunday school. *BW*, Ap
- KNOKE. Der katechetische Entwurf. *KZ*, Ja
- MELTZER. Verwertung der neueren Leben-Jesu Forschung im Religionsunterricht. *PrM*, Ap
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- PEASE. Suggestions toward a rational Bible-school curriculum. *BW*, Ag
- RICHARD. Method in Sunday-school education. *Am Ch Su-Sch Mag*, J1
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- SCHERL. Verwendg. d. Hauptreformationsschriften Luthers in dem Unterr. höh. Schulen. *ZeRU*, O
- SCHWARTZ. Unsere katechet. Aufgabe. *HA*, 5
- SCHWARTZKOPFF. Goldene Worte zur Schulreform. *ChrW*, 31, 32, 33
- Should professional & salaried teachers be employed in Sunday school? *BW*, D
- THRANDORF. Theol. u. Religionsunterricht. *ZPhP*, no 3
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- VINCENT. Century's progress in Sunday-school work. *HR*, Ap
- VOLLMER. Religion in d. Schule. *Grenzboten*, no D
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- WIESINGER. Der Katechumenat in der luther. Kirche. *KZ*, Mr
- Foreign Missions
See also pp 83, 84
- ALLAN. Civilisation & for. miss. Lo-Stock2
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- BLOMBERG. Wer ist zum Missionsdienst berufen? *MSt&L*, S

- BOHNER. Die Basler Mission in Kamerun. *AMZ*, F
 BOOTH. Christ. education in Japan. *MissR*, S
 BRANDT. Zur Missionsfrage in China. *DR*, O
 (See also *ChrW*, 49, a letter of Brandt; & an
 article by KRANZ: Die evgl. Mission in China u.
 Herr v. Brandt, *ibid*, 43)
 CLARK. Conversions from Mohammedanism in
 Punjab. *Ch Miss Int*, Mr
 DALTON. Innere Mission in der äusseren. *Flieg*
Bl a d RH, nos 1, 2
 DENBY. Future of China & of the missionaries. *F*, O
 DENNIS. The missionary in China. *AMRR*, S
 DORWARD. Missionary situation in So. Africa.
MiR, Ja
 DUDON. Chronique des missions (Afrique). *Et*, 5 Mr
 EWING. Contributions of missions to science, com-
 merce & philanthropy. *BS*, Ap
 FIAMINGO. Christ, missions & European politics
 in China. *OC*, N
 FOREST, DE. Christian unity in Japan. *Ind*, 13 D
 ——— Rellig. outlook in Japan. *MiR*, Ap
 FRYER. Miss. work in China. *Ainslee's*, Ag
 GAREIS. Mission Berlin I in Deutsch-Ostafrika.
KM, 230-38
 GENSCHEN. Rel.-sittl. Leben unserer Missions-
 gemeinden. *EM*, G
 KRANZ. Grundrichtung u. Methode des allgem.
 evgl., protest. Missionsvereins. *ZMR*, J1
 LEPSIUS. Unser armenisches Hilfswerk. *ChrW*, 39
 LÖFFLER. China inland mission. *ChrW*, 41
 MIRSCHER. Kirchenzucht in d. Mission. *EMM*,
 nos 2, 3
 PENMAN. Christian missions in Japan. *CW*, J1
 ——— Why are Protestant missionaries disliked
 in the far East? *ibid*, D
 PENICK. Outlook for Africa. *MiR*, Mr
 SCHWARTZ. Bedingungen d. Taufe auf d. Missions-
 felder. *NkZ*, Ja
 SEARLE. Miss. work in south Africa. *MiR*, J1
 SHAHAN. Catholic missionaries from France &
 Japan. *CW*, O
 SHEFFIELD. Higher educ. in miss. fields. *MiR*, S
 SMITH. Aspect of foreign missions. *ET*, Ap
 STRÜMPFEL. Religious Tract Society u. ihr Hel-
 ferdienst in der Heidenmission. *AMZ*, nos 1, 2
 WALKER. Influence of missions on our theologi-
 cal seminaries. *HSR*, N
 WARD. Missionaries in Egypt. *NC*, Ag
 WASHBURN. A Christian college in Constantino-
 ple. *HSR*, N
 WHITE. Why do not more Hindus accept Jesus
 Christ? *MiR*, J1
 WRIGHT. Future of China. *BS*, O
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 See also pp 75-8 and pp 83, 84
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 Bo-H, M 1.25
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 tion. Balto-Johns Hopk Press (87) 0.50
 D'ADHEMAR. La femme cath. et la dé-
 mocratie franç. P-Perrin
 ADLER. Zukunft der sozialen Frage.
 Jena-Fischer (80) 0.60
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ID Alençon-Guy (123)
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 tag (317) 5
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 B-Germania (320) 3
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 relles de miséricorde. Montpellier (196)
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 Siegen (57) 0.40
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 B-BBM (32) 0.60
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 ter? T-M (79) 1.25
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 wider d. äussern u. innern Feind. *Zf*
ChrVL, 189. St-Belser (75) 1.20
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 Diakonissensache. Kassel-Röttg (32) 0.20
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 Heilsarmee.² Ba-Schindler (146) 1.50
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 L (261) 1.25

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- Verhandlgn. d. XI. evg.-soc. Kongresses, Karlsruhe, 7.-8. Je 1900. G-V&R(200)2
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- ALMY. Charity & gospel. C&R, O
- BRANDIN. Aufgaben der Inneren Mission in der Gegenwart. EKZ, 15, 16
- BUTLER. Village schools as miss. agency. IER, O
- CALEB. Indian Christian. Chw Miss Intell, F
- DALHOFF. Ist d. barmherzige Behandlg. d. Irren v. Christentum od. v. Islam ausgegangen? MIM, O
- DEVINE. Relief & care of the poor in their homes. C&R, Ag
- DONALD. Housing the poor. CR, Mr
- GRAHAM. Home-relief the best form of organized Christianity. CW, S
- HALLER. Einführung d. Mission in das kirchliche Leben. ZThK, S
- HALVORSEN. Aufg. d. Innern Mission. MIM no 5
- HAUTECLAIR. L'égl. et la société. Just soc, no 18
- HERMENS. Aus d. Gustav-Adolf-Verein. ChrW, 37-39, 41
- KEELING. Naples & the gospel. LQR, JI
- KNIGHT. Development of prevailing ideas as to the right treatment of criminals. BS, Ap
- LACHEMANN, MacAll u. d. Evangelisation Frankreichs. DEBI, D
- LAMPRECHT. Bekämpfung der Sittenlosigkeit u. Unzucht. PbHKS, Mr
- LOOMIS. Inner life of the settlement. A, Ag
- Mac-All zending, De. Ma, II, 1
- MATHEWS. Christ. ch. & social unity. AJS, Ja
- MCGILVARY. Society & individual. PhR, Mr
- MCGINLEY. Scope of Cathol. soc. settl't. CW, My
- MOORE, E. C. Sociology & the epic. AJS, S
- MOORE, F. W. Recent sociology. Progress, S
- NEHMIZ. Kirchliche Bahnen für die Evangelisationsbewegung. MIM, Mr
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- ORNUM, VAN. Study & needs of sociology. A, S
- OTTO. Stellung der evangelischen Christen zur Judenmission. PbHKS, Ag
- PASSAVANT. Diakonisse u. Berufspflegerin. MIM, 6
- ROI. Judenmission an d. Wende d. Jhrh. Nath, Ja
- SCHÄPER. Idealbild e. Stadtmission. MIM, no 5
- SCHOTT. Christl. Mission u. sozialer Fortschritt. AMZ, F, Mr
- SIEDEL. Das weisse Kreuz. Alter Glaube, 4, 5; AE-LKZ, 28 ff
- SMALL. Scope of sociology. AJS, Ja-N
- THULIE. Les primitifs et l'âme. R de l'École d'anthropol de Paris, Ap
- TÖNNIES. Z. Einlgt. in d. Soziolog. ZPhKr, CXV, 2
- TRUXAL. Christianity in the sphere of the practical. RChR, Ap
- VEIT. Unsere Diakonissen-Mutterhäuser u. ihre Praxis. Hh, JI, Ag
- WRIGHT. Sociology affected by philosophy. BS, Ja

ABBREVIATIONS

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Months: Ja, F, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Jl, Ag, S, O, N, D

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A = Amsterdam
 Au = Augsburg
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 B-C = B-Calvary
 B-H = B-Haack
 B-M&M = B-Mayer & Müller
 B-R = B-Reimer
 B-R&R = B-Reuther & Reichard
 B-Sch = B-Schwetschke
 B-Wa = B-Warnecke
 B-Wei = B-Weidmann
 B-W&G = B-Wiegandt & Grieben
 Ba = Basel
 Be = Bern
 Bi = Bielefeld
 Bi-V&K = Bi-Velhagen & Klasing
 Bn = Bonn
 Bn-G = Bn-Georgi
 Bn-M = Bn-Marcus
 Bn-W = Bn-Weber
 Bo = Boston
 Bo-H, M = Bo-Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
 Bo-PP = Bo-Pilgrim Press
 Br = Breslau
 C = Cahors
 C-C = Cahors-Coueslant
 Ca = Cambridge (Engl.)
 Ca-UP = Ca-University Press
 Chi = Chicago
 Chi-R = Chi-Revell
 Cin = Cincinnati
 Dr = Dresden
 Du = Dublin
 Ed = Edinburgh
 Ed-C = Ed-T & T Clark
 Ed-O = Ed-Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier
 El = Elberfeld
 El-V&K = El-Velhagen & Klasing
 Erf = Erfurt
 Erl = Erlangen
 Erl-J = Erl-Junge
 F = Freiburg i. Br.
 F-H = F-Herder'sche Verlagsbuchh.
 F-W = F-Wagner
 F(Sch) = Freiburg in Switzerland
 Fr = Frankfurt a. M.
 Fr-K = Fr-Kaufmann
 G = Göttingen
 G-V&R = G-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
 Gi = Gießen
 Gi-R = Gi-Ricker'sche Buchh.
 Go = Gotha
 Go-P = Go-Perthes
 Go-Sch = Go-Schloessmann
 Gü = Gütersloh
 Gü-B = Gü-Bertelsmann
 Hd = Heidelberg
 Hd-G = Hd-Groos
 Hd-W = Hd-Winter
 Hl = Halle
 Hl-M = Hl-Mühlmann
 Hl-N = Hl-Niemeyer
 Hl-W = Hl-Buchh. d. Waisenhauses
 Hm = Hamburg
 Hm-EB = Hm-Evang. Buchh. (Verl. & Sort.)
 Hm-O = Hm-Oncken Nachf.
 Hm-RH = Hm-Raues Haus
 Hn = Hannover

K = Königsberg
 Kö = Köln a. Rh.
 Ko-B = Kö-Bachem
 L = Leipzig
 L-B = L-Braun
 L-BeB = L-Buchh. des evgl. Bundes
 L-Br = L-Brockhaus
 L-D = L-Deichert
 L-Dd = L-Diederichs
 L-Dt = L-Dietrich
 L-D&F = L-Dörffling & Franke
 L-D&H = L-Dunker & Humblot
 L-H = L-Hirrichs
 L-T = L-Leubner
 Laus = Lausanne
 Le = Leiden
 Le-vB = Le-vormals Brill
 Lo = London
 Lo-BI = Lo-A. & C. Black
 Lo-B&O = Lo-Burns & Oates
 Lo-H&S = Lo-Hodder & Stoughton
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 Lo-N = Lo-Nisbet
 Lo-P = Lo-Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
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 Lo-SPCK = Lo-Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
 Lo-W&N = Lo-Williams & Norgate
 M = München
 M-B = M-Beck
 Mb = Marburg
 Mb-E = Mb-Elwert
 Mh = Mannheim
 Mo = Montauban
 Mo-G = Montauban-Granié
 Mü = Münster
 Mü-A = Mü-Aschendorff
 Mü-Sch = Mü-Schöningh
 Mz = Mainz
 Mz-K = Mz-Kirchheim
 Nü = Nürnberg
 NY = New York
 NY-A = NY-Appleton
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 NY-M = NY-Macmillan
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 O = Oxford
 O-UP = Oxford-Univ. Press
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 P-H = P-Hachette
 P-L = P-Lecoffre
 P-Lr = P-Leroux
 P-P = P-Poussielgue
 P-R = P-Retaux
 Pa = Paderborn
 Pa-B = Pa-Bonifacius-Druckerei
 Pa-Sch = Pa-Schöningh
 Ph = Philadelphia
 Ph-ABP = Ph-Am. Bapt. Public. So.
 Reg = Regensburg
 Reg-P = Reg-Pustet
 Ro = Roma

St = Stuttgart
 St-BcG = St-Buchh. der evgl. Gesellschaft
 St-C = St-Cotta
 St-Fr = St-Frommann
 Str = Strassburg
 Str-R = Str-Le Roux
 Str-T = Str-Trübner, K. J.
 T = Tübingen
 T-M = T-Mohr

Tr = Trier
 Tr-P = Tr-Paulinus-Druckerei
 W = Wien
 W-G = W-Gerold's Sohn
 We = Weimar
 Wi = Wiesbaden
 Wü = Würzburg
 Wü-G = Wü-Göbel
 Z = Zürich

PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

A = Arena
 AA = American Antiquarian
 AB = Analecta Bollandiana
 AC = L'Association catholique
 ACQ = Am. Catholic Quarterly Review
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie
 AE-LKZ = Allgem. Ev.-Luther. Kirchenzeitg.
 AER = American Ecclesiastical Review
 AGPh = Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Philosophie
 AIBL = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Comptes rendus)
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
 AJS = American Journal of Sociology
 AJSL = Am. Jour. of Semitic Lang. and Lit.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology
 AkKR = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht
 ALKGM = Archiv für Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters
 al-M = al-Mashriq
 AMZ = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift
 AO = Der alte Orient
 APF = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung
 APChAr = Annales de Philosophie chrétienne
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 B = Biblia
 BA = Beiträge zur Assyriologie
 BAZ = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung; München
 BBK = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
 Bess = Bessarione
 BFCArTh = Beiträge z. Förd. christl. Theologie
 BG = Beweis des Glaubens
 BHL = Bulletin hist. et lit. de la Société du Protestantisme français
 BOR = Babylonian and Oriental Record
 BSt = Biblische Studien
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra
 BSt = Bible Student
 BStPh&G = Berner Studien zur Philosophie u. ihrer Geschichte
 BU = Bibliothèque universelle
 BW = Biblical World
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 ChOR = Charity Organization Review
 ChQR = Church Quarterly Review
 ChR = Charities Review
 ChrK = Christliches Kunstblatt
 ChrL = Christian Literature
 ChrQ = Christian Quarterly
 ChrW = Christliche Welt
 CR = Contemporary Review
 CW = Catholic World
 DAZThK = Deutsch-amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
 DEBl = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter
 DPBl = Deutsches Protestantenblatt
 DR = Deutsche Revue
 DRu = Deutsche Rundschau
 DuR = Dublin Review
 DZKR = Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht
 EdR = Edinburgh Review
 EHR = English Historical Review
 EKZ = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung
 EM = Evangelische Missionen
 EMM = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin
 Et = Etudes
 ET = Expository Times
 Exp = Expositor.
 F = Forum
 FCArL&D = Forschungen z. christl. Literatur- u. Dogmengeschichte
 FEB = Flugschriften des evang. Bundes
 FR = Fortnightly Review
 FrKPh = Frommann's Klassiker der Philos.

GGN = Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten
 GHV = Geschichtsblätter des Hugenotten-Vereins (Magdeburg-Hinrichshofen)
 GPr = Gymnasialprogramm
 G&L = Geest en Leven
 G&V = Gelcof en Vrijheid
 HChrW = Hefte zur Christlichen Welt
 H/RSK = Hefte der freien kirchl.-soz. Konf.
 Hh = Halte was du hast = ZpTh
 HJb = Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft
 HkAT = Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.
 HN = L'Humanité nouvelle
 HR = Homiletic Review
 HSR = Hartford Seminary Record
 HVS = Historische Vierteljahrsschrift
 HZ = Historische Zeitschrift
 IA = Indian Antiquary
 IAQR = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review
 ID = Inaugural-Dissertation
 IER = Indian Evangelical Review
 IJE = International Journal of Ethics
 IM = International Monthly
 Ind = Independent
 ITAR = International Theological Review
 JA = Journal asiatique
 JAOS = Journal of the Am. Oriental Society
 JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature
 JbPh&S } = Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie
 JM } = Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JS = Journal des Savants
 JThS = Journal of Theological Studies
 JTVI = Jour. of Trans. of Victoria Institute
 Kath = Der Katholik
 KF = Kirchliches Familienblatt
 KFIW&L = Kath. Flugschriften z. Wehr u. Lehr
 KH-CAT = Kurzer Hd.-Commentar z. Alt. Test.
 KM = Kirchliche Monatschrift
 KT = Kyrklig Tidskrift
 KZ = Katechetische Zeitschrift
 LChr = Liberté chrétienne
 LChR = Lutheran Church Review
 LO = Lutheran Quarterly
 LQR = London Quarterly Review
 M = Muséon
 Ma = Marnix
 MA = Mitth. or Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften; e. g., Berlin, München
 MCG = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft
 MGE = Mancherlei Gaben und Ein Geist
 MGK = Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst
 Mi = Mind
 MIM = Monatschrift für innere Mission
 MIOG = Mittheilungen des Instituts f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung
 MiR = Missionary Review
 Mo = Monat
 MR(N) = Methodist Review (North)
 MR(S) = Methodist Review (South)
 MSt&L = Monatschrift für Stadt und Land
 MVGD = Mitth. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen
 M&ND } = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 P-V }
 M&N } = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten für d. evangelische Kirche Russlands
 EKR }

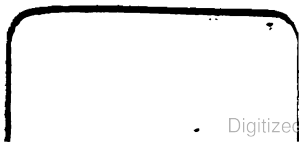
- NA* = Nuova Anthologia
NADG = Neues Arch. d. Gesellsch. f. ältere deu. Gesch.
NAKG = Nederl. Archief voor Kerkgesch.
Nath = Nathanael
NC = Nineteenth Century
NCR = New Century Review
NHJb = Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher
NkZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NTAT = Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift
NW = New World
OC = Open Court
OLZ = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung
OT = Ons Tijdschrift
On = Outlook
PbHKS = Pastoralblätter für Homiletik, Katechetik und Seelsorge
PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement
PhJb = Philosophisches Jahrbuch
PhM = Philosophische Monatshefte
PhR = Philosophical Review
PQ = Presbyterian Quarterly
Pr = Protestant
PrJb = Preussische Jahrbücher
PrM = Protestantische Monatshefte
PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PsSt = Psychologische Studien
QQ = Queen's Quarterly
QR = Quarterly Review
RA = Revue archéologique
RAAO = Rev. d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale
RACHr = Revue de l'Art chrétien
RAL = Rendiconti dell R. Acad. dei Lincei
RB = Revue biblique
RBd = Revue bénédictine
RChr = Revue chrétienne
RChR = Reformed Church Review
RChrS = Revue de Christianisme sociale
RdM = Revue des deux Mondes
REJ = Revue des Études juives
RHE = Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique
RHLR = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RiCr = Rivista Cristiana
RiF = Rivista di filosofia
RMM = Revue de Métaphysique et Morale
RN-S = Revue néo-scholastique
ROCAR = Revue de l'Orient chrétien
ROL = Revue de l'Orient Latin
RPh = Revue philosophique
RO = Römische Quartalschrift
ROH = Revue des Questions historiques
RS = Revue sémitique
RSE = Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques
RTA = Revue théologique
RTPh = Revue de Théol. et de Philos.
RTAQR = Revue de Théol. et des Quest. relig.
SA = Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wiss.; e. g., Berlin, München, etc.
ScC = Science catholique
SGVS = Sammlung gemeinverst. Vorträge u. Schriften aus d. Gebiet der Theologie u. Religionsgeschichte
TKRG = Studien z. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Kirche
StGTAK = Theologische Studien und Kritiken
StKr = Stimmen uit de Lutherse Kerk in Nederland
StLKN = Stimmen aus Maria-Laach
StML = Seelsorge in Theorie und Praxis
STP = Strassburger Theologische Studien
StrThSt = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede
StWV = Tijdschrift v. geref. Theologie
TGTk = Theologische Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. wiss. Prediger-Verein
TKARh = Theologisches Literaturblatt
WPV = Theologische Literaturzeitung
TKLb = Theologische Quartalschrift
TKLz = Theologische Rundschau
TKQ = Theologische Studien
TKR = Theologisch Tijdschrift
TKSt = Theologisch Tidsskrift
TKT = Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Litteratur
TT = Troffel en Zwaard
T&U = L'Université catholique
UC = Universitätsprogramm
UPr = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie
VwPh = Wartburghefte f. d. Evangel. Bund (Leipzig-Braun)
WEB = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
WZKM = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZA = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde
ZAeg = Z. f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZATW = Z. für christliche Kunst (Ap-Mr)
ZChrK = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDMG = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZDPV = Z. f. d. evang. Religions-Unterricht
ZoRU = Zeitfragen für christl. Volksleben
ZfChrVL = Z. für Kirchengeschichte
ZKG = Z. für katholische Theologie
ZkTh = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZMR = Z. für neutestamentl. Wissenschaft
ZNTW = Z. für Pastoral-Theologie
ZpaTh = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik
ZPhKr = Z. für Philosophie und Pädagogik
ZPhP = Z. für praktische Theologie
ZprTh = Z. für Theologie aus der Schweiz
ZSchw = Z. für Theologie und Kirche
ZThK = Z. d. Vereins f. Thüringische Gesch.
ZVThürG = Z. für wissenschaftliche Theologie
ZwTh

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Activities of the church.....	101	Evidences of Christianity....	87	Mythology	19
Acts of Apostles.....	42	Exegesis.....	27, 41	New Testament, The.....	35
Africa, Church in.....	74	Exegetical theology.....	21	Old Testament, The.....	25
American church history.....	72	First three centuries of our era.....	46	Old & New Testament.....	21
Antiquities, Old & New Tes- tament	23	Folklore.....	19	Oriental church	74
Apocalypse	43	Foreign missions	83, 102	Palmyrenian.....	4
Apocrypha.....	32, 46	Functions, Ministerial.....	98	Papyri: literature & grammar	48
Apologetics.....	87	General Semitic subjects....	1	Pastor, Minister as.....	98
Apostolic period	40	theological works	8	Pauline epistles.....	42
Arabic.....	5	works on historical theology	45	Persian	7
Aramaic	4	Geography, Old & New Tes- tament.....	23, 30	Philosophy, History of.....	8
Archæology, Old Testament. Christian	84	Gospels.....	41	of religion.....	15
Armenian	7	Government, 49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 97		Science of.....	11
Art, Christian.....	84	Grammar, New Testament....	35	Phœnician.....	4
Asia, Church in.....	74	Old Testament.....	25	Polemics.....	90
Assyrio-Babylonian	2	Hæckel controversy	91	Polity, 49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 97	
Australia, Church in.....	74	Hagiographa	28	Practical theology.....	97
Babylonian	2	Hebrews, Epistle to the....	42	Preacher, Minister as.....	98
Biblical theology	29, 44	Hellenistic literature.....	32	Present-day problems & dis- cussions	75
Biography, 48, 50, 53, 58, 64, 72, 74		Hermeneutics & criticism 22, 27, 41		Prolegomena	8
Byzantine church.....	74	Hexateuch.....	27	Prophets.....	28
Canon, New Testament	36	Historical books, Old & New Testament.....	27, 41	Pseudepigrapha.....	32
Old Testament.....	26	theology.....	45	Psychology, History of.....	8
Catholic epistles	43	History of philosophy, psy- chology, & ethics.....	8	Science of	11
Charities	103	of religion.....	17	Rabbinical history & litera- ture.....	33
Christian art & archæology..	84	of theology.....	81	Reformation period.....	57
ethics	95	of Old & New Testament	23, 31, 40	Religion & religions..	15
evidences.....	88	Hittite	2	Comparative.....	20
Chronology, Old Testament..	31	Home missions.....	83, 103	History of.....	17
Church, Activities of.....	101	Hymnology, see Liturgics		Old Testament.....	20
organization.....	49	Institutions, Ethnic religious.	18	Philosophy of.....	15
polity, 49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 97		Introduction, New Testament	36	Systems of	17
Comparative religion.....	20	Old Testament.....	26	Religious institutions & doc- trines, Ethnic.....	18
Semitic grammar	1	Jesus, Life & teachings of..	37	Religious orders	78
Coptic.....	7	Jewish history & literature...	33	Sabæan	7
Criticism, Old & New Testa- ment.....	22, 26, 36	Language & literature, me- diæval.....	53	Saints, Lives of.....	80
Devotional literature	99	Later Jewish history & litera- ture.....	33	Samaritan	4
Doctrines, Ethnic religious..	18	mediæval church history ..	51	Scholasticism.....	56
Documents, 49, 51, 57, 63, 72, 74		Life of Jesus.....	37	Science of philosophy, psy- chology, ethics.....	11
Dogmatic theology.....	91	Literature, Christian	46, 49, 53, 57, 63, 72, 74	Semitic bibliography.....	1
Duties, Ministerial.....	98	Liturgics, 49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 99		Sermonic literature.....	99
Early Hebrew.....	4	Lives of saints & martyrs....	80	Social work.....	103
mediæval church history ..	49	Local church history 55, 61, 69, 73		Sunday-school work.....	100
Ecclesiastical law, 49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 97		Mandean.....	4	Symbolics.....	89
Education, Ministerial	98	Martyrs, Lives of.....	80	Syriac.....	3
Encyclopædia of theology ...	87	Mediæval church history, 49, 51		Systematic theology.....	87
Epistles of Paul.....	42	Methodology of theology ..	87	Systems of religion.....	17
Catholic.....	43	Minister as preacher & pastor	98	Teachings of Jesus.....	37
Ethics, Christian.....	95	Ministerial education.....	98	Text & translations	22, 25, 26, 35, 36
History of.....	8	Missions, History of	83	Theological bibliography.....	8
Science of.....	11	Modern church history.....	63	Theology, History of.....	81
Ethiopic.....	7	Monasticism.....	78	Old & New Testament, 22, 20, 44	
Ethnic religious institutions & doctrines.....	18	Mysticism	56	Travels	23
Europe, Modern church his- tory of.....	63			Worship & life	49, 51, 56, 62, 70, 73, 75, 99
				Y. M. C. A. work.....	101



175



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